

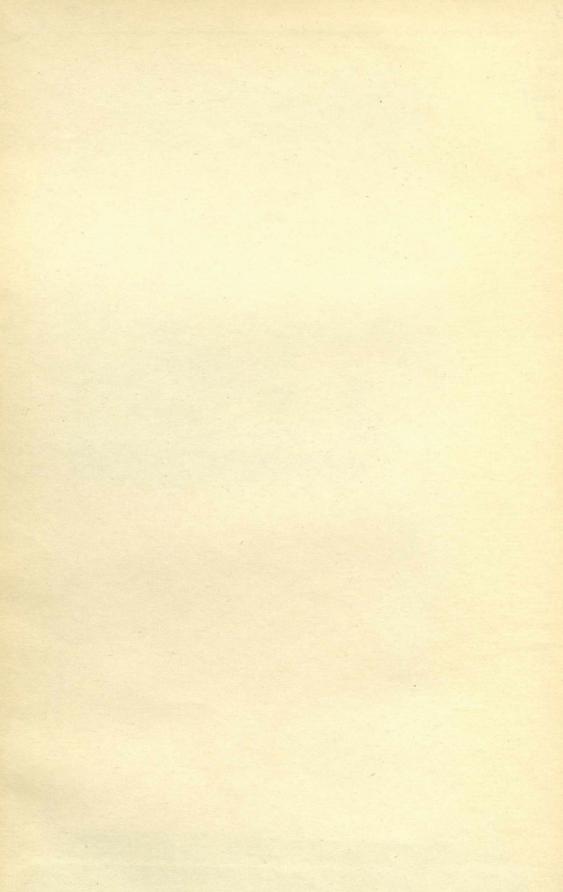
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Standing Comm.on
External Affairs, 1947.
Minutes of
proceedings & evidence.

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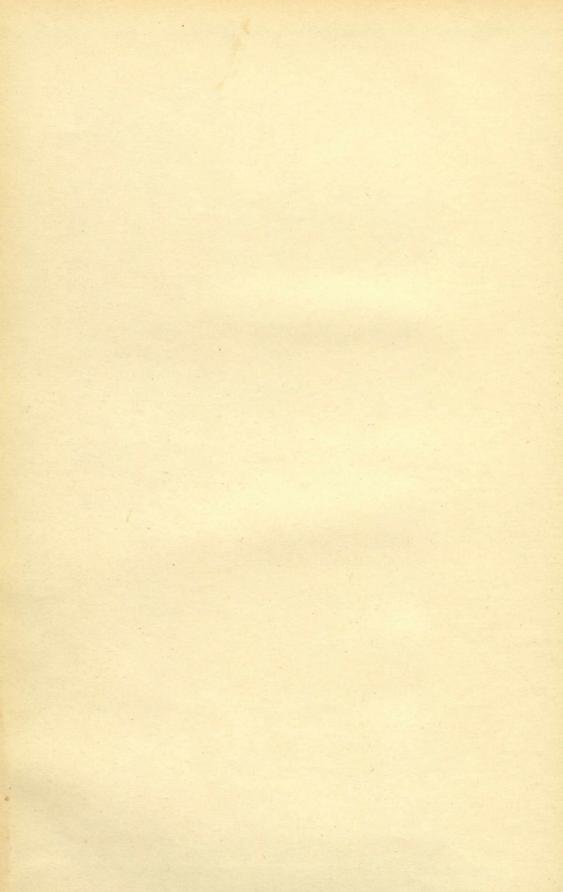


HOUSE OF COMMON

STANDENS COMMENTS

EXTERNAL AFFAIRE

MINE IN THE PROPERTY AND STREET



#### SESSION 1947

1-12

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

# STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 1

> THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1947 TUESDAY, APRIL 22, 1947 FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1947

## WITNESS:

Mr. Escott Reid, Chief of the Second Political Division, Department of External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1947

LAW THAT IN MENT AND 

### ORDERS OF REFERENCE

THURSDAY, 13th February, 1947.

Resolved,—That the following Members do compose the Standing Committee on External Affairs:—

#### Messrs.

Beaudoin. Green. Benidickson, Hackett. Boucher, Isnor, Bradette, Jackman, Breithaupt, Jaenicke, Coldwell. Jaques, Cote (Matapedia-Kidd. Matane), Knowles. Croll, Lapointe, Diefenbaker, Leger, Fleming, Low, Fraser, MacInnis. Graydon, MacLean, Marquis, Mayhew, Mutch, Picard, Pinard,

Raymond (Beauharnois-

Laprairie),

Reid,

Sinclair (Ontario),

St-Laurent, Winkler—35.

(Quorum—10)

Attest.

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

Attest.

# WEDNESDAY, 26th March, 1947.

Ordered,—That the first Report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Securities Council, dated December 30, 1946, tabled this day in the House of Commons, be referred to the said Committee.

Attest.

Monday, 31st March, 1947.

Ordered,—That the Report on the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which was held in New York, U.S.A., from October 23 to December 15, 1946, presented this day to the House of Commons, be referred to the said Committee.

Attest.

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE, Clerk of the House.

Monday, 21st April, 1947.

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

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

Attest.

Monday, 21st April, 1947.

Ordered,—That the Second Report of the Standing Committee on External Affairs, presented to the House on Thursday, April 17, 1947, and which is as follows:—

Pursuant to the Order of Reference under date of Monday, March 31, 1947, relating to the Report on the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and with a view to affording the members of the Committee an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the United Nations Organization and to enable the Committee to properly and adequately discharge its duties

Your Committee recommends:

- 1. That it be empowered to sit at the call of the Chair at Lake Success, New York;
- 2. That the payment of any travelling expenses incurred therefor be authorized;
- 3. That the Clerk of the Committee and a shorthand reporter accompany the Committee;
- 4. That the Clerk of the Committee be instructed to arrange forthwith the itinerary of the proposed sitting upon the recommendations of the Steering Committee.

be referred back to the said Committee for further consideration.

Attest.

R. T. GRAHAM, Deputy Clerk of the House.

THURSDAY, April 17, 1947.

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

FIRST REPORT

Your Committee recommends:

1. That it be given permission to print from day to day 500 copies in English, 200 copies in French of its minutes of proceedings and evidence and that Standing Order 64 be suspended in relation thereto.

2. That it be empowered to sit while the House is sitting.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE,

Chairman.

(Concurred in on April 21, 1947.)

THURSDAY, April 17, 1947.

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

### SECOND REPORT

Pursuant to the Order of Reference under date of Monday, March 31, 1947, relating to the Report on the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and with a view to affording the members of the Committee an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the United Nations Organization and to enable the Committee to properly and adequately discharge its duties.

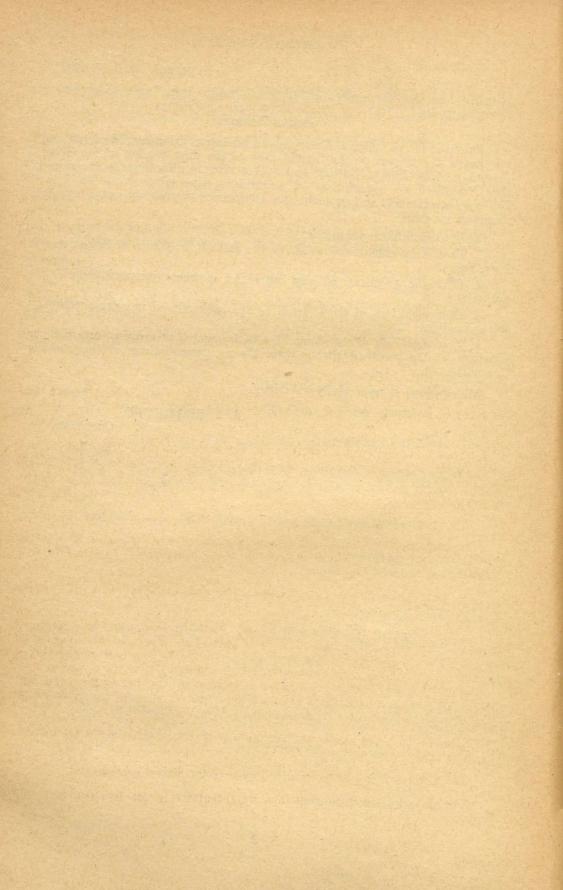
Your Committee recommends:

- 1. That it be empowered to sit at the call of the Chair at Lake Success, New York;
- 2. That the payment of any travelling expenses incurred therefor be authorized;
- 3. That the Clerk of the Committee and a shorthand reporter accompany the Committee;
- 4. That the Clerk of the Committee be instructed to arrange forthwith the itinerary of the proposed sitting upon the recommendations of the Steering Committee.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE,

Chairman.



## MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, April 17, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Coté (Matapedia-Matane), Croll, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, Marquis, Pinard, St-Laurent and Winkler—21.

In attendance: Mr. John K. Starnes, Assistant to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and Liaison with the Committee.

The Chairman extended a word of welcome to Right Honourable Mr. St-Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Prime Minister.

Mr. St-Laurent addressed the Committee and offered his co-operation and that of the officials of his department.

The Clerk read the orders of reference.

On motion of Mr. Marquis, seconded by Mr. Croll, Mr. Graydon was elected unanimously vice-chairman of the Committee.

On motion of Mr. Leger,-

Resolved,—That the Committee be authorized to print from day to day 500 copies in English and 200 copies in French of its minutes of proceedings and evidence.

On motion of Mr. Coldwell,-

Resolved,—That the Committee ask leave to sit while the House is sitting.

On motion of Mr. Croll, an agenda Committee was instituted to act with the Chairman; the members to be the same as in 1946, namely: Messrs. Graydon, Leger, Low, Knowles and Winkler.

A general discussion on procedure followed and the members present expressed their views.

After discussion, Mr. Beaudoin moved: That the Committee be empowered to sit at the call of the chair at Lake Success, New York, for the purpose of acquainting the members of the Committee with the organization of the United Nations; that the payment of any travelling expenses incurred be authorized; that the Clerk and a shorthand reporter accompany the Committee; and that the Clerk be instructed to arrange at once the itinerary of the proposed sitting upon the recommendation of the steering Committee.

The question being put on the said motion, it was resolved in the affirmative, on division.

The Chairman was authorized to report to the House accordingly.

The days of the future sittings were tentatively set for Tuesdays and Fridays.

In the course of the proceedings, the following were distributed—

- 1. Copies of the Report on the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held in New York (October 23-December 15, 1946);
- 2. Copies of the Annual Report of the Department of External Affairs.

Copies of the First Report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Securities Council will be available shortly for distribution.

The Chairman announced a meeting of the Agenda Committee in his office at 2 o'clock this day.

At 12.45 the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

Tuesday, April 22, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock a.m. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Cote (Matapedia-Matane), Croll, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Fraser, Hackett, Jackman, Jaenicke, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Mayhew, Mutch, Pinard, Sinclair (Ontario), Winkler.—(24)

In Attendance: Mr. Escott Reid, Chief of the second political division; Mr. R. G. Riddell, Chief of the first political division; and Mr. John K. Starnes, Department of External Affairs.

The Clerk informed the Chairman that the following had been mailed to the members of the Committee:

- 1. First Report of the United Nations to the Security Council on the Atomic Energy Commission;
- 2. Booklet on the Diplomatic Corps (High Commissioner and Consular Representatives in Ottawa).

The Committee proceeded to discuss in private its second report to the House which was referred back for further consideration.

The Chairman reported verbally on the deliberations of the Agenda Committee which recommended, among other things, to hear Mr. Escott Reid on the United Nations Organization, and, later at an appropriate time, General McNaughton on the Atomic Energy Commission—First Report to the Security Council.

After discussion on the subject matter of the Committee's second report to the House, the Committee agreed that the Chairman obtain forthwith an interview with the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Committee began its study of the Report of the Second Part of the Special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. Escott Reid was called at 11.15. He made a brief statement, was examined and retired. He was assisted by Mr. R. G. Riddell who was questioned on the relief needs of European countries (UNRRA) and retired.

Various suggestions were advanced by Messrs. Croll, MacInnis and Fleming. It was agreed to refer these to the Agenda Committee. Mr. Fleming referred in particular to the Peace Treaties which will eventually be placed before the House. This, the Committee agreed, might also be studied by the Agenda Committee.

In answer to Mr. Low, the witness summarized the accomplishments of the General Assembly of the United Nations to date.

On behalf of the Committee, Mr. Coté (Matapedia-Matane), voiced congratulations to the officials of the External Affairs Department who drafted the report under study.

At 12.35 o'clock, the Committee adjourned until Friday, April 25 at 10.30 a.m.

FRIDAY, April 25, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock a.m., in Room 268. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Knowles, Léger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Pinard, Winkler.—(18)

In Attendance: Messrs. Escott Reid, R. G. Riddell and John K. Starnes.

The Chairman reported that ten or possibly more members of the Committee are going to Lake Success, N.Y. The Clerk, who will act as secretary to the delegation, is now completing the itinerary and related arrangements in co-operation with officials of the External Affairs Department.

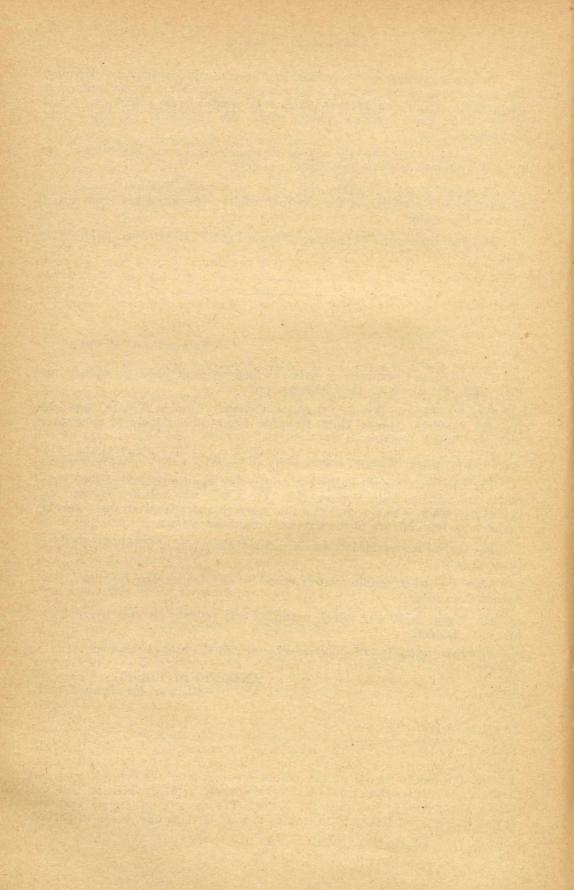
The Committee resumed its consideration of the report of the United Nations Organization.

After discussion, certain matters raised by Mr. Jaques were referred to the Agenda Committee.

Mr. Escott Reid was called, examined and retired. He was assisted by Mr. R. G. Riddell.

At 12.25 o'clock the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



## MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons,

April 22, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

(The Committee sat privately till 11.15 o'clock.)

The Chairman: Gentlemen, we have with us this morning Mr. Escott Reid who will assist us in the discussion of the United Nations report which we have before us in this white book. Some of the stenographic staff are new men, and if the members notice that they are new men I would ask them to give their names when they ask questions so there will be no confusion on the record.

# Escott Reid, Department of External Affairs, called:

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, I have not prepared any formal remarks to make to the committee since I felt that there was probably little I could add by way of formal introduction to what was said by the minister when he tabled the report in the House of Commons on March 31. As he then said we feel very strongly that it is of the greatest importance that the parliament and people of Canada have as full an understanding as possible of the United Nations and of the problems which the government faces in carrying out its obligation to the United Nations.

The decision was therefore made to make this report on the last Assembly of the United Nations fuller and more explanatory and, I think, somewhat franker than previous reports. We would welcome very much any suggestions which occur to the members of the committee for improvements in the form and content of these reports. I should be most happy to do my best to answer any questions which members raise on the report.

The Chairman: Are you ready for questioning, or would you rather have

more elaboration by Mr. Reid?

# By Mr. Fleming:

Q. There is one question I should like to ask which has to do with the form of the report. Granting that it is quite an undertaking to prepare a comprehensive report would it not be possible to expedite the preparation of this report? It was tabled on March 31. The session of the assembly concluded on December 15, three and a half months before. The sooner the report comes after the conclusion of the assembly the more useful it is. If it comes out long afterwards public interest has waned, and there may be a feeling of irritation about the delay in the report. I am not underestimating, of course, the difficulty of compiling a comprehensive report, although there are a lot of appendices. I think the sooner the report can be made public after the conclusion of the assembly the better it will be.—A. I agree entirely with Mr. Fleming that the sooner the report is published the better. The department regrets that the report was delayed this time as long as it was. I think the reason in part is

that this time we were searching for a new method of presenting the report. A report such as this, is as you know, based on reports written by the various members of the delegation. It is necessary to revise and edit the sections prepared by the various advisers. This year, the advisers had no pattern on which to base their own reports. In the future I think it will be easier because we can tell the advisers to follow more or less the pattern of this report, and it will not be necessary for the editor to make as much revision.

Last year, of course, the Assembly met a month later than normal. This year it will meet on September 16. My own hope is that, if the Assembly meets on September 16 and sits for seven or eight weeks, we ought to be able to get out a report in time to be tabled in parliament as soon as parliament meets in January.

## By Mr. Coté:

Q. Does Mr. Reid mean this is the pattern that will prevail from now on as far as the reports of our delegations are concerned?—A. Subject to reconsideration and to any suggestions which we receive from this committee and others who are interested.

## By Mr. Fleming:

Q. May I ask a question with reference to the purpose in writing the report? Was it intended to be a report simply for the instruction of parliament or was it hoped that this report would have enough interest to be widely read, and consequently written for a wider audience? To elaborate the question it struck me that the report, broken down as it is, is very pithy. Whether it has gone too far in that direction or whether it has been simplified too much with a view to making it interesting to a wider public I do not know. I have always felt that the report written on the session in San Francisco was a model report to parliament. It was a masterly report. I do not know what circulation it had among the public, but certainly from the point of view of a member of parliament or a member of this committee it was a masterly report. What is the over-riding thought on the part of those who are compiling this report? Is it to be a report principally for the information of parliament or is it intended to be a report that will be widely read and help to stimulate interest on the part of the public in what is going on in New York?—A. I would say that it is a report primarily for parliament, a report by the government to parliament of the activities of the Canadian delegation to the Assembly, but that we hope that it will also be read by a much wider group of people in Canada, especially, for example, members of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, members of the United Nations Society, and newspaper editors. In writing the report we tried to keep in mind the interests of these various groups. For example, the section on legal questions was written in the hope that it would be of special interest to persons in Canada interested in the development of international law.

I might add that one other main purpose which we had in mind in preparing the report was that it would be useful for the delegates to the next Assembly in September. It will give them a good deal of the background of the discussions which are likely to take place at the next session.

# By Mr. Côté:

Q. I should like to know from Mr. Reid now that the C.I.S. is within the Department of External Affairs has it been considered advisable yet to have a small weekly report published as to the activities of our various delegations which might be made available to those interested in what is going on?—A. So

far as I know no consideration is being given to that particular proposal. Information activities are not my direct concern in the department, and perhaps it might be better if that question were addressed either to the undersecretary—

Q. Mr. MacDermot?—A. It is now Mr. Andrew who is in charge of the information division of the department.

Mr. Fleming: I do not know how much time you want to spend discussing the form of the report. Mr. Reid has invited suggestions. I am going to be brash enough to offer one, that if the report is intended for consumption on the part of members of parliament, and the intelligentsia to whom he has referred, newspaper editors, members of the Institute and the United Nations Society, it could very well be fuller. My question was prompted by the thought that while the report is well arranged, well indexed and easy to follow, it is very pithy, and for students of international affairs, the type of people to whom Mr. Reid referred, I think the report could well be amplified. If it is intended for wider consumption than that I do not think anything is to be gained by that. Has the department considered at all getting out anything in the nature of a popular report? We have a great task to perform in the way of public education. Right now I suppose everybody, even those who are most hopeful for the future of the United Nations, has been going through the experience of doubt and annoyance with what has been going on. Is the department giving consideration to anything in the nature of a popular report? It may be that is felt to be unnecessary in view of the work the press is doing. I ask the question for information.

The Witness: We have not yet given consideration to the preparation of a more popular version of this report, but it is a matter to which I feel we might well give consideration. Of course, when one presents a document of this character one hopes that unofficial bodies and groups in Canada will themselves feel a certain responsibility for putting a document like this in more popular language. For instance, there is the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, which has a very good information service, and the United Nations Society. It is just a question how far one ought not to depend on voluntary organizations of that character for the wider distribution in Canada of information like this. An unofficial body can go further than the government can in expressing views which in a government publication have to be put with a good deal of indirection and restraint. In order to make a report popular one would probably have to use language which would perhaps not be appropriate in an official report.

The CHAIRMAN: On that matter, the report was highly eulogized by Saturday Night. I believe the article was written by Mr. Sandwell. He hoped that it would be well propagated and read by all citizens of Canada, although he thought it was a little bulky, so that they might get the pros and cons in a critical way. He thought it would be a marvellous thing for the Canadian people to read that report if it were accessible to them. I suppose there is a set price for the report?

The WITNESS: Yes, 50 cents.

The Chairman: He said it was a very popular price but the trouble was very few people knew it was issued.

Mr. MacInnis: May I ask how Mr. Fleming would define a more popular report? What does he mean by a more popular report? No report could be more voluminous than this one. What would you leave out? What would you put in? How would you deal with the matter?

Mr. Fleming: I will draw on the experience different organizations have which have to get out reports. Very often it is the practice, where it is a matter of making a report more readable by a wider audience, to write quite a different sort of report. A popular report of this kind—and I am not advocating

it; I am asking for information about it—would be a smaller document in simplified form. It would not go into detail. It would attempt to give a picture of what is going on without going into detail. It would be a simpler, shorter report.

The CHAIRMAN: A summary of this report.

Mr. Fleming: But not exactly a summary. It is written to be read by a wider audience.

Mr. Boucher: Do I not understand Mr. Fleming to mean something of this nature? Would this not answer his problem? Should this not be considered as a technical tabulation of the proceedings of the United Nations brought out as an official document by the Department of External Affairs in the faith and trust that the Canadian Information Service, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs and other voluntary organizations may be guided as to the various aspects in which they are interested and will enlarge upon it in more detail and in a more popular manner? It is actually a compendium of facts rather than a publicity document. Is that not correct?

The Witness: I think the report is a little more interpretative than the previous report Mr. Fleming mentioned, the report of the San Francisco meeting. It is written in somewhat simpler language than the report on San Francisco and gives rather more of the background. I would have thought that one of the main purposes of the report was to give information to parliament on what the attitude of the Canadian delegation was at the Assembly on the various questions which were discussed so that parliament can form its own opinion on whether or not that attitude was proper. In order to make it possible for parliament to decide whether or not the government has carried out properly its stewardship it is necessary in some respects to go into more detail than one would in a popular report, and to give, as we have done in this report, very voluminous appendices in which the statements of policy by the representatives of the Canadian government are given in full.

Mr. Core: Are we not taking one thing for another? As far as this report is concerned it is one of the best that could be produced. I do not see what correction could be made in it. It is an official report of the proceedings made by the government. It is one thing for the department to do that. The other matter which Mr. Fleming has mentioned—and it might very well be taken up is the question of propaganda with which I do not think the department has very much to do. If popularization of this report is to be carried out-and I think it should be-I am inclined to believe it should be done by other organizations or the press or the radio, all the media of popularization and of propaganda, if we may call it propaganda, on behalf of the United Nations. I think, so far as the department is concerned we could hardly ask the department to mix in the propaganda side of the question, and at the same time publish an official report which has to come from the officials to parliament and the varied bodies which may desire an official report. I think there are two completely different objectives to be reached in this particular field, one is the official report and the other is the popular report. I do not think the Department of External Affairs' objective is to accomplish the latter.

Mr. Croll: May I suggest that one of the things which would popularize the report is the removal of the fifty cent price. It occurs to me, if our purpose is to acquaint the people of Canada with the work of the United Nations, we might very well make an investment in it. If, for instance, a member was furnished with 25 copies which he would distribute to his constituents under the frank, you would get a very wide circulation amongst the people in the constituency, rather than amongst the people referred to by Mr. Fleming and others. The report would be read in the homes. It would be referred to by the children

in the home who would read it and, perhaps, compose compositions when they were stuck for some subject and father could not suggest one for debate or something of that kind. In a general way it would be, I think, precious in the library. I do not think it would be a great expenditure.

A report to which Mr. Fleming did not refer but which was very popular was one called the spy report. It had a very wide circulation at a price of \$1.25, although copies were available to send out to your constituents, rather freely. I think some of us took advantage of it. It would not be a great expenditure.

Mr. Fleming: Were copies available for the members to send out? I did not know that.

Mr. Croll: If we could jump over that subject for the moment, I would refer Mr. Reid to page 83 to see if we can get some meat into the discussion. Page 83 of the report deals with relief needs after the termination of UNRRA. Now, the last chapter speaks of an amendment, unanimously passed by the committee and on page 85, at the bottom, the report speaks of a study which was to be made. As I understand it, UNRRA will close down about the first of July, Mr. Reid?

The WITNESS: I think so.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. What has been done to meet that particular condition, Mr. Reid? Can you help us at all on that? It is a matter in which we are all interested.—A. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Riddell, the chief of the first political division of the department, is with me to-day. My job in the department is in the second political division which is concerned with European and Commonwealth affairs. It was more or less by accident that I became involved in the preparation of this report. The responsibility for the continuing of the work in connection with the United Nations comes under Mr. Riddell's division. I think it might be better if he were to answer the question.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Chairman, in conformity with the resolution of the assembly a special technical committee was established. The committee met early in the new year in New York and reviewed the relief needs of the countries which were likely to be short of food during the current year. They made that review in terms of the dollar needs of those countries. They arrived at a figure of approximately \$600,000,000. I am speaking from memory, that is not an accurate figure. It is approximately \$600,000,000. This figure represents the need for imports of food and other relief materials for certain eastern European countries and certain areas in Asia, which could not be met out of the available financial resources of those countries.

The report of that committee was published by the United Nations and copies of it are available here. It was a report which was based on the submissions which were made by the governments themselves. That information, then, was provided to the governments which might be the supplying countries. Since that time there have been two informal meetings of interested countries, held under the auspices of the United Nations, to consider what action might be taken to meet these relief needs. Up to the present time, no specific action has been taken, to my knowledge. The executive of the United States government has recommended a grant of approximately \$350,000,000 for a relief contribution on the part of the United States. As yet, Congress has not passed that, but it is now under consideration.

Mr. Croll: As I understand it, have they not definitely refused or indicated that they will not make a contribution?

Mr. RIDDELL: The United States? Mr. Croll: The United States.

Mr. RIDDELL: No.

Mr. CROLL: They have not?

Mr. RIDDELL: No.

Mr. Croll: What appropriation have we made?

Mr. Riddell: No action has been taken by the Canadian government so far.

Mr. Boucher: Mr. Riddell, the United States executive, you say, has indicated \$350,000,000 is their share of the relief need. Have they indicated how that is to be administered or what body is to administer it now that UNRRA is folding up?

Mr. Riddell: Yes, the United States is planning to administer this fund themselves under an American organization. In some ways that organization would be a small national American UNRRA. They also have plans, I think, for the purchase of goods and for the distribution of those goods in the needy areas. I am not sure of the details of these plans. I think, possibly, the United States would send in officers to inspect the distribution of the relief supplies.

Mr. BOUCHER: I take it then it would be your opinion the probability is that each nation which supplies relief will only take a cue from what this committee has said, but there will be no United Nations organization to carry on the work which UNRRA is doing now and has been doing.

Mr. RIDDELL: That is quite correct.

Mr. Boucher: There will be no combined effort on behalf of the nations seeking relief or granting relief in connection with the administration of it?

Mr. Riddell: That is quite correct with one small exception. There is one organization which was set up at the last meeting of the General Assembly called the International Children's Emergency Fund. The original idea behind this fund was that it should take over certain assets from UNRRA and administer those assets for relief needs amongst the children in the food deficit areas. This fund is now being organized. The director-general, Mr. Maurice Pate, was in Canada about two weeks ago.

The resources of this fund will consist of contributions by governments and contributions by private organizations or by individuals which will be collected in various ways. It would not appear that the organization would be in a position to contribute very materially to immediate relief needs. There is, however, this one international relief organization under the United Nations which came into being at the last session.

Mr. BOUCHER: In fact, it is the only relief organization with an official status under the United Nations which will carry on and administer relief after the first day of July?

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes.

Mr. Boucher: Would you say there was any dissatisfaction over that amongst the nations?

Mr. Riddell: Well, there was a good deal of discussion as to whether or not UNRRA should be continued or whether a substitute for UNRRA should be established. There was a preference on the part of the Canadian delegation in New York for some arrangement of that nature to be made.

Mr. Coldwell: The Canadian delegation asked for the substitution of an international organization which would be international in form and scope.

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes, that was Canadian policy.

Mr. Coldwell: That was the Canadian point of view; we opposed the American nation-to-nation idea.

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes.

Mr. Croll: But that is all there is. Mr. Riddell tells us at the moment all we have is a nation-to-nation policy.

.Mr. COLDWELL: We opposed that, yes.

Mr. Croll: Having opposed that and having failed to achieve something else, what I am trying to get at at the moment is the fact that the survey indicated that \$600,000,000 was the sum necessary for the needy nations, the have not nations; that is what I understood you to say.

Mr. RIDDELL: Approximately that.

Mr. Croll: The Americans are providing \$350,000,000.

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes.

Mr. Croll: There is a deficit of \$250,000,000. Now, I presume the British will make some contribution. I do not know what it will be, but they have not done so as yet. The British may not be in any position to make a contribution, I do not know. Canada came forward with an offer—I remember the words very well and I remember the newspaper reports of LaGuardia's acceptance. It is reported on page 85 of this report, that LaGuardia stated they were accepting Canada's offer sight unseen. I think that was a great compliment to this country. Up to date, however, Canada has done nothing either collectively or individually and is not prepared to do anything on the first of July. At least, she has no plans if I see the picture correctly.

Mr. RIDDELL: No, no plans have been announced.

Mr. Croll: Canada was the third largest contributor, was she not? It was a substantial contribution which we made.

Mr. BOUCHER: The fourth, was it not?

Mr. Croll: The third largest contributors to UNRRA, I think. The report says so and the report must be right.

The WITNESS: Yes, Canada was the third largest.

Mr. Croll: Have you any idea what the third largest contributor meant in money?

Mr. Riddell: Canada's contribution to UNRRA was approximately \$77,000,000 a year for two years.

Mr. Croll: For the two years preceding 1947?

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes, 1944-1945 and 1945-1946.

Mr. Croll: We are now entering another fiscal year?

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes.

Mr. Boucher: What was that on a percentage basis of the total contribution what per cent was it?

Mr. RIDDELL: It was approximately 4 per cent.

Mr. Croll: No other nation, for instance, has indicated it will make any contribution to UNRRA so far as I can recall the press reports.

Mr. RIDDELL: No, there have been no specific indications but the United Kingdom has suggested it will make a certain limited contribution in central Europe. Beyond that, there has been nothing.

Mr. Croll: That is, within the United Kingdom's present occupying zone?

Mr. RIDDELL: They might also do something for Italy.

Mr. Croll: Yes, and might also do something for Italy. Therefore, that leaves the rest of the problem still unsolved in Europe; is that correct?

Mr. RIDDELL: Yes.

Mr. Croll: May I just follow this line of thought a little farther? In that nation to nation appeal, the recent committee which went to Greece headed by Porter, was that part of an UNRRA undertaking?

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Mr. Riddell: I am sorry, I cannot answer that. I should be able to do so, but I cannot.

Mr. CROLL: No, you should not.

Mr. RIDDELL: I am not sure of the circumstances.

Mr. Boucher: May I just follow up your suggestion, Mr. Croll, by asking you a question. You used the phrase "part of an UNRRA undertaking." As I understand it, there is no UNRRA undertaking, but you probably meant a part of the United Nations undertaking?

Mr. CROLL: Yes.

Mr. Cote: Is my understanding correct that Canada has favoured and is favouring the administration of relief through a medium within the United Nations organization?

Mr. Riddell: I think, Mr. Chairman, in some ways that issue is now settled because it was decided at the last meeting of the General Assembly that relief should not be administered generally through United Nations organizations but should be administered on the basis of bi-lateral arrangements between the giving and receiving countries.

Mr. Cote: Therefore, I would assume the implication would be that would be an endorsation by Canada of the Washington policy of giving direct relief to Greece and Turkey?

Mr. Riddell: I think the question of relief to Greece and Turkey is really a separate question. It is one which emerged in the United States after the question of general relief had first been considered. There are really two questions under consideration in the United States Legislature at the moment, one is the \$350,000,000 general relief grant, and the other is the special relief grant for Greece and Turkey.

Mr. Cote: So, the special relief will be administered altogether outside the regime of the United Nations?

Mr. Riddell: Well, except in so far as Senator Vandenberg's amendment may result in certain United Nations interest in the United States relief administered in that area.

Mr. Coldwell: What actually happened was that it was more or less a compromise. It was on a nation to nation basis. The committee of experts was to be set up to advise the nations as to the needs and so on, and this was a compromise which was adopted, I think, at Canada's suggestion.

Mr. Riddell: I am sorry, my understanding was that the question referred to relief to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. Coldwell: Yes, I know, but that comes into this picture. It is true we are not participating in the relief to Greece and Turkey, but Greece particularly was a care of UNRRA and it seems to me it enters into this picture in connection with the advice of the experts. I do not know whether I am right in that or not.

Mr. Boucher: Am I not right in assuming that this question of relief to Greece and Turkey was only something which was adopted by the United States as a measure of carrying on until such time as the United Nations or the nations within the United Nations individually had set up some system? It was only a stop gap policy?

Mr. Croll: That was Vandenberg's amendment, was it not? It gave United Nations that veto power. Had we not better get away from that subject until it is settled in the United States?

Mr. Cote: I am interested in what Canada's stand is.

Mr. Croll: I do not think Mr. Riddell should give an opinion on it. I think it is a question of high policy and I think it is dangerous to discuss it at this moment.

Mr. Cote: I understand from the report that everyone agreed, amongst other things, that the experts should supervise the field. I should like to know whether this new provision took place in the field of ordinary relief or special relief because I understand, with regard to Turkey and Greece, that was special relief. In so far as ordinary relief is concerned I understand that Canada agreed with the United States that it should be based on the report of the experts. Am I right?

Mr. Riddell: Well, the only agreement which was reacher in the General Assembly of the United Nations was that a committee of experts should meet and arrive at certain conclusions. Those conclusions should then be referred to the member governments. There was no decision taken in New York that the member governments should do anything about it. It was left to the member governments to decide what they should do about it.

Mr. BOUCHER: I should like to ask whether it is probable the United Nations will again put on the agenda the question of the administration of relief to the needy nations, or whether it is the intention of the United Nations to advise it is beyond the scope of its activity?

The Witness: The concluding paragraph of the resolution passed by the Assembly on relief directs the secretary-general to report at each session of the Economic and Social Council on the activities being carried out under the relief resolution. Therefore, this subject of international relief will automatically be on the agenda of each session of the Economic and Social Council and will automatically be included in the report of the Economic and Social Council to the Assembly. I think it is, therefore, reasonable to assume it will be discussed again in September.

Mr. MacInnis: Unless the other part of the resolution is carried out, is there any likelihood there will be anything to report? Section 2 of the resolution sets up a committee of experts and section 4 requires that it shall report to the secretary-general for submission to the member governments as soon as possible, but, in any event, not later than the fifteen of January, 1947. Now, unless this committee of experts has reported to the secretary-general, there is not very much hope anything will be on the agenda which is of any value to the countries concerned when the Assembly next meets.

Mr. Riddell: The report of the committee of experts, as provided in paragraph 4 of the resolution, has been made to the secretary-general. It is that report in which this figure of approximately \$600,000,000 appears and it has been circulated to the member governments. The general question has been discussed at two subsequent informal meetings.

Mr. MacInnis: Have any steps been taken to make that amount available to the countries in need?

Mr. RIDDELL: The United Nations is not in a position to take any steps. It is entirely the responsibility of the member nations.

Mr. MacInnis: Have any of the member nations then taken any steps?

Mr. Riddell: Apart from the action which the United States administration has taken of putting the \$350,000,000 grant before Congress, I know of no action which has been taken.

Mr. Croll: As Mr. Reid said a minute ago, the United Nations will meet again in September and, of course, the need for UNRRA and the need for relief is there. UNRRA becomes a dead letter on the first of July. You see, there is a two months' lapse of time in which the need is there and yet nothing

may be done to meet that need. Even the United States may give relief only on a nation to nation basis. They may decide not to give it to some nation because their eyes are blue or for reasons of their own. They have a perfect right to do that. What are we doing to meet that need? The need is there.

The WITNESS: You mean Canada?

Mr. CROLL: Yes.

The WITNESS: That is a question which I think would have to be addressed to the minister, since there has been no declaration of government policy made on that particular question.

Mr. Low: I was just wondering whether we could get Mr. Reid or Mr. Riddell to give us briefly a statement of the accomplishments of the Assembly to date. There is much mention in the report of certain proposals and discussions, but are there any resolutions which might be worth bringing before this committee? I think in our efforts to assist in drawing attention to the importance of the United Nations Assembly, we must have some idea of its accomplishments to date.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, that is just about the most difficult question, of course, to attempt to answer. In the report we have given indications in various places of what we believe to be the accomplishments of the United Nations up to date. We have also indicated our concern over certain developments in the United Nations. We have not attempted to draw any precise balance sheet. I think it might be misleading if we did. We have also emphasized throughout the report that it is, after all, only two years this week since the San Francisco conference was called together, and that it is less than two years that the United Nations has been in existence. It is, therefore, too soon to judge how effective the United Nations will be as an instrument for the maintenance of peace. It would be dangerous to be too optimistic and it would be equally dangerous to give up hope.

I would say, and Mr. Coldwell can speak with authority on this point since he was at the last Assembly, that I am convinced that the great majority of the people who attended the New York Assembly were more optimistic about the future of the United Nations and the possibilities of maintaining peace by the close of the Assembly on December 15 than they had been when it opened on October 23.

Mr. Coldwell: That is true.

The Witness: One accomplishment which was important, even if it leads to nothing, was the accomplishment of the Assembly in arriving at a unanimous resolution on disarmament. According to the charter of the United Nations it is pretty clear that the first step which has to be taken towards disarmament is action by the Assembly in defining the general principles which should govern disarmament. The Assembly took that action and took it unanimously. The Canadian delegation constantly insisted throughout the discussions that people's hopes should not be raised too high by this advance which the Assembly had made. It was only a first step. But you cannot take the second, third and fourth steps until you have taken the first, and at least the first step has been taken. The problem is now squarely the responsibility of the Security Council. The progress towards disarmament since the Assembly concluded its deliberations has not, unfortunately, been great.

I would say that the Assembly demonstrated in New York that, as a result of the sessions in San Francisco, the sessions of the executive committee and preparatory commission in London, and the first part of the first session in London, we have begun to overcome some of the minor obstacles to international co-operation.

There are the difficulties which people from 50 to 55 nations have in working together at a committee table when they come to the committee table with different conceptions of discussion and different views on rules of procedure, where they use the same term to mean quite different things. We have begun to overcome some of these obstacles to international co-operation. They are extremely important obstacles. I have seen a committee held up for days, and meetings held long into the night, merely because it was impossible for the members of the committee to find out what they were disagreeing about on a matter of procedure.

Take a very simple example. In many countries you do not vote on an amendment to a resolution first. You vote on the principle of the resolution and then, if you accept the principle, you vote on amendments. It is just incredible to people from some countries that you should vote first on the amendments.

I remember in London we met until 1 o'clock in the morning trying to fix the agenda for the preparatory commission. We could not find out why the Soviet representative was not in favour of the agenda which the rest of us were in favour of. It turned out that we were talking about two entirely different things. He was talking of the agenda for the plenary meeting of the preparatory commission, and the rest of us were talking of the agenda for the whole preparatory commission. At 1 o'clock we found what the difficulty was and we settled it in fifteen minutes.

In other fields there have been considerable accomplishments. Gradually, we are working in the right direction. The charter of the United Nations is not a very precisely written document. In some ways that has turned out to be an advantage because it gives an opportunity for growth from within through the development of custom and precedent and the adoption of regulations. On the whole I think the growth of the constitution from within has been in the right direction. The powers of the secretary-general as the chief international civil servant are expanding. The powers of the Assembly, as we point out in the report, as a quasi-legislative body are expanding. The provisions of the charter which tend to restrict the powers of the Assembly are being interpreted narrowly, especially the clause on domestic jurisdiction which, if interpreted extensively, would be extremely dangerous to the future success of the United Nations.

I do not think that many people a year and a half ago would have thought that either the Security Council or the Assembly would have been as successful as they have proved to be in discussing some of the most delicate international issues of the day. On the whole in New York the discussions of delicate international issues were carried on with moderation and restraint. As Monsieur Spaak pointed out in his closing presidential address the Assembly is showing signs of becoming, if not a world parliament, at least something out of which a world parliament may grow.

The Assembly has been learning the necessity, which we all learn in democratic countries, of being willing to accept compromises in order to get virtually unanimous agreement. Perhaps the chief defect in the practice of the Assembly hitherto has been too much reliance upon voting. There have been far too many votes, but I think we are moving away from that. In a body like the Assembly which has not the power to direct governments to do things you cannot settle questions by a simple majority vote or by a two-thirds majority vote. You must get substantial unanimity and substantial unanimity must be accompanied by a willingness on the part of the Member States to carry out the recommendations of the Assembly even though they are merely recommendations and are not binding directives.

The weaknesses of the United Nations are apparent, but I do not think they are so much weaknesses in the constitution, in the charter, as reflections of the grave international difficulties with which we are confronted.

In the report we have pointed out some of our worries about certain developments in the United Nations. For example, we took a pretty firm line on the question of the admission into the United Nations of states which are so dependent upon another state that they have not the power to carry out independently the obligations of membership. We have questioned some of the practices which appear to have been followed in the development of the international secretariat. We are worried about the doctrine, which unfortunately seems to have too many adherents in the assembly, that posts on the various councils, and the posts of chairmen and so on of the various committees, should be treated as honours which ought to be shared rather than as responsibilities which should be given to the states or the individuals who are most capable of carrying out the responsibilities of those posts.

On the whole I think we have every right to believe that the United Nations is developing in the right direction. The difficulties in front of us are enormous. It seems to me that the great danger which we must all avoid is that of being carried up and down from elation one day to despair the next. We have to learn from past experience that we should not be too elated by certain immediate successes or too depressed by certain immediate failures.

Mr. Low: That is very good. I appreciate that review.

# By Mr. Beaudoin:

- Q. Mr. Reid, are the minutes available of the different committees which sit?—A. Yes, the minutes of all the committees are available in the parliamentary library.
- Q. I suppose in writing this report you have used the minutes of the committees?—A. Yes.
- Q. And the breakdown by subjects. I see here you deal with one subject after another which might very well have been the subject matter of discussion in the same committee.—A. Yes.
- Q. In other words, this report is not a resume of what has been going on in the fifth or sixth committees, and so on, but a subject is picked up here and there and you make a heading?—A. Yes.
  - Q. You make a resume of whatever has been said?—A. Yes.
- Q. And the conclusion the committee arrived at? Is that it?—A. Yes, that is substantially it. We thought the ordinary person was not very much interested in whether a question was discussed in the first or third committees. He was interested in the actual discussion. In some cases it was necessary to carry the story back to the end of the first part of the first session of the assembly and through to the end of the second part of the first session. For instance, there is the Spanish question which has been discussed both in London and in New York, and in between at various meetings of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies. The section on the Spanish question in the report tries to tell the whole story and not just the discussion in the political committee in New York.
- Q. If one wanted to obtain the minutes of the meetings of any of these committees would it be possible to get them elsewhere than in the library of parliament?—A. Yes, I think it would be possible. I assume it would be possible to buy them from the United Nations.
  - Q. But otherwise we cannot get them?

Mr. RIDDELL: We may have some extra numbers of some of the reports in our library.

Mr. Beaudoin: Suppose a member of parliament wanted to make a speech on what has been discussed in this first committee, the political and security committee. He would like to see how the different problems which were discussed there were approached by the members of that committee at the time that it was discussed. I would imagine he would like to read the minutes. He goes to your department. I understand you have one official copy which you cannot lend. He could go to the library, but he wants to make notes, and so on. Is there somewhere that a member of parliament can get a copy of the minutes of that committee to use as his own and keep it without having to write somewhere and pay for it?

The Witness: I do not know how many copies we have in our own library, but if we have an extra set it might be possible to give it to a member who was particularly interested in the minutes of one committee. As the United Nations catches up on its printing I think it will become easier for us to get copies of the minutes because I think they print the minutes of the committees eventually in separate volumes, and it will be comparatively simple for us to get extra copies.

Mr. Beaudoin: Last year I asked for a copy of the proceedings of one committee. I was referred by your department to a certain office in New York where I would have had to pay \$90 to get it.

## By the Chairman:

Q. In the activities and deliberations of the Canadian representatives in the United Nations organization is there a sense of frustration or smallness that would be occasioned by the atmosphere of the deliberations or by some action of the larger nations? For instance, we have been refused permission to attend the Moscow conference. Is that trend followed in the deliberations of the United Nations organization, that Canada is persona non grata, and the small countries do not have the same prestige or the same voice as the larger ones?—A. I have not felt that myself. It seems to me that in the assembly of the United Nations the effectiveness of a delegation in discussion is not merely related to its military and economic power. The United Nations provides for a sort of constitutional government where the effectiveness of a delegate of a country does not depend entirely upon the strength of his country. I do not want to give an analogy which would be misleading, but I would say we are moving in the direction of a system similar to that in the Senate of the United State where the importance of the views expressed by a senator is not directly related to the strength of the state he represents. We are nowhere near that yet, but we are moving to some extent in that direction....

Mr. Coldwell: I think so to some extent. I do think this, that particularly where financial commitments are involved the smaller states tend to leave the matter very much to the larger states. For example, the United States had a very great influence on the decision on UNRRA, but I think generally speaking you are quite right, that the influence is not related to the size and power of the state; I think one could name them. The smaller states play a very important part in some of the committees, apart altogether from the power states.

The Witness: It is when you come to decide on a specific recommendation that will only be effective if the major powers are willing to concur in the recommendation that you are faced with a situation where it is almost ridiculous to try to decide the question on the basis of one state one vote.

Mr. MacInnis: Mr. Chairman, if Mr. Reid is finished with that point, could we come back to the point raised by Mr. Croll?

Mr. Croll: May I ask one more question following Mr. Coldwell's statement? I have always felt, as a Canadian, we were somewhat slighted—you do not have to answer this question—when we were not elected to the Economic

and Social Council. In view of what Mr. Coldwell now says, in view of our great contribution to UNRRA—no, I meant the Security Council, I am sorry, but in view of our contribution both before and after the war, I wondered if there was something behind that. If there is not, just leave it at that.

The WITNESS: I think it would be difficult to answer that question.

Mr. Coldwell: I think that Canada's turn will come very soon.

Mr. Jackman: Was it not pointed out at our session last year that once Mexico was elected to the Security Council, you could not have another North American country. In order to keep a hemispheric balance, you had to elect Australia or some country which had not the same geographical qualifications. I think that matter was taken up last year.

Mr. MacInnis: I do not think we should leave this point raised by Mr. Croll concerning relief after the termination of UNRRA. There is a statement concerning it on page 83 of the report and statements made by the Canadian delegation as well as resolutions on pages 234 and 237. This is a personal opinion but I think it is one, perhaps, which is held by the majority of the members of this committee, that the greatest need to aid better feeling throughout the world is, first, we should feed the hungry and secondly, we should rehabilitate those—I do not mean we should do it single handed—but we should assist in the feeding of and rehabilitating those who are in the countries which have been devastated during the war. I was wondering if this committee could make a report to parliament urging the government to make an appropriation for the purposes mentioned, that is, for relief after UNRRA has finished its work. I think it is a matter of major importance and Canada must at least make some effort to do something about it.

The CHAIRMAN: We will take notice of that, Mr. MacInnis.

Mr. Coldwell: I think if you look in the proceedings of the second committee, it will be found that the Canadian delegation said on more than one occasion that Canada would be prepared to do her part in just exactly what Mr. MacInnis has suggested. While the delegation could not commit us in that way at all, I think it was stated.

Mr. Croll: Mr. Coldwell, as was pointed out to-day, Canada did agree to do her part, but, at the present time, we have no plans and we are faced with this lapse of time. Now, we desire to know what is likely to be done during that lapse of time or whether we contemplate doing anything at all because the only nation which appears to be contemplating action is the United States of America and they are going to run their own show.

Mr. Coldwell: The thought I intended to convey is that from what was said, we are more or less obligated to carry out some plan.

Mr. Riddell: I think, Mr. Chairman, all I can do is repeat a statement which has already been made and that is, that any announcement of plans for a Canadian contribution towards international relief would have to be made by the government. I would be sorry if I had given the impression that no consideration had been given to the question of international relief since the meeting in New York, because we have been receiving information on the whole question of international needs and the possibility of some Canadian contribution being made has been under consideration in Ottawa.

Mr. Legen: It will probably be announced by the government in due time.

Mr. Croll: It will be on a bi-lateral basis.

Mr. Cote: But nothing would be done before July 1.

Mr. MacInnis: We should be ready to do something after July 1.

Mr. Cote: In the meantime, nothing would be done as I understand it. Would there be anything done?

Mr. Riddell: I do not think there is any reason why the relief program should not be put into operation immediately after a decision is made. There are many considerations to be taken into account, one of which is the supply situation. July 1, or the termination date of UNRRA is not the date on which you must start.

Mr. Boucher: I think we have to be practical about it. I think when we realize the United States has taken a certain step of her own accord on a nation to nation basis which has not met with unanimous approval anywhere, we, in Canada, having the commodities to supply have to realize the United Nations has not got a definite policy to enunciate whereby we can give relief other than a nation to nation basis. Until that is done, I think we have to realize we will have some difficulty in accepting or publicizing a particular definite policy or nation to nation scheme, yet, we cannot accept anything other than a nation to nation scheme because there is no organization within which to do so.

Mr. MacInnis: Would there be any objection to referring this matter to the steering committee on the question of the propriety of bringing it up here and possibly doing something about it?

Mr. Coldwell: The possibility of formulating a draft resolution which would be presented here?

Mr. Jackman: As a matter of policy, why should it go to the steering committee?

Mr. MacInnis: Only as to the way with which we should deal with it in this committee.

Mr. Fleming: Questions of draftsmanship and matters of that kind, I think the steering committee could do some work on before it takes up the time of the larger committee. There is one matter I should like to mention before we adjourn, but I do not want to interrupt if there are any more questions to be asked.

Mr. MacInnis: I would seriously suggest that it be referred to the steering committee.

The Chairman: It would be a very, very delicate question due to the fact that no doubt UNRRA has met with some difficulty in the past in its administration and in the distribution of its goods. No doubt some criticisms were heard of this organization and no doubt some of them were well warranted. I do not want to say any more than to state that many statements have been made to the effect we fed and helped nations such as Germany after World War I, and that nation eventually caused that terrible convulsion, World War II. Those are matters which are so intricate they should be a problem for the steering committee of this committee. It could come to a decision and report to the committee. I am willing and ready to do all I can in connection with this matter.

Mr. Beaudoin: What would be the tenor of your resolution?

Mr. MacInnis: That is something upon which I am not just clear myself. The Canadian delegation or whoever was speaking for the Canadian delegation made a statement on pages 234 and 235 and the last paragraph of 236—perhaps the last two paragraphs, since they are very short—

It is unfortunately the case that, apart altogether from financial considerations (which are now, of course, a matter of grave concern to all governments and their taxpayers) the extent to which Canada will be able to make deliveries against relief needs in the year 1947 will be largely affected by the availability of supply.

Despite the situation, if a concrete United Nations plan for meeting genuine relief needs in 1947 is adopted by this assembly and is in fact, international in its form and scope, Canada, to the extent that prevailing conditions permit, will participate in its implementation.

What I had in mind is, even if there is a failure, as it would seem there is a failure now in the prospect of anything on an international scale being done, is there anything Canada could do herself in the matter?

Mr. Coldwell: Is it not your idea that something should be presented here which would form the basis of a recommendation or report to the House of Commons?

Mr. MacInnis: Yes and perhaps from the House of Commons then to the secretary-general of the United Nations.

Mr. Coldwell: The paragraph Mr. MacInnis read, I believe, has something more behind it than appears on the surface. At the meetings of the second committee, I was not a representative on the second committee, but I attended it regularly, the idea seemed to prevail that we were able to do much more than we were because we had a large accumulation of wheat and other supplies at the end of the war and hence our contribution was unusually large during that particular period. We tried to make it clear there that we could not be expected to do as much as we had done formerly because we did not have the backlog of reserves we once had, but we did commit ourselves to do what we could.

Now, the point is, what can we do? Since it is on a nation to nation basis, where then can our aid be given? This information would come from the committee of experts and Canada would have to be guided by what is being done by the other countries and the needs placed before the world by the committee of experts. We do not know just what the report of the committee of experts was in that connection.

Mr. Beaudoin: I think this might be a very good suggestion. I do not know whether the committee would accept, but I think it is purely a matter for the government to decide. They are following this question. This problem is under constant consideration. I think we might well put a question to the Minister of External Affairs in the House of Commons as to how soon he wants to do something about it and ask him if he has any announcement to make in connection with this statement, and so on, but I think it is purely a matter of government policy. It is not the responsibility of this committee to make any suggestion of that sort in the form of a report. We may express our wishes or discuss it, but we should not incorporate it in a formal report to the House of Commons which may open up the entire question and lead to a debate in the House.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe it could be included as part of our recommendations.

Mr. BEAUDOIN: In the final report.

The Chairman: That is one of the functions of the committee. We can recommend on definite matters.

Mr. Croll: Our final report may not be made until the month of July. If the people responsible for policy came in and said that this matter is being considered and that they are dealing with it now we would be satisfied. On the other hand, they might say to us, "It is a matter you had better leave with us for the present time", or they might say, "This is going to be the policy and we will announce it in the House in due course". We ought to have some direction and guidance. Mr. St. Laurent might like to give us that. He could tell us something in any event. I do not think it is fair to ask that question of members of the department because it is a matter of policy.

Mr. Boucher: On that very point let us look at this question. We are a committee whose purpose is to deal with Canadian external affairs. UNRRA has been a job for the United Nations organization. They have not organized a concerted effort. The only way that we in Canada could do it now is from nation to nation. Let us face that. Are we as a committee prepared to bring in a recommendation urging our government to adopt a nation to nation policy and outlining what those nations should be? As soon as we put it that way I think we will realize how very difficult and inadvisable it would be for our committee to make any such recommendation.

Mr. Coldwell: In our report our committee can ask the government what the policy of the government is in relation to this matter. It is quite true we are on a nation to nation basis, but I do not think that relieves us of responsibility in endeavoring to relieve the distress and suffering that does exist in a good many countries in the world.

The Charman: I believe on a question of that kind it is more the prerogative of parliament than this committee to ask the policy of the government on a certain feature.

Mr. Fleming: Instead of dealing with this question in an abstract way would it not be better for Mr. MacInnis to submit a resolution? Then we can deal with it in the terms of the resolution. He may see fit to send his resolution to the steering committee so that it can be reviewed before it comes to this committee.

Mr. Leger: As Mr. Beaudoin has just said I think that this is really a matter of government policy. We might invite Mr. St. Laurent to come here and ask him to clarify the matter if he can, but I do not think that as a committee we can tell the government what to do.

Mr. Beaudoin: After we hear Mr. St. Laurent there may not be any more need for Mr. MacInnis' resolution. He may be quite satisfied.

Mr. Croll: May I suggest that somebody ask a question before the orders of the day, and he will probably get an answer.

Mr. MacInnis: I am not suggesting that we tell the government what to do, but surely if this is a committee on external affairs we should not be afraid to deal with pressing problems in external affairs.

Mr. Beaudoin: On the other hand, I do not think we should take it upon ourselves to formulate government policy.

Mr. MacInnis: Why not formulate government policy?

Mr. JAENICKE: Let us make suggestions. What are we here for?

The Chairman: Gentlemen, we met at half past ten and we have very assiduously followed our labours. I believe it would now be in order for us to adjourn.

Mr. Fleming: I asked if I might bring up one matter very briefly. It is a matter which the steering committee could consider. It has to do with the peace treaties. The peace treaties of the axis satellites are going to come before this session and when they do, presumably they will be dealt with by resolution or address and not be statute. It may be a little awkward if any reference to those treaties during the proceedings of this committee gets into the proceedings of the House. If it is simply going to be dealt with by resolution, I think the steering committee ought to indicate to the government in good time that the feeling of this committee is that the resolutions in connection with the approval of the treaties should be considered by this committee.

The Chairman: I do not think there could be any objection but we may foresee the question so we would be sure. It would be up to the minister. He has the power to refer it back to the committee on an order of reference.

Mr. Cote: I should like, on behalf of the committee, to extend congratulations to the officials of the Department of External Affairs who drafted this report.

The CHAIRMAN: Then, will it be in order to meet again on Friday at 10.30 a.m.? If it would be possible, we should like Mr. Reid and Mr. Riddell to be present. I do not believe we need a resolution because we are unanimous in extending felicitations to you for the help you have given the committee.

The committee adjourned at 12.30 p.m. to meet again on Friday, April 25, 1947, at 10.30 a.m.

# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons,

April 25, 1947

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: I should like to thank the members for coming because I realize it is quite a problem on Friday. This gavel has been given to me by the clerk. I understand it comes from one of the members and perhaps is meant to be used to see that rules of order are better observed. However, I do not believe I am going to need to use it.

I think it would be in order to report to you as to our trip to Lake Success. We are certain of nine members making the trip. I will name them. They are Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Croll, Cote, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques and myself. We also have notified Mr. Pinard and Mr. Picard.

I should like to state that following the lead given by Mr. Mayhew there was a very favourable reaction from Mr. St. Laurent and all the officials of the department in making the necessary arrangements. We also received a favourable response from Mr. Lie, who answered our wire immediately. I believe we will be persona grata and will be afforded all facilities at the meeting which will start on the 28th of April.

I should also like to state that in cooperation with the officials of the Department of External Affairs we have done all we possibly could do to smooth things out in the best way possible so as to make it not only an interesting but also an easy trip. I am glad that so many of you can come. I quite understand how hard it is for members to get away. For instance, in the case of Mr. Graydon I know he wanted to come but he had previous engagements. The same thing applied to several of the other members such as Mr. Low and Mr. Coldwell.

I do not believe it will be possible to hold a meeting next week although we may decide to do so after we hold our meeting this morning.

Mr. Graydon: The resolution called for a meeting at Lake Success.

The Chairman: It would only be a section of our committee. I believe it would be in order to ask the government in our next order of reference to give us the estimates so that in case that it is impossible for General MacNaughton to come early next month we will be able to proceed with the estimates. I believe we need a resolution for that. Possibly I can do it through the minister. I will ask the minister to give the committee that order of reference. I believe that the members of the committee would like to see General MacNaughton appear before the committee on the atomic bomb report, and I am almost positive that he wants to be present, too, but presently he is engaged at Lake Success. We will have to try to cooperate with him and fit him into the picture. We will have to accept a date that he will give us when he will be able to appear before the committee. If that is satisfactory we will leave it in the hands of the officials of the department to make the necessary arrangements.

Mr. JAQUES: Will General MacNaughton be here in his capacity as a scientist, on the scientific aspect of the bomb, or its use from a moral point of view?

The Chairman: I believe that all angles will be discussed. The same thing will apply to the testimony that General MacNaughton will give as a scientific man. I believe we are on safe ground, and whatever statement he will make will be very illuminating.

Mr. Jaques: The only reason I made the remark was that personally I do not think a scientist is any more qualified to give an opinion on the use of the bomb than anybody else. In fact, I think they are rather less qualified.

The Chairman: I believe there will be no objection by any member of the committee to General MacNaughton appearing before us. If we decide to have other witnesses it will be up to the committee to call them to discuss that very important question.

Mr. Knowles: He will appear before us as Canada's representative.

Mr. Hacker: I think there is a great deal in what Mr. Jaques says, but probably on the idea of the feasibility of control, the necessity of control, some aspect like that, a man who is familiar with what goes to make up this terrible engine of destruction may be able to speak with some additional information not possessed by the ordinary member.

Mr. Jaques: I only wish to say there is not any doubt in my mind that the bomb is and has been used as a club by certain people, certain organizations, to further their own ideas.

The Chairman: Of course, in the case of General MacNaughton his ideas will be national and international in their scope. On account of his present activities General MacNaughton will be fairly familiar with the many aspects of the atomic bomb question.

Mr. Graydon: May I suggest we cross that bridge when we come to it. The report will be before us by that time. There are a number of scientific, political and moral approaches which are readily seen in the report itself. What witnesses we will require later will develop as the report is reviewed by the committee. I think we can call General MacNaughton as a start and see from then on where we go.

Mr. JAQUES: I did not wish to stop it in any way at all.

The Chairman: Are there any other matters you want to bring up before we proceed with the United Nations report?

Mr. Marquis: May I say a word about the trip to Lake Success? As I was one who favoured that trip I wish to state when I left the committee the other day I found a letter on my desk calling me home for Sunday and Monday. That is the reason why I cannot go, and I regret sincerely not being able to be there.

The CHAIRMAN: We also regret it.

Mr. Marquis: I informed the chairman of the committee of the fact that I could not go.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any other matters to bring up?

Mr. Jaques: There is only this one. Will there be opportunities to hear witnesses on various questions of international importance? I might mention the case of the Slovaks. They have a case. I think their leader was just executed. There are two sides to that question. All we hear is the one side. They have representatives in Canada. It would be a simple matter to have the Slovaks here, and anybody else for that matter.

Mr. Coldwell: What leader is Mr. Jaques referring to? Is he referring to the traitor?

Mr. JAQUES: Who says he is a traitor? That is the very thing to which I object, to murder a man like that. You give a dog a bad name and kill him. It was the same with Mihailovich.

Mr. Coldwell: I am not discussing Mihailovich.

Mr. Jaques: I am not prepared to take the propaganda which is published all over the world today and which we are fed. I want something better than that. I say if we are going to be responsible members of parliament we have got to have and hear both sides of the question.

Mr. MacLean: Would anybody know more about it than we do ourselves?

Mr. Marquis: Do you not think that these matters should be brought before the steering committee and discussed there as to the agenda which should be followed? If we discuss here what we will ask the witness, and so on, we will repeat the discussion that would take place there. If it is brought before the steering committee it has to be decided there as to what steps will be taken to bring witnesses here and to prepare an agenda in order that we may save time and be ready for the discussion in the general committee.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, I might mention the case of the Greeks. There is a most pertinent question. Two years ago I believe I was the only member of the House who defended the actions of the British government at that time, and I was well smeared for doing it. What is the position today? Here is the United States government backing the Greeks and the Turks. Will anybody in this House try to get up and criticize that action as they did the action of the British government? If we had had expert evidence on both sides of the question we would have been in a position to make up our minds one way or the other.

Mr. Knowles: I am not criticizing the American policy in Greece and Turkey now. Some of us are prepared to do so but I think it is out of order.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think that the American policy in Greece is a proper thing to take up here now.

Mr. MacInnis: This is a standing committee of the House of Commons. I think what we should discuss here are the matters referred to us by the House for discussion, what is included in our order of reference. If any of these matters are referred to us then there is no reason why we should not discuss them.

Mr. Jaques: If that is so may I ask why it was that the Zionists were allowed to be heard last session? They were heard. There was not any opposition to that.

The Chairman: I believe we might leave that matter now. After the statement of Mr. Marquis I should like to say that I believe it should be discussed in the main committee. It should be wider than the steering committee. We might have a closed session of the committee to deal with that question only. I believe that is the best solution of the problem. Then we will come to a final decision on that matter.

Mr. Marquis: If we want to have an enlarged order of reference it should be discussed in the general committee in camera, but if we stick to the order of reference we have now I think the steering committee should prepare the agenda.

The Chairman: I mean that question has cropped up time and time again. In fact, we had some action on it last year when we had the Zionists and the Arab league before our committee. It was really a great precedent. If we are in agreement we will leave that in abeyance for now. I will call a closed meeting of the whole committee which will give direction to the steering committee on that important question.

Mr. Leger: I believe before we call the Zionist representatives here we should remember that we have an order from the House.

The Charrman: No special reference. If you are satisfied to leave that in my discretion I will call a special meeting.

Mr. Graydon: In the case of the Zionists and the Arabs, if my recollection is correct, it was a rather informal appearance before the committee.

Mr. Low: They requested it.

Mr. Graydon: I think they requested it. It was a rather informal hearing all the way through. There was no recommendation made by the committee nor was it intended that there should be.

Mr. Knowles: In raising the point of order I did not mean to infer it would never be in order for this committee to discuss these matters. My point is it is not in order today in view of the agenda already before us.

Mr. Graydon: Would it be out of place to suggest that it is 11 o'clock?

The Chairman: Shall we proceed now with Mr. Reid?

# Escott Reid, Department of External Affairs, recalled.

The Witness: If there is no particular question which any member of the committee wishes to raise at the moment, I might draw the attention of the committee to the action taken by the delegation in New York pursuant to the recommendation made by the committee at the last session. The committee at the last session of parliament recommended "that the Department of External Affairs take whatever steps are necessary to ensure adequate controls over expenditures of Canada's contributions to the various international bodies on which Canada is represented". The members of the committee may have noted in the report the statement made by Mr. St. Laurent, as chairman of the Canadian delegation, in the opening debate in the assembly.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. What page?—A. Page 121. In that statement Mr. St. Laurent pointed out that—

"We are all"\_

meaning all members of the United Nations-

—concerned over the mounting cost of participation in international organizations. . . . All of us are willing to bear our fair share of the necessary expenditures and all of us are ready to recognize that these expenditures are small as compared to the cost of war. On the other hand, this assembly must be able to satisfy public opinion throughout the world that the finances of the Organization are being employed in the best interests of the United Nations. . . and that the budgetary and financial administration of the United Nations is beyond reproach.

The Canadian representatives on the committee concerned with the finances of the Organization stressed that statement which Mr. St. Laurent had made, and, as an indication of the interest of the Canadian delegation in the question, you will have noted that the Canadian Auditor General was elected as one of the three members of the Board of Auditors of the United Nations. That reference is on page 130 of the report.

These auditors are instructed to bring to the attention of the assembly wasteful or improper expenditure of United Nations money or stores, expenditures likely to commit the United Nations to further outlay on a large scale, any defect in the general system or detailed regulations governing the control of receipts and expenditures or of stores and expenditures. The full text of the resolution on the appointment of the auditors is given at pages 262 to 265.

Mr. Graydon: It would seem that our contribution is a little more than half that of Soviet Russia whose population is fifteen times the population of Canada.

Mr. Hackett: That holds for everything. When we were assessed all the way along the line we paid a proportion that seems to be out of line with our population. It seems to depend entirely upon our will to pay.

Mr. Coldwell: As a matter of fact, that is quite true. I think compared with Soviet Russia and some other countries we are out of line.

Mr. HACKETT: With everybody.

Mr. Coldwell: As I remember it our position was worked out in comparison with the contribution of the United States. This is our relative position in regard to the United States in population.

Mr. Hackett: We had very little to do with the determination of our relative position. We seem to have been assessed.

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Reid can probably tell you that there was quite an argument in the delegation over this appropriation.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. I should like to know how our contribution compares with that of the United States?—A. The list of the seven largest contributors is given on page 127, and the list of all contributors on pages 259 and 260. The United States' contribution for 1947 is 39.89 per cent.

Mr. Graydon: Roughly 40 per cent. The Witness: Ours is 3.2 per cent.

Mr. MacInnis: Our contribution bears its normal relation to the contribution of the United States. They have about ten or twelve times the population.

Mr. Graydon: Either Soviet Russia is a great, powerful country or else it is not. If it is a great, powerful country it seems to me it should pay a little more than just a trifle over twice what Canada pays.

Mr. Coldwell: An argument that was a determining factor was the devastation of a lot of these countries in war. That was taken into consideration.

Mr. HACKETT: I think that should be taken into consideration. I do not think that a mere computation of population should be the sole determining factor.

Mr. COLDWELL: We did not think so either.

Mr. HACKETT: The dominating position of the United States, shall I say, places it in a position of appalling significance which exceeds ours by more than the disparity of the contribution.

Mr. Coldwell: If you look at page 126 you will see what was actually recommended by the committee. It was first suggested that the United States pay 49.89 per cent which would have brought everybody else down. There was a great deal of criticism of that figure in the United States, and it was decided that from the point of view of American support it was better to keep it under 40 per cent. It is pretty close to 40 per cent.

Mr. Marquis: Is that assessment changed every year? I see on page 259 that for 1946 Canada was assessed for 3·35 per cent and in 1947 for 3·20 per cent. We do not know what the next step will be. We do not know if our assessment is to be decreased.

Mr. HACKETT: Did the United States pay just under 50 per cent for one year?

Mr. Coldwell: Pardon?

Mr. HACKETT: The United States was assessed just under 50 per cent. Did it pay that for one year?

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Mr. Coldwell: No, not to my knowledge.

Mr. Graydon: Is that the preliminary assessment?

Mr. Coldwell: That was the preliminary assessment.

Mr. Fraser: Other nations are down, too. India is down from 4.09 to 3.95.

The Witness: I think the main explanation of that slight reduction from 1946 to 1947 is that in 1947 there are more members of the United Nations than there were in 1946. In answer to Mr. Marquis' question—

## By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Before you go on, has that any significance? Was there anybody who could pay who came in in 1946 and was not there in 1945?—A. Yes. Sweden

has been given-

Q. Less than 1 per cent?—A. No, 2·35 per cent. The expert committee on contributions has been instructed to present a report to the next session of the assembly on a new scale for the year 1948. You will see that the committee on contributions which was appointed in London in February was given specific instructions on the criteria which should be taken into account in preparing its recommendations. The main criterion was capacity to pay, taking into account comparative estimates of national income and income per head, the temporary dislocation of national economies arising out of the war, and the ability of Members to secure foreign currency.

Mr. Knowles: China and India are examples of countries of much greater population than the Soviet Union which pay in the same year less than the Soviet Union. That is an indication that other considerations than population enter into the matter.

Mr. Graydon: I see a great disparity between the figures of the United Kingdom, 11·48 per cent, and Soviet Russia, 6·34 per cent. If the factor of devastation enters into the matter then it cannot be said that the United Kingdom is in a beautiful financial position to pay 11·48 per cent as opposed to Soviet Russia's 6·34 per cent. I think it ought to be reviewed and re-examined because there is enough of Soviet Russia undamaged surely to make it fair that they should pay at least as much as the United Kingdom.

Mr. HACKETT: Do you not think at that time everybody was trying to do everything they could to get Russia to do something substantial and were easing off a little bit on the pay? They were going to put honey in their cookie.

Mr. Graydon: The cookie does not seem to be honeyed much.

Mr. Leger: The cookie turned sour.

The WITNESS: I think it is also worth noting there are two Soviet Republics which are members of the United Nations in their own right, and which are also assessed in their own right.

Mr. HACKETT: It is very small.

Mr. Marquis: It is not 1 per cent.

The Witness: It adds up to 1 per cent.

Mr. Graydon: Does that not fortify the argument? Perhaps the reason why the contribution of the Ukraine was so low was because of devastation because the main devastation was in the Ukraine, but in Soviet Russia, where the figure is 6.34 per cent, there was nothing like the same devastation.

Mr. Jaques: Should that not be counted in with Russia's contributions?

Mr. HACKETT: It is not. Mr. JAQUES: It should be.

Mr. Graydon: It still leaves it very inequitable and unjust.

The Witness: The members of the committee may have noted in the concluding paragraph on page 128 of the section on scales of contributions that attention is drawn to the desirability of the Committee on Contributions taking into account factors in addition to the factors they have previously taken into account. There is a reference to the wisdom of establishing a floor on contributions more in consonance with the dignity of membership in the United Nations than the present floor of 1/25th of 1 per cent. The report goes on to suggest that Committee might also usefully take into account not only national income and per capita income, but also such items as national expenditures on armaments and the net expenses of the maintenance of diplomatic services. I think the report makes it clear that we are not entirely happy over the present scales of contributions.

Mr. Fraser: If the Security Council cut down their expenses on their army set-up will that not make a difference? Was there not something in the paper that they were cutting down their former estimates?

Mr. Coldwell: Is there an estimate for that? There is not an estimate for that at the moment because there is no military arm to the Security Council. The idea Mr. Reid is conveying is that the contributions of the nations should also take into consideration the amount they spend themselves on armaments and on diplomatic representation. One of the points raised by our delegation was that some of the smaller countries, which were not spending a great deal on the United Nations, were spending a great deal on diplomatic representation in various countries. Some of the smaller South American countries are much more lavish than we are in our arrangements for embassies, legations, and so on.

Mr. Graydon: I think this committee should make some kind of recommendation which would be a guide to our representatives in the international field that if a so-called great power is going to parade as a great power, and use the veto as a great power, and take certain steps in world affairs as a great power, as she is doing, then that nation which parades herself as a great power ought to be prepared to share the expenses with other great powers.

Mr. HACKETT: That means you think Russia should pay more.

Mr. Graydon: Hear, hear. Otherwise she should admit she is not the great power she parades herself to be. She cannot have her cake and eat it both.

Mr. Jaques: Would that not strengthen Russia's hand? It seems to me her hand is against everybody else. If you said to her, "you pay your shot", that would enable her to act in the way she has been acting.

Mr. Graydon: I think she has used every qualification now. I do not think you could add any more.

Mr. Knowles: During the war the western powers recognized that Russia did not have the economic resources to do all she might in the war without western help. There has been a lot of argument as to whether they appreciated it and recognized the help that was given but, at any rate, we know there was a great deal of lease-lend and mutual aid which went to the Soviet Union simply because they did not have the kind of industrial set-up or economic resources that we have in the western world. It does not take much of a look at the Soviet Union today to realize that is still the case. Mr. Graydon's point about the way they have paraded may be well taken, but when you get down to actual dollars and cents economic resources there is quite a difference.

Mr. Hackett: Have we anything to go on, Mr. Knowles? I think we are taking their assertion as creating a presumption. The rest of us have had to show what we have got. It has been accessible to the world. We have nothing from them that appears in documents anywhere to establish what their capacity is.

Mr. Coldwell: I think the various ministers' conferences have recognized some validity in Russia's argument that she is short of machines and other resources, and that she has some case in asking for immediate reparations from Germany on those grounds. The opposition there, of course, is because of the fact that if Russia got reparations from Germany at the present moment the United States and Great Britain would, in reality, be paying the reparations. However, there is a recognition she is short of everything, although I do not think that excuses the position she takes in these international affairs. I am not saying it does. I feel she should make a greater contribution.

Mr. Graydon: On the matter of reparations what the United States and Great Britain are afraid of is that when reparations go east to Russia they go out the back door to Russia and they come in the front door from the United States and Great Britain so that they might just as well be paid by the United States and Great Britain to Russia.

Mr. Coldwell: If reparations are allowed. They are not being allowed by the foreign ministers' conference, which I think is quite right.

Mr. Hackett: Would Mr. Reid or Mr. Coldwell, whichever one has the information, say if the body which was allocating the cost had any means of assessing Russia's capacity to pay which was anything like on a parity with their opportunity for assessing Great Britain or Canada?

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Reid had better answer that. Mr. Bracken was on this committee. I was not.

The Witness: Mr. Bracken was on that committee. The expert Committee on Contributions did find naturally much more difficulty in securing a reliable assessment of national income and per capita income for the Soviet Union than for such countries as the United States, the United Kingdom or Canada, and that while the estimates they had were all guesses to some extent there was much more guess work in the case of the Soviet Union. I think it might be worth setting out that it is generally recognized that the present scale of allocation is a temporary scale, some of the peculiarities of which result from the fact that normal post-war economic relations have not yet been restored. Certainly the United States, which urged very strongly at the beginning that it should not contribute more than one-third of the total cost, was willing to agree to pay roughly 40 per cent of the total cost because they recognized that normal post-war economic relations had not yet been restored.

# By Mr. Low:

Q. Did they not recognize that perhaps some inducement would have to be held out to Russia to make her a member in the first place and keep her a member of the United Nations in the second place? I suppose that was considered at the time?—A. I would doubt whether that particular consideration was very much in the minds of people in drawing up this scale of assessment. After all the amount in dollars is not very considerable compared with—

Mr. JAQUES: What is the total for Canada?

Mr. Kidd: Canada's assessment last year was 3.25. What was that in dollars and cents?

Mr. MacInnis: \$648,000.

Mr. HACKETT: What is the million and a half at the bottom?

Mr. Jaenicke: That is the total for the two years.

# By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. According to page 125 this committee of experts consisted of ten persons. Were there any Canadians on that committee of experts? Did we have a

representative on that committee of experts?—A. No, we did not have a representative on the Committee of Contributions. The names of the present

members of that committee are given on page 132.

Q. The committee of experts?—A. The committee of experts on contributions. Of course, the whole question was referred to the budgetary committee of the asembly in New York, and on that we were represented, and we were also represented on a subcommittee to which the problem was referred by the full committee.

## By Mr. Hackett:

Q. I should like to ask one question. Who was our representative on the budgetary committee?—A. The complete list of all our representatives on the budgetary committee is given at the top of page 286.

Q. I will get it myself.—A. Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Bracken, Mr. McIlraith, Mr. Mackenzie, the Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Mr.

Keenleyside, who was then our ambassador to Mexico.

Q. Those are the names but who was the actual man who knew the figures? There must have been somebody. None of these men would call himself an expert on international finance. There must have been somebody from your department who was actually familiar with the bookkeeping.

Mr. Coldwell: You means the advisers?

Mr. Marquis: The officials of the department.

The Witness: Mr. Armstrong, who is on the Treasury Board side of the Department of Finance, and Mr. Pollock, who is a member of the Department of Finance specially concerned with the problem of contributions to international organizations.

Mr. MacInnis: As the scale of contributions from the members of the United Nations is only preliminary at the present time, is only an interim scale, and as the expert committee on contributions, as indicated at the bottom of page 127, was insructed to review the scale and present a report to the second session of the Assembly in 1947, it might be in order for this committee to make a suggestion to the Department of External Affairs, but in view of the fact we are interested in strengthening the United Nations at the moment I do not think the suggestion should be on matters that are not particularly fundamental at this time. If the committee decides to make a recommendation I think that is quite in order, but we should be careful that there is not any implied criticism in the recommendation we make.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think it is out of place to say that this budget occupied a great deal of time of the delegation, and that we were no more satisfied with the allotments than the committee is. Our representatives on that committee—although I was not on it myself—put up quite a long argument. I remember the last day or two before the budget was finally adopted Mr. Armstrong was there all the time and took quite a part in the budgetary discussion presenting our views. We did not consider the arrangement satisfactory.

The Chairman: I would suggest that you leave the subject of that recommendation to the steering committee, if that is satisfactory.

Mr. Hackett: I think there is wisdom in what Mr. MacInnis and his leader have said. After all this is a secondary issue, but I have a feeling that because of our propinquity to the United States we are considered as being a people with great resources and great wealth. The mere fact that we have contributed to Great Britain during the period of the war an amount which exceeded substantially our total national debt before the war gives the impression that we are not only rich but lavish. We cannot forget that our people here are taxed as few people in the world are taxed. I think it behooves us to keep our

credit and to keep our good name. If our dollar continues to drop in the markets of the world, our credit is going to be questioned. It behooves us to exercise some power, some discretion in keeping our credit. We should not contribute more than our share. I think this is a secondary question, but if we lose our credit our efficacy as an agency for good or for any other kind of agency is going to be seriously impaired.

Mr. Marquis: I think we should keep our credit and contribute a little less while the U.S.S.R. should contribute more. If you compare the population of 200,000,000 in Russia with that of Canada—we have resources, but the U.S.S.R. also has resources and has the population as well. It is easier for the U.S.S.R. to produce with such a population than it is for Canada with her population.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, I think there is another form of credit which is more important than the financial side and that is moral credit. As a small nation, we have no real financial power, but we could have, should have and I hope we do have a moral power. If we continue to use expedients and to be led by the nose, then we shall not have any complaint. I think we have already gone farther than we should have gone on that road. With regard to the small nations, such as ourselves, we have allowed many things to pass, not only have we allowed that, perhaps we could not do anything physical about it, but we have not even made a protest about it. I think that is far more important than any mythical financial credit.

For instance, behind the iron curtain, we allow people to be subdued. Anyone who happens to differ politically with the ruling power, which has no business in the country, has been executed and we allow that without protest. These people are called traitors, but no one takes the trouble to find out whether they are or not. I do not think, by such action, we are going to improve our moral credit very much in the eyes of the world.

Mr. Graydon: If the budget debate is finished, I should like to ask another question, but I do not want to ask it until that debate has been concluded.

Mr. Knowles: Before it is concluded, Mr. Chairman, I think if we are going to make a comparison, we should go all the way through. Canada's population is about twelve million. What is the population of Belgium? It is about eight million, I think. Canada's percentage in 1947 is 3·20 and Belgium's percentage is 1·35.

Mr. Fraser: Belgium has not got the resources.

Mr. Knowles: Yes, but let us not make a comparison with only one country and make out we alone are being led around by the nose.

Mr. Graydon: Belgium does not maintain, at great expense, a huge standing army, the numbers of which no other nation of the world seems to have any definite information. I think if a big power wants some amelioration or some adjustment of its account with the United Nations, then it ought to give some information and allow some inspection or facilities by means of which we would know how much is being spent on a huge standing army in that country. Belgium is in an entirely different position because Belgium has not anything of that kind.

Mr. Coldwell: There was insistence on inspection of armies at the UN and finally it was agreed it would be allowed.

Mr. Marquis: Perhaps it would be proper to refer to page 260 of the report which shows there are only five countries, including Russia and the satellites of Russia which contribute to that organization. The total amount of their contribution is 8.72 per cent. There are many countries which do not contribute, but I am referring to Lebanon, Poland, the Ukrainian S.S.R., the USSR and Jugoslavia. Those are the only countries which contribute. The

other countries which are satellites of Russia and which have their influence in the present difficulties are not contributing. If you take all the countries which are related to Russia and which are influenced by Russia, the whole contribution of those countries amounts to 8.72 per cent. This is a big difference when compared to our country.

Mr. Coldwell: If you glance through the list, you will find that all the countries which were devastated are practically relieved of any substantial contribution. On the other hand, look- at Sweden, for example. What is the population of Sweden?

Mr. HACKETT: I think it is between nine and ten millions.

Mr. Coldwell: I think it is much less.

Mr. Hackett: Sweden is in an unusual position. Sweden traded with both sides all during the war.

Mr. Coldwell: Sweden's contribution of 2.35 per cent indicates very clearly the basis on which other contributions were made.

The Chairman: On that question, I may make a personal statement. We must always bear in mind the experience we gathered from 1919 to 1929 which showed us some of the European nations had a policy of having guns and no butter. This would have to be watched by the House of Commons and even by this committee here. We must realize that the governments of some nations seem to prefer guns rather than butter and bread. This is something Canada must consider and about which she must be very careful.

Mr. Marquis: I referred to that because many of those countries have no means of voting to influence the decisions at the meetings of the United Nations. I believe a powerful country such as the USSR should pay more. If Russia uses the influence of the satellite countries, she should pay for them. It was this point I wanted to make.

Mr. Graydon: There is another point which arises, too. It ties in with this question of the budget. It concerns our position with respect to the present set-up of the Security Council. This report, Mr. Reid, does not mention the Security Council at all except indirectly. I think another year the Department of External Affairs should have a section in its report dealing with the Security Council, whether we are on the Security Council or whether we are not.

The Security Council's deliberations may conceivably more vitally affect us than the deliberations of any of the organs whose deliberations are reported in this document. You cannot separate the Security Council's deliberations from those of the Assembly very well. One good example of that is now arising in connection with the question of the military staff committee's decisions with respect to the raising of an international police force.

Now, here is what we find. We are not on the Security Council although we are rated as the seventh most capable nation financially, apparently, However, so far, we have not had a voice on the Security Council. This may not be Canada's fault, but whosoever is at fault, I think a nation which paid a little more than half of one of the major power's contribution to the United Nations, ought to have a little more voice as to what is happening within the United Nations itself. Whether we are on the Security Council or not, certainly we should have a right, by virtue of our contribution alone, to have some voice in the military staff committee's decision. I say this because article 47 of the United Nations charter reads as follows:—

The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council—that is the great powers —or their representatives. Any member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the committee shall be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that member in its work.

My contention is this; we are allowed to contribute heavily financially, but are not allowed to have a comparable voice on a point which I believe affects every person in Canada.

Mr. Coldwell: May I interrupt you to ask what your interpretation would be of those words, "efficient discharge of its responsibilities"?

Mr. Graydon: I would say that the question of whether or not the great powers should be a subject for the international police force's attention when aggression is contemplated or threat of war comes, would be a very important point from the standpoint of Canada.

Mr. Coldwell: Would the efficient discharge of its duties not mean, in the event of a decision being taken, the duty of the Security Council then is to take some action, assume some responsibility.

Mr. Graydon: I think that is covered in another part of the charter.

Mr. Coldwell: Is that not also an interpretation of that part? I am not sure about it.

Mr. Graydon: Perhaps we might be at variance as to what the interpretation is, but certainly there seems to be no reason why a country which has contributed as Canada has and is regarded, by virtue of that contribution, as one of the greater middle powers, should not have been invited to have some voice in the military staff committee's deliberations in connection with the whole matter which is being reported next Wednesday to the Security Council. It should not have gone that far.

I am not so sure but what our own representatives from Canada have not been remiss in that when they knew this matter was to be discussed, they did not ask for an opportunity to be heard. I think they ought to have asked for a voice in the discussion of what this military staff committee is going to do.

This is a matter upon which I do not know whether Mr. Reid feels competent to voice an opinion or not, but I should like this committee to have some information from someone as to whether or not the veto power, carried to its logical conclusion, means that the international police force is useless when any great power is involved as the aggressor.

Mr. Coldwell: Was not that the argument at San Francisco, that if one of the big powers did do something to disturb the peace of the world you had world war III anyhow. I disagreed with that.

Mr. Graydon: This means much more than that. This means the international police force becomes a puerile and futile thing.

Mr. Coldwell: In the event of a big power overstepping the mark, and it was for that reason many of us objected to the veto at San Francisco.

Mr. Boucher: In connection with this budget, I wonder if Mr. Reid could give us an estimate as to how long that apportionment is expected to exist. My reason for asking that is that I believe the basis of the budgetary apportionment to-day may be very different from the basis in two or three years' time. We are only setting up the United Nations, we are only setting up an international police force and we are only setting up a budgetary apportionment in view of existing conditions, bearing in mind that some nations, throughout their whole economic fibre have been devastated by war but may be rehabilitated at an early date. Other nations have a capacity to-day which may not be commensurate with their capacity in a few years' time. The scheme of things is to get into the United Nations the moral support of as many nations as possible,

rather than a proper and just economic or financial adjustment. I should like to know from Mr. Reid if there is any provision made for an annual or semi-annual reapportionment of the budgetary contribution.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, the expert committee on contributions will make a new recommendation next September for a new allocation of expenses. According to the rules of procedure of the Assembly, an allocation is to be good for three years, but, for the present, it was thought advisable, in view of the very tentative nature of the allocation, to agree to have a new allocation made at the very next session. This will presumably be made for three years.

Mr. Boucher: That was my point, Mr. Reid. That being the case, should we not take that into consideration in making any recommendation? Should we not bear that in mind before we decide to say what Canada should do or what Canada should have? That being the case, and in view of what Mr. Graydon has said, with which I agree, that Canada is not a member of the Security Council and Canada is contributing very strong moral and financial support which I believe is out of line with future capacity to pay, I think we, as a committee, could probably best make a recommendation as to what we think we should do the next time, rather than on existing conditions, how we should expend our influence and our efforts to control the United Nations organization.

Mr. Jaques: I think Mr. Graydon started a very interesting discussion. I should like to see it continue. Personally, I do not think the value of our contribution will be measured in dollars and cents. After all, it is a moral question. I should like to see a little discussion take place on the question raised by Mr. Graydon.

The Chairman: I believe discussion is very constructive, but I believe questions would be more in order now since we have Mr. Reid here.

Mr. Knowles: It seems to me Mr. Reid or Mr. Riddell should answer, if they can, Mr. Graydon's question about Canada watching more closely, through a person on the spot, the Security Council and the military staff committee, and the inclusion in the report of the Department of External Affairs reasonably complete information. I am afraid I cannot go along with Mr. Graydon when he suggests that, even when we were not elected to the Security Council, by virtue of our contribution, we should be called in to take part in the deliberations.

Now, if he bases that conclusion on the charter which he read, of course, that calls for study as to how that part is to be interpreted, but I think the committee should think of the implications of the principle Mr. Graydon was laying down. If you accept that, and the democratic election of the Security Council is to be overriden in the case of powers which make a proportionately large contribution, carry that to its logical conclusion and the powers which pay the most will call the whole tune.

What we are trying to establish in the United Nations is a principle that all powers, great and small, have an equal voice. It creates difficulty when a little power such as Guatamela or Cuba has as much say as the United States or the United Kingdom, but I would think it rather serious to carry Mr. Graydon's suggestion to its logical conclusion.

Mr. Graydon: May I say one thing? I think Mr. Knowles has, unwittingly, put a different interpretation on my remarks than I intended with respect to the reasons for our being called into the military staff committee. I based my reasons upon the charter, according to my interpretation of the charter. I buttressed my argument by the fact that I thought, by virtue of our contribution—

Mr. KNOWLES: I think that weakens it.

Mr. Graydon: That may be so, but that may be where we disagree once more. I think I should, perhaps, give this subject further thought. Our contribution, being a little more than half of that of Soviet Russia, may be taken,

perhaps, to indicate the power and capacity of Canada to provide armed forces for some of these international police forces. If that is to be the basis on which we are to contribute, it seems to me we have to stop, look and listen with respect to our position on the budget set up by the United Nations.

I did not base my reasons for being called in on the military staff committee on anything more than the bald assertion in article 47 which I interpreted as giving us the right to sit in on that military staff committee when it is considering some question which affects us with respect to the international police force. Now, that may be based upon a misinterpretation, but certainly I think the public of Canada was stunned by the news report which came to us last week that the international police force was just to be a sort of truant officer for the little children of the world. We did not think that at San Francisco, at London or anywhere else. We thought the Security Council and the international police force would be something worth while. It would be able to stop aggression wherever aggression was found. We did not think we would be called upon to hear a report which would be as puerile and as futile as this report would seem to be.

Mr. Coldwell: Was that not just a newspaper guess; it was not an official report?

Mr. Graydon: According to the newspaper this morning, it was more or less confirmed. I think the report, when it comes out, will be along that line.

Mr. Coldwell: So far as the military staff committee is concerned, I do not want to enter into a discussion, but my conception of the point at San Francisco was rather this, that the contribution Canada might be called upon to make might not be in the field of armed forces. We might have to provide transportation facilities for troops across the country or contribute economically. A nation's ability to assist would be determined by the nature of the country, its economic position and its geographical situation and not necessarily on its ability to contribute troops.

Mr. Graydon: Then, if that were the case, it poses a real problem for this country with respect to how far the relationship on the basis of the budget goes. If we are to have to contribute on an economic basis and we are going to have to contribute a little more than half of what Soviet Russia contributes, a so-called great power, then we are leaving ourselves in a rather serious position.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think the budget is the basis upon which it should be judged. I think Mr. Reid should answer this question.

The Witness: There are two or three questions raised by Mr. Graydon, the first of which is whether it would not be advisable to have a section in the report dealing with the work of the Security Council. This report is a report on the work of the second part of the first session of the Assembly. Therefore, it does not deal with the matters discussed by the Security Council except in so far as it was necessary to deal with them in order to explain the background of discussion in the Assembly. It does, for example, deal with the exercise of the veto in the Security Council; it deals with the discussion in the Security Council on the admisison of new members and it deals with the discussion in the Security Council on relations with Spain. However, it does not cover the whole field of the work of the Security Council.

Speaking for myself only, I think there is a good deal to be said for Mr. Graydon's suggestion. This would mean, however, a different type of report. It would be a report on the whole of the work of the United Nations with, I assume, special reference to the problems with which Canadian delegations had to contend. I think we might well take that suggestion into account.

The second question raised by Mr. Graydon is a good deal more difficult. In the first place, as Mr. Coldwell has said, we have no official knowledge as yet of the conclusions reached by the military staff committee. The military staff committee has been meeting in secret session and its report has not been made available to us.

Secondly, I would doubt whether the clause in the charter, to which Mr. Graydon has drawn attention, is capable of the very broad interpretation he has given it. It says,

Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the [Military Staff] Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsi-

bilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

Now, I am not an expert on the work of the Military Staff Committee but, for the present, I think it has been given instructions by the Security Council to work out the general principles which should govern the conclusion of the special military agreements. It would seem to me reasonable to assume that the problem of working out the special agreement should be approached by first working the agreements with the great powers. The agreements with the great powers having been worked out, it would then be easier to work out agreements with the other Members of the United Nations. Presumably, when they come to the question of drafting an agreement with Canada, then we will be asked to participate. Presumably also, we will be asked to participate in any discussion of the possible use of Canadian forces against an aggressor.

We are now in a position to maintain contact with the work of the Security Council and with other aspects of the work of the United Nations. We have our permanent delegation in New York to the Atomic Energy Commission and we are also able to send people down to New York on occasion. We have, for example, been represented at discussions in the Security Council on atomic energy matters by General MacNaughton and by Mr. Ignatieff. We have been represented by Mr. Riddell on the Security Council, when the Council was recently discussing the trust agreement proposed by the United States for the former Japanese mandated islands.

On the general question which Mr. Graydon has raised as to the newspaper reports of the conclusions of the military staff committee, even if those reports turn out to be correct, I do not think they would necessarily come as a surprise to us. If you will look up the discussion in our report on San Francisco, pages 35 and 36, concerning enforcement action, you will find that we drew particular attention to the fact that the provisions of the charter of the United Nations for the use of force against a peace breaking state have to be read along with the chapter on voting procedure in the Security Council. Under that chapter on voting procedure, any one of the five great powers can veto the application of enforcement arrangements. We go on to say this;

Thus, the Organization could not in practice use force against a Great Power or indeed against any other state if one of the Great Powers exercised its veto. The peace enforcement proposals were limited, not only by the Yalta voting formula [which was incorporated in the charter], but also by the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on transitional arrangements. It was apparent from these Proposals that the Organization's enforcement

powers were not to be used against enemy states.

We went on to say in the report on San Francisco, The actual use of force under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals was thus a remote contingency since the mere willingness of all the Great Powers to use force would ordinarily be sufficient to bring any conceivable combination of middle and small powers to heel." I think, therefore, that we have frankly faced from the beginning this difficulty in the United Nations about the enforcement of sanctions.

Mr. Graydon: May I ask you one other question, Mr. Reid? Is it your opinion that the veto applies to economic sanctions and article 41 as well as it does to article 47?

The WITNESS: Yes, it applies to the whole of that chapter.

Mr. Graydon: In plain, ordinary street language, does that not mean this, if you are an aggressor and you want to make sure nothing is going to happen upon your taking aggressive action, all you have to do is make friends with one of the big five. From then on, nothing happens to you. I think that is the result of the whole thing. I am wondering, if you carry this thing to its final conclusion when, and under what strange circumstances, will the international police force ever be called?

Mr. Coldwell: I think that is why there is so much opposition among the small and middle powers to the veto. I think that was quite evident at Lake Success during last autumn.

Mr. Graydon: I think if every little power has big friends, then the whole of the international police force goes out the window. Now, talking about putting any real teeth in what we thought was a strong Security Council, is just talking nonsense because if it is a question of sanctions—

Mr. Coldwell: You were at San Francisco and you remember how reluctantly Canada approved of this particular part of the charter. We were very much disturbed over the whole thing.

Mr. Graydon: But the implications are worse than even I thought they were at San Francisco.

The Witness: I should like to read the passage in our report on the San Francisco Conference which follows the passages which I have just quoted. This passage was included in order to balance the discussion. The passage reads,

In spite of this, to dismiss the enforcement section of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as unimportant would have been unrealistic and superficial. In course of time the Organization would assume responsibility for preventing renewed acts of aggression by the ex-enemy states. Moreover, the charter to be constructed on the basis of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals was to be a beginning and not an end. It was to be the foundation of a new structure to create and preserve peace, not the whole vast completed edifice. If the Organization is to free the peoples of the world from the fear of war, it would eventually have to be given the right and the power to restrain any disturber of the world's peace.

I think that the passages which I have quoted from our San Francisco report make it clear that from the beginning we realized that an exaggerated importance was being given by many people to the sanctions provision of the charter and the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which preceded it. They were important, not so much for what they, themselves, might lead to immediately, but as providing a basis on which we could build for the future. Nevertheless, even the forces which are available only for use against small states or middle states which are not being protected by great powers, even those factors are not to be dismissed

as of no importance.

I think we can imagine instances where all the five great powers would find that their interests and the interests of the world would be served by the use of United Nations forces to police a territory. For example, if United Nations forces had been available some time ago for Trieste, they might have been useful.

The problem of sanctions and of the veto over sanctions is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal. That problem is discussed at great length in our report on the New York Assembly and in particular in the memorandum which the Canadian delegation to the Atomic Energy Commission circulated to the Atomic Energy Commission on December 19, which you will

find on pages 196 to 198 of the report. It seems to me we have to be realistic in this discussion of the veto over sanctions. A great power which vetoes the imposition of sanctions against itself does not escape, by the exercise of that legal right to veto from the possible consequences of its action.

Mr. HACKETT: We had an experience with that in Italy which required some reversal of policy, did we not

The Witness: Yes, but I do not know that the example of the imposition of sanctions against Italy is directly relevant to this problem.

Mr. HACKETT: Do not let me interfere with your statement.

The WITNESS: Under article 51 of the charter, every member of the United Nations has a right—I had better state it precisely,

Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

This means that a member of the Security Council cannot protect himself from the consequences of wrong doing by the mere exercise of his veto. All he can protect himself against is the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council. His veto cannot protect him from punishment inflicted on him by his fellow Members of the United Nations.

Mr. Graydon: That would be something with which he would have to contend whether there were a United Nations organization or not.

Mr. Coldwell: The only thing is that a discussion before the Security Council and the publicity given it would marshal public opinion and help the other nations take action; that is the safety valve.

Mr. Fleming: But it is much less than the public expected.

Mr. Coldwell: I never liked this at all but there it is.

Mr. JAQUES: Who is to judge as to the rightness or wrongness of any action?

Mr. HACKETT: I think, Mr. Jaques, we know two people who are not to do it, and that is you and I.

Mr. Jaques: To do what?

Mr. Hackett: To be the judge; I sympathize with what you say, but I cannot see how, with the organization which we have, anything less than the dominant military powers are going to be heard.

Mr. Jaques: Then, why not admit it? My point is this, in the final analysis it seems to me that the dominant control of this international set-up will be decided by those nations who are most able to wage war.

Mr. BOUCHER: If they are unanimous.

Mr. Jaques: The smaller nations are simply bound to come in for their own protection. They are bound to come in on the side of the nation most likely to be the winner. What option have they when experience has shown that moral questions are not considered? They have not been so far. Small nation after small nation has been allowed to be controlled against its own will, and the world has been misinformed through propaganada. Personally I am not disillusioned in the slightest. I can only wonder why so many people seem to be disillusioned and how they were illusioned in the first place.

Mr. Knowles: Is it not at least a slight improvement on the past in that any aggressor nation which went against the permanent members of the Security Council would have to face the prospect of united action by all the rest of the members of that council immediately? That was not the case in 1939.

Mr. Graydon: May I point this out to you? That might be all right, but the difficulty is if the military and staff committee decision and recommendation is what we think it is going to be then there would not be an international police force worth speaking of to enforce anything the Security Council has in mind. That is the point that bothers me. If you build a giant police force to which all nations, including the big powers, contribute then I should think what you say would be perfectly true, but if you only have a little truancy force for the little fellows in the world why the big boy will just laugh at that even if he is only contributing 6 per cent of the world's contribution to the body.

Mr. Jaques: Suppose you have this overwhelming police force. Who is going to control that? The Almighty? That is the only authority that I

can recognize.

Mr. Graydon: It certainly is not going to be Canada.

Mr. Coldwell: There is a good deal of force in the suggestion made lately that the big fellows should be disarmed and the little fellows should set up the police force.

Mr. Graydon: That is about as pious a hope as some of the things in the

United Nations charter.

Mr. Boucher: My thought was running another way. I make this suggestion to you. What is the use of allocating contributions to an international police force where the economic contributions and the personnel contributions are various?

Mr. MacInnis: I think this discussion seems to be the essence of futility. It would seem that we are discussing here whether the United Nations is an organization which we should continue to support. I do not think that is the question at issue here at the moment. As it is not the question at issue let us try to deal with matters on which we can exert some influence. I do not think we are prepared now to make a recommendation to the House of Commons on hardly any of these points that have been raised so why waste time discussing them? With the other nations of the world we are trying to build up an instrument that will create world peace. The question is not whether we can stop an aggressor with armed forces when aggression takes place, but that we prevent aggression from taking place through other means. We either have to say we have no faith in the United Nations at all, that it is useless, that Canada should withdraw from it, or we have to make the best of the situation which we and the world are in and use all our influence to create cooperation among nations.

Mr. Graydon: I have not heard anybody suggest such drastic changes in our position as are suggested by Mr. MacInnis. I do not see any reason why this committee cannot discuss the shortcomings of the United Nations organization. That is what we are trying to do in the hope that perhaps something may be done to improve the situation.

Mr. Jaenicke: Is that not the attitude you have taken at San Francisco and that has been taken by the Canadian delegation in other conferences of the United Nations? After all I would say from what the report indicates and what Mr. Reid has told us that we as Canadians are not satisfied with the situation. I think our delegations at the assemblies are following the trend of feeling that has been expressed here. I think our representation at the United Nations assemblies has been satisfactory.

# By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask Mr. Reid one other question? How many cases have been decided by the International Court of Justice up to the present time, and how many cases have come before it?—A. The answer to the first question is none.

The answer to the second question is that one case has been referred by the Security Council to the court, the United Kingdom dispute with Albania over the alleged laying of mines in the Corfu channel.

## By Mr. Knowles:

Q. Was there not also a boundary dispute sent to them?—A. Something seems to have happened to the boundary dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala. I think it has not yet got to the court. I am not certain what is holding it up.

Mr. Graydon: I have a personal interest in the matter because I am hoping that Mr. Justice Reid will at least be able to give one decision in the International Court before his short term expires.

The Chairman: Following the remarks of Mr. MacInnis, if I may be allowed to say a word, I should like to say that I let the discussion go on because I think that Canada is in such a position that she can tell the world we do not practise selfishness. We go there with no axe to grind, and we should be in a position to tell even the big nations what the moral and political situation should be. That is why I thought the discussion was in order.

Mr. Fraser: After hearing all the discussion I feel that Canada should trust in the United Nations organization but at the same time keep her powder dry. I think that is about what we should do, keep ourselves well-armed.

Mr. Jaques: There is another reason for the disparity in strength. The Soviet Union, of course, speaks with one mind. There is no difference of opinion there because none is allowed. So you have an absolute 100 per cent strength and power behind it. In the very nature of things in democratic countries, countries where there is freedom of political thought, the nation is divided. When Canada is represented at these international gatherings I always ask myself, "Which Canada?" After all there are two or three political divisions.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not agree with that.

Mr. Jaques: And certainly they are carried into the international field. There is another thing, too. This may not be agreeable to the committee, but since it seems that right is right, or perhaps I should say might is right, I think it has been a mistake to allow the members of the British Commonwealth to be separated and not be able to speak with one voice. I believe it is a force for good. I believe it is the greatest force for good that is in the world today. I think it carries a lot of weight. It is easy enough to take the sticks apart and break them up one by one, but when they are bound together it is a different question. Part of the idea has been to separate them so that they can be dealt with separately. I think it has been very successful.

Mr. Graydon: There is another section in the report which is of great importance. That is the question of disarmament. I have no doubt that Mr. Reid is fairly conversant with this matter of disarmament. As it took up considerable time of the assembly perhaps we might have something from him in connection with it. I fancy that you cannot have disarmament on the one hand unless you have a strong United Nations on the other hand. It is impossible to invite a nation to disarm unless they have complete confidence that the United Nations Security Council is able to protect them. I should like to have some comments from Mr. Reid on that if he would care to do so.

Mr. HACKETT: It is a pretty big assignment.

Mr. Graydon: Oh yes, but he is a good man. Mr. MacInnis: That is the way to get a reply.

The WITNESS: In the opening statement by Mr. St. Laurent in the general debate in New York the Canadian delegation expressed its concern that the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee had so far failed to make

substantial progress towards the conclusion of the special agreements with individual Members which would make armed forces and other facilities available to the Security Council. We therefore urged that the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee go ahead with all possible speed in the work of negotiating these military agreements and of organizing economic and military sanctions. It appeared to us it would be in the interests of all members to see the Security Council equipped and ready to enforce decisions for the maintenance of peace and also to see serious consideration given to the reduction of national armaments.

Immediately following that speech Mr. Molotov of the Soviet delegation put before the assembly a resolution on disarmament. In our opinion that resolution proposed by the Soviet delegation did not go far enough. It was vague as to the methods of implementing the recommendation of the assembly that progress be made towards disarmament. It did not point the way to practical steps, and it was in certain respects ambiguous.

We therefore prepared within the delegation a counter-proposal which you will find in the report, and when the debate opened—

# By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Which page, please?—A. The first draft of the counter-proposal we prepared is on page 169 of the report. The text of the proposal as actually presented is on the following page. I think it is relevant to the question which Mr. Graydon has raised that in the statement made by the Canadian representative in presenting that Canadian resolution on disarmament—you will find it on page 183—we stated:

We believe that the United Nations will make progress in disarmament only if all the Members of the United Nations agree to practical measures which will convince their peoples that their nation can be secure through reliance upon means other than large national armaments.

That is exactly what Mr. Graydon has said, and that is the position we took. We asked how this could be done.

First . . . by working towards a system of world security which will offer protection at least as effective to the Members of the United Nations as their own national forces. Secondly, by developing such international safeguards as will give assurance to any nation that does disarm that it will not be suddenly attacked and struck down by another nation that may have evaded or violated its promises to disarm.

The debate went on for a very long time in the assembly committee, in a subcommittee, and in a drafting committee of the subcommittee. Throughout that debate we endeavoured to put forward our point of view on this question with, I think, some considerable measure of success. The resolution as ultimately adopted by the assembly does accord with the general proposition which Mr. Graydon has put forward in his question this morning. You will find the resolution of the assembly on pages 173 to 175.

# By Mr. Hackett:

Q. It was unanimous?—A. It was passed unanimously. For example, it linked up in paragraph 7 of the resolution the problem of security with that of disarmament, and it therefore recommends that the Security Council should accelerate the placing of armed forces at its disposal. It links up very definitely the whole question of safeguards by recommending the creation of an international system of control and inspection. The great advance in the assembly was that Mr. Molotov did agree to the establishment of an effective international system of control and inspection.

Q. Has it been implemented?—A. It is now being studied by the Security Council. Of course, it is going to be extremely difficult to work out practical measures of control and inspection, but that was one of the big advances made during the assembly. I do not know whether that answers the question.

Mr. Graydon: There is one other question I should like to raise. All the stress in the United Nations was laid upon armed aggression whereas the new type of warfare seems to be in the ideological field rather than in the military field. I am wondering whether the Canadian delegation has ever given any consideration to any move made in the United Nations general assembly whereby the world can be asked to disarm its ideological forces as well as those of its military.

Mr. Hackett: In Japan before the war they carried on prosecutions against people for harbouring what, for lack of a better adjective, I shall call bad thoughts There were prosecutions against people who entertained views that were contrary to what was considered public policy.

Mr. Jaques: You do not need to go as far as Japan. That is done right here.

Mr. Knowles: The power at the United Nations which has protested most of all against ideological propaganda is the Soviet Union. I am not saying that their case is necessarily sound, but they are the power that wants to restrict. If we take that line we are taking the same line they do.

The Witness: Discussion of the point that Mr. Graydon has raised may take place at the assembly when they discuss the draft declaration of the rights and duties of states.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. What did you say?—A. The assembly had before it a draft declaration of the rights and duties of states which it referred to the committee on the codification of international law. I think that some of the provisions of that declaration bear on the point Mr. Graydon has in mind. For example, section 22 reads:

It is the duty of every state to ensure that, within its own territory no activities are organized for the purpose of fomenting civil strife within the territory of another state.

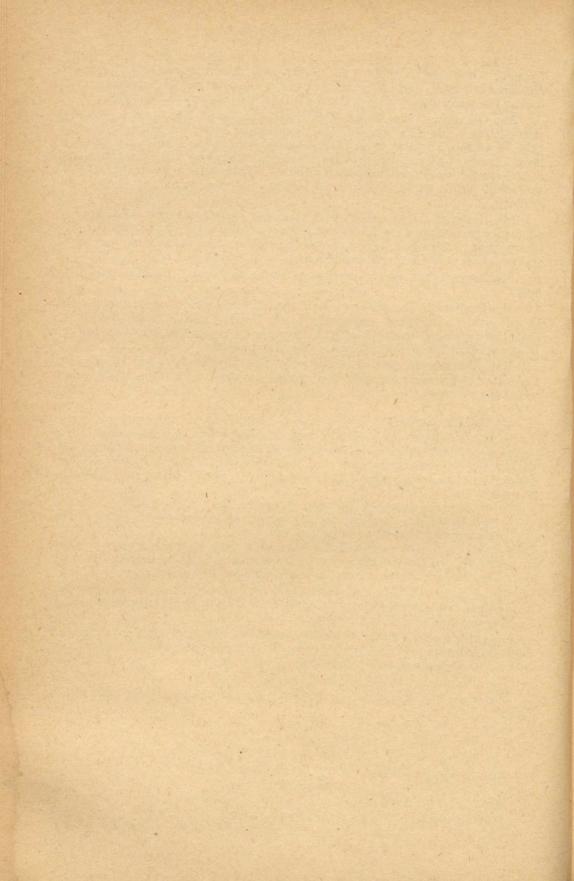
There are other provisions of a similar character. The draft declaration appears on pages 222 to 224. It has now been submitted to governments for their observations which are to be sent in before the first of June.

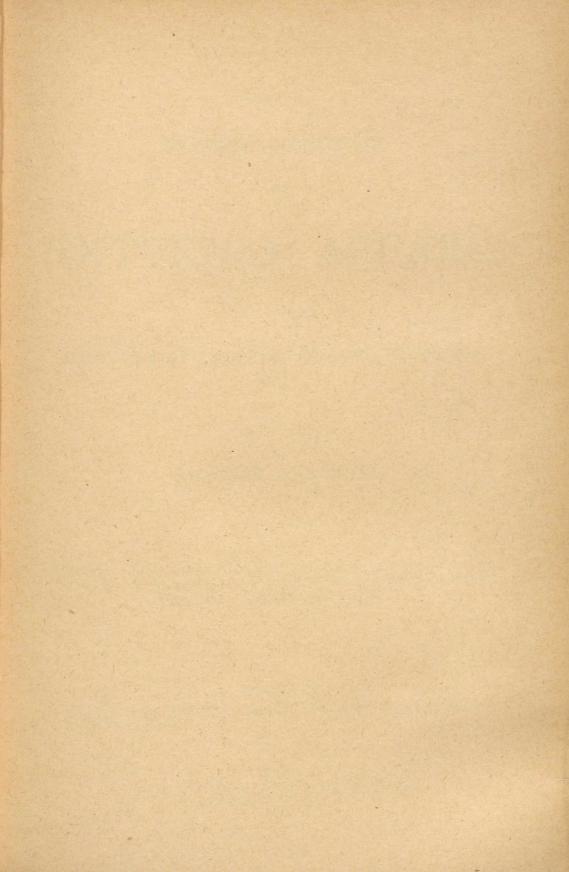
The Chairman: It is now nearly half past twelve. I do not suppose we are finished with the subject. As to next Tuesday the vice-chairman will take the responsibility of calling a meeting.

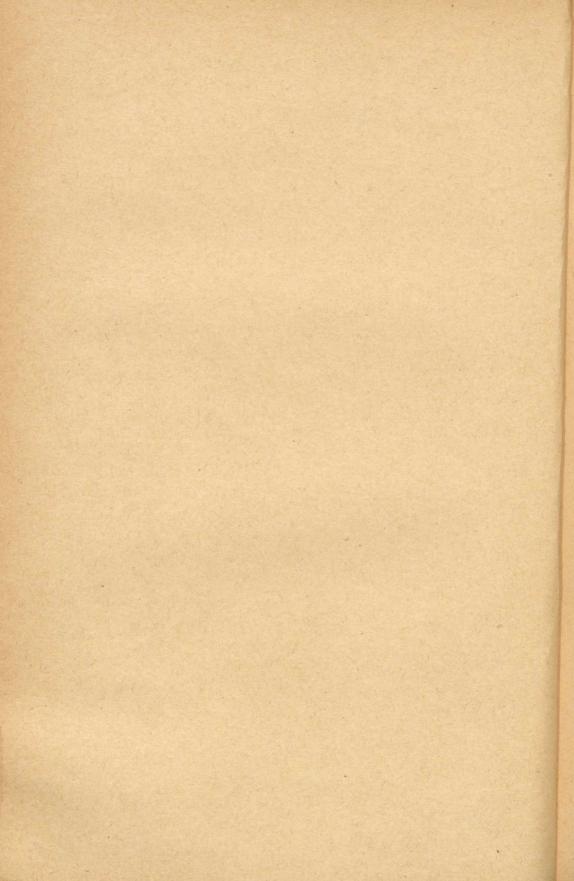
Mr. MacInnis: I doubt very much that there will be a sufficient number of members available. We had better leave it until the chairman returns. Have the next meeting at the call of the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: At the call of the chair.

The committee adjourned at 12.30 p.m. to meet again at the call of the chair.







#### SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 2

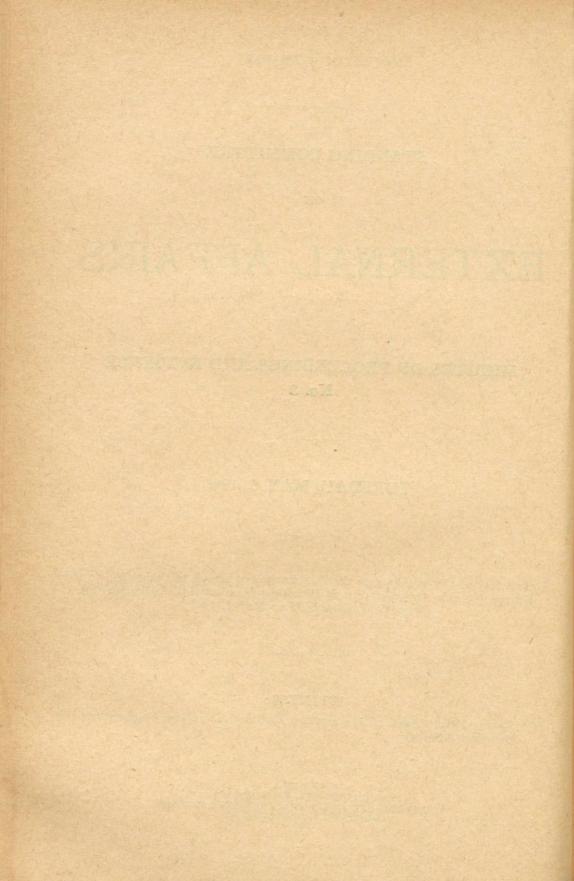
TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1947

References of the members of the Parliamentary Group to their visit to the United Nations Organization at Flushing Meadow and Lake Success, New York, (April 26 to May 1, 1947)

#### WITNESS:

Mr. Escott Reid, Chief of the Second Political Division, Department of External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY



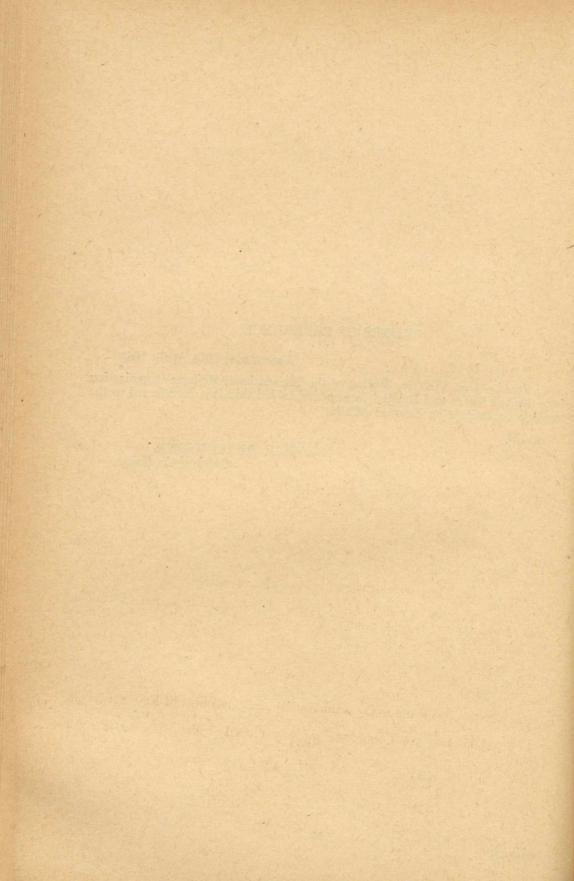
# ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Wednesday, 30th April, 1947.

Ordered,—That the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization of the United States and Related Documents, tabled this day, be referred to the Standing Committee on Exernal Affairs.

Attest.

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE, Clerk of the House.



# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, May 6, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Côté (Matap.-Matane), Fleming, Fraser, Hackett, Jackman, Jaenicke, Knowles, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Pinard, Croll, Winkler.—(18).

In attendance: Mr. Escott Reid, Mr. John K. Starnes.

The Chairman reported briefly on the highlights of the visit made by a group of members of the Committee to the United Nations Organization at Flushing Meadows and Lake Success, N.Y. He voiced his appreciation for the courtesies extended to the parliamentarians by the officials of the United Nations Organization and by those of the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa as well as by the members of the official Canadian Delegation to the Special Session of the General Assembly of the U.N.O.

Messrs. Jaenicke, Beaudoin, Fraser, Croll, Benidickson, Pinard and Côte, who comprised, with Mr. Jaques, the visiting group, also gave their impressions.

It was agreed that letters be forwarded to the officials concerned extending the thanks of the parliamentary group.

The Clerk, who acted as secretary of the group to Lake Success, acknowledged the thanks of the members of the group and expressed his gratitude for the co-operation received throughout.

The Chairman read a new order of reference dated April 30, 1947, pertaining to the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization of the United States and related documents.

At 11.15 a.m. the Committee resumed its consideration of the report of the second part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (Oct. 23-Dec. 15, 1946).

Mr. Escott Reid was recalled, questioned and retired.

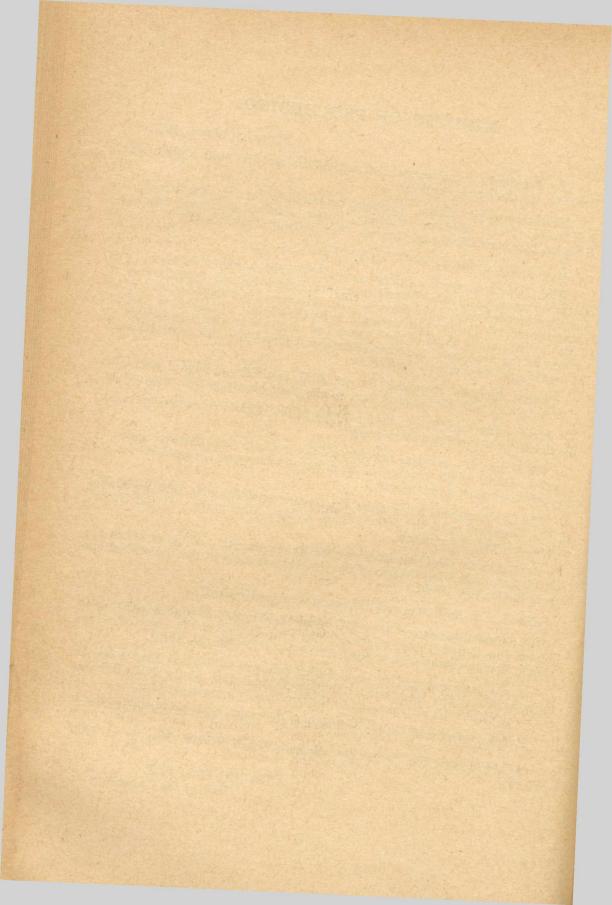
The Committee agreed to meet General MacNaughton's request and to hear him on June 5 and 6 next, relating to the First Report of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council (Dec. 31, 1946).

It was further agreed to begin taking evidence on Friday, May 9 on the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization of the United States copies of which will be forwarded to the members before the meeting.

Reference was made to the estimates of the Department of External Affairs.

At 11.45 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Friday, May 9, at 10.30 o'clock.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



## MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, May 6, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, I believe it would be fitting before we proceed with our work to say a few words about the visit that was made to the United Nations at Lake Success and Flushing. Personally in my remarks I wish only to express my sincerest thanks to Mr. Pearson and the officials under him, and also to Mr. Trygve Lie and his six deputy-secretaries for the fine welcome and the great attention they gave us during our stay there. The response we received was spontaneous. No doubt everyone who participated in the journey fully enjoyed the deliberations to which we listened. We found them very instructive, indeed.

I believe it would be in order for the committee to authorize us to extend to those officials by letter our appreciation and thanks for what they have done for us. I will now call on Mr. Jaenicke to give you some of his impressions.

Mr. Jaenicke: I do not know why I should be the first one to talk about my impressions of our visit to Lake Success and Flushing Meadows, but I might say that to me it was a great inspiration and help in following the proceedings of this committee. I am sure if those of our members who did not take the trip could have accompanied us they would have been inspired the same as I was. I do believe that the United Nations will finally be made to work.

We listened to the general assembly. We listened to the general committee, which is the main committee, in debate for one whole day and again another morning. I may say in spite of some of the differences it seemed to me that the debate was always on a high plane, that the arguments were couched in terms of tolerance and with a view to seeing the other fellow's viewpoint as well. I even thought that the Arabs were tolerant in their argument in connection with the Palestinian question. I do not know as to whether or not I should go to any extent into the issue that was before the steering committee. You know that Great Britain had proposed that the United Nations take over the Palestinian question. My opinion is that is where it belongs, that the Palestinian question is not merely Great Britain's baby but belongs to the United Nations.

They had proposed to the United Nations—and that is why the general assembly was called—that a commission be set up to study the Palestinian question, and that this commission should report to the regular meeting of the general assembly next September with recommendations, and that then the general assembly would deal with the Palestinian question. The Arabs proposed that they should go into this whole Palestinian question at this time. In their arguments they brought up some of the substantive matter pertaining to the Palestinian dispute which, by the way, appeared to be out of order, but anyway they were allowed to present their arguments. I refer to Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and the countries in the middle east. There was no question of any other nation backing the Arabs in this matter.

The Russian delegate who spoke in Russian and who seemed to be very careful—it was Mr. Gromyko himself—corrected the English interpreter five or

six times to be sure he would not be misunderstood. His position was he supported the proposal of Great Britain to appoint a commission to report to the next general assembly, but he thought it might not hurt to hear the arguments on the substantive questions, that is, on the substance of the arguments of the Arabs, not that they would come to any conclusion, but they might then be in a better position to clarify the terms of reference to this commission. That was the Russian attitude. Yet when we saw the newspapers that night in New York the headlines as to the day's meeting said, "Reds back Arabs", which was absolutely untrue. I am very sorry that newspapers go to that length to misinterpret the proceedings of the United Nations. I might say if you go to the United Nations and mingle with some of the officials and delegates you will be, as I was, proud to be a Canadian. Canada stands at the top with the United Nations. I presume it is because we have no bone to pick with anyone. We are naturally a neighbourly and friendly people. We have shown what we can achieve in employing our natural resources during the war and I think we have been extremely generous to the world without being ostentatious. One delegate also told me that the strength and popularity of the Canadian delegation has been due to the fact our delegations to the United Nations General Assembly have been representatives of all parties, of all political shades of opinion in this dominion. This lends power to our voice because it emphasizes that our foreign policy is permanent.

I also believe our delegations have capitalized on their popularity. As the report shows we have been successful in effecting several compromises in the last General Assembly among the big powers. I think if our delegations to the United Nations will continue to work along that line, the United Nations will finally

be a success.

I feel satisfied from watching the expressions and listening to the arguments in the general committee concerning the Palestinian question that this will be treated with tolerance. I fully believe the United Nations will find a solution to the Palestinian question, equitable and just to both the Jews and the Arabs.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that is about all I have to say. Perhaps some of the other members who made the trip will tell of the fine hospitality we had at the hands of the official secretary. In any event, I am talking about that part of the meeting which I attended, what I saw and heard which has inspired me, and I think has helped me greatly in taking part in the work of this committee. I thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Jaenicke. I now call upon Mr. Beaudoin and after that I will call upon Mr. Fraser. Mr. Jaques is unavoidably absent this morning. After these last two named gentlemen have spoken, any other members of the delegation who wish to say a few words will be free to do so.

Mr. Beaudoin: Mr. Chairman, as Mr. Jaenicke says, I am one of those who will talk about the hospitality which we have enjoyed during our trip. I wish, particularly, to thank all those Canadian born employees and officials of the United Nations who have taken care of us from the date we arrived until our departure. They have facilitated our task. They introduced us to the assistant secretarys general, and all the officials and delegates of the many other nations who were there attending several meetings. I think we owe them a debt of gratitude because without them, I am afraid we would have been lost in this large organization, part of which is at Flushing Meadow and the other part at Lake Success.

Without any hesitation, I wish to say this visit was certainly something which was useful to anyone who wants to follow the movements of external affairs. I feel sorry that many of you could not be with us on this visit. All those who were on the trip will agree that we will certainly be now in a better position to deal with the different questions which come before us, especially

in so far as they pertain to the vast organization which is the U.N.O., and I think, we will be in a better position to follow the discussions here. I think we will save time in the questions which we put, due to what we have learned

on the premises.

We have met a lot of the people who are connected with this gigantic task of building peace. We have seen the conditions under which they work. I think we ought to be very grateful to Mr. Pearson and Mr. Trygve Lie who gave us the opportunity of sitting side by side with the assistant secretarys general. I was very glad, myself, to be able to attend this magnificent luncheon which was offered to us by Mr. Lie, to have on my left Mr. Pelt and on my right Mr. Sobolev. I also had an opportunity of discussing several points in which I was interested greatly with the official delegate of France, Mr. Parodi. I also had discussions with the other delegates who were there from the different nations.

It was a unique opportunity and I, for one, was very happy to be there and to take advantage of that opportunity. I also wish to thank our secretary, Mr. Plouffe, who has been of very great help to us throughout the proceedings. Of course, I want to say this, that the head of our delegation, Mr. Bradette, as

usual, did things magnificently.

At the banquet offered to us presided over by Mr. Trygve Lie, when Mr. Bradette was called upon to express the thanks of our delegation, he hit just the right note. I do wish every word he said there could be reported verbatim in the proceedings of this committee. Those words were worthy of it. Gentlemen, those are my sentiments. I do hope that delegations of this kind will be organized again. So far as I am concerned, whether parliament grants us our expenses or not, if it is the wish of the committee to organize other delegations of that kind, I will be a member of the delegation.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Beaudoin. I will call on Mr. Fraser.

Mr. Fraser: Mr. Chairman, I think the other gentlemen have covered the situation very well. First of all I wish to thank you on behalf of Mrs. Fraser and myself for the courtesies you showed us and the manner in which you helped us out in New York. I also wish to couple with that an expression of thanks to our very capable and able clerk, Mr. Plouffe, because he certainly managed to get us into everything and we did not have a hitch throughout the whole proceedings. I think, Mr. Chairman, that if members of the committee go down there again it should not be for just a few days. We were not there long enough. If we go down again we should be able to stay longer, because during the few hours we were there it was perhaps a case of hit-or-miss; you get it and then you lose it again. I feel that the next time—if there is a next time—we should make it a point of trying to stay there at least a week, perhaps two; and this could be done when parliament is not sitting.

I came in late and I do not know whether Mr. Jaenicke referred to the way the secretariat do their work. It does not matter what language is spoken in the Security Council committee room. At the front of each chair there is a small radio dial, and if a speaker is speaking in English and you understand only French you turn the indicator on the dial to French and the interpreter, who is located within a glass enclosure, gives you the French translation. If the speaker happened to be speaking in Arabic you could get the English translation in the same way. I believe six languages are translated simultaneously, Russian

being one of them.

Mr. HACKETT: What about Gaelic?

Mr. Fraser: As Mr. Hackett does not speak that very well himself I do not think he would want that.

Mr. HACKETT: I was speaking for my friend Mr. MacInnes.

Mr. Fraser: One of my impressions of the general assembly was that it is essentially similar to our House of Commons here; most of the work is not done in the general assembly but in committees. In the House of Commons here some members may be criticized for not speaking very often, but those same members in committee are very helpful and contribute greatly to Canada's welfare.

I think that is all, Mr. Chairman. I trust I shall be included on any committee that goes down there again; and I am quite willing to pay my own way.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Fraser, and before we go on I must mention this detail. Mrs. Fraser accompanied Mr. Fraser, as you know, and they both realize that they were welcome and that they were appreciated by every official who was there.

Mr. Fraser: That is why I mentioned the courtesy paid to me by the

secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: We also had with us Mrs. Croll and Miss Croll and Mr. Lie made it clear on Wednesday afternoon that should it be found possible to bring wives they would be welcome.

The Charman: I would also like to say that those members who did not take their wives may when they again have the opportunity to visit Lake Success. I believe that you would like to hear a few words from Mr. Croll, Mr. Benidickson and Mr. Cote, all of whom were there.

Mr. Croll: Mr. Chairman, there were a few impressions that one could not help but carry away. The first of those impressions was that they were glad to see us. They welcomed us. They thought it was an excellent idea that people who represented parliament should come there. They did everything they possibly could to make us welcome, and they thought it was a fine example to set for other countries who are as near, or almost as near to New York as we are. They thought that such representatives should come from other places and see what was going on.

Another thing which impressed me was the fact that very many Canadians are playing a large part in the workings of the United Nations. As a matter of fact there is a disproportionate number of them, very possibly because of our proximity to the United States. Those people are now known to those of us who

went there and I may say they are doing a very excellent job.

One of the things the visit did for me was to give me a chance to learn something of the workings of this great parliament of man. Speaking of the delegates themselves I am grateful for the amiability and congeniality of the group that went down. If there were any differences between us we certainly did not show them, and it was a pleasure to meet some of those men of that assembly on a social basis and learn a few things about them, which one would not ordinarily know.

I cannot say much more than has already been said about the chairman, but he handled the situation like a master. I was very proud of him, indeed.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Croll. I will now call on Mr. Benidickson.

Mr. Benidickson: Mr. Chairman, I think most of the important things have now been said, but I would like to make a few remarks off the record.

(Remarks by Mr. Benidickson off the record.)

Mr. Benidickson: Mr. Chairman, the other reports have possibly only overlooked reference to our contacts with the office of the consul in New York city. We met Mr. Claude Chatillon, one of the vice-consuls, and I have heard members of the committee say that they were tremendously impressed with the efficiency and courtsey of this quite young man. Apparently he is making his way through the large organizations in the city of New York, giving addresses

here and there on behalf of Canada. We spent a whole afternoon with him. I think we are very well represented in New York. I did not meet Mr. Scully on this trip but his representative, Mr. Chatillon, gave us a fine reception, and he is a great credit to the French Canadian people in Canada from which section of our populace he comes. He is a former resident of Ontario.

Mr. Coldwell: I agree with what Mr. Benidickson has said, and may I say that had you met Mr. Scully you would have found that he was doing an excellent job.

The Chairman: Mr. Scully intended to give us a reception but he was called out of the city of New York that night.

Mr. Pinard: Mr. Chairman, there is not much left for me to say, but I do wish to associate myself with all my colleagues and to state my pleasure in having been permitted to go to New York. I must say it was very pleasant indeed to accompany colleagues from many provinces and from several political parties. We were very well received, of course, by the Canadian delegation in New York, and I wish on this point to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to Mr. Pearson who was very agreeable to us and gave us a great welcome. I wish also to say, as far as the assembly itself was concerned, that to me it looked very much like a social gathering.

May I say that we were very much impressed by the work done by the Canadian delegates and also, as Mr. Beaudoin mentioned, by the Canadian born representatives to the United Nations. We had great pleasure in meeting some of them, and we can feel proud of the excellent work they are doing down there.

May I remind you that the first of the committees formed elected as its president Mr. Pearson, and I see in the papers today that this particular committee is going to discuss some of the aspects of the Palestinian question. After these committees were formed we had the privilege of attending a meeting of the committee which received the statements of various interested powers on the question of Palestine, and that meeting was a very interesting one. I may say that this question of Palestine is the first that will be dealt with by this committee as far as discussing and settling such minority problems are concerned, and I hope it will be possible for the United Nations to find a solution; because problems of that kind will be submitted afterwards on numerous occasions to the United Nations, and this problem must be settled in a satisfactory way. Otherwise there would be no use in having these problems go before the United Nations.

I wish also to state that it was a great privilege for us to be received so well by the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, and I associate myself with the remarks made by our chairman when he said that we should express by letter our sincere thanks and appreciation for the reception he gave us. I wish also to associate myself with others in expressing my appreciation to our chairman and also to our secretary. They both handled their tasks well, and our chairman conducted himself magnificently. As far as our secretary is concerned he acted as a perfect secretary and gentleman on this occasion.

Mr. Cote: I may say that I am sorry I cannot agree with my friend as regards to the activities of the delegation, because I believe that more could be added, but if I may be excused I shall not add. Before I resume my seat I wish to support the suggestion of others that we should do something tangible in the way of expressing our appreciation to the United Nations organization, to the members of the External Affairs Department, and to the people of the C.I.S. Bureau in New York, and to all others who assisted in making our trip so agreeable and useful. Although we were not an official delegation my reaction is that we were received as though we were, which is, at least, a satisfaction to us all.

I would like to convey to you, Mr. Chairman, my heartfelt congratulations on your chairmanship of the delegation, and I hope you will convey to our secretary's superior, Dr. Beauchesne, our appreciation of Mr. Plouffe's services on that trip.

The Chairman: I thank all the members for their kind words concerning my efforts; I appreciate them indeed. May I say to members who were not present that my task was an easy and a pleasant one to perform, heading so fine a delegation. Each member did everything that was asked of him and made the necessary sacrifices to carry out his duties. They were all present at the

functions they were invited to attend.

May I repeat what Mr. Lie said at a luncheon last Wednesday; he said that our country was the first nation in the world to send such a body to view the work of the United Nations and he hoped that all the nations of the world would find it possible to attend at the centre of the United Nations organization to see what they are doing and also to understand some of their problems. I believe later on we may have a better idea of what Mr. Lie had in his mind. He expressed the wish, and possibly the intention, of coming to Canada before the end of the present session.

May I also place on the record my praise of the fine work done by our secretary, Mr. Plouffe. He did a lot of work; there is no doubt about it, because there was a great deal to do in preparing and completing the details of such an important visit. I think at this time we might hear a word or two

from Mr. Plouffe.

Antonio Plouffe (Clerk of the External Affairs Committee): Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in acknowledging the kind references made to me as secretary or should I say chargé d'affaires of this parliamentary group which visited the U.N.O at Flushing and Lake Success, may I express my personal thanks to every member of the group for having facilitated my task. As you know, each evening I had to convey to every member information concerning the program for the following day and this was rendered rather difficult because all our delegation was not located in the same hotel. I did my utmost to be of service to every one composing the group. I am indeed thankful to the officials of the External Affairs Department and also to the officials of the United Nations organization who met us on arrival and were so helpful on this visit. May I add that it was only because of the co-operation of all these officials that the visit of our group was so much of a success.

Mr. Jackman: May I say, Mr. Chairman, how sorry I was to be unable to make the trip, because I had looked forward to it not only because of my interest in the matters which were transpiring down there, but because such trips do give members of parliament an opportunity to get together with members of the different groups and to know each other better. I shall always recall with pleasure the three weeks I spent with Mr. Coldwell in England, and greatly as our political ideas may differ, I have no hesitation in going on record in saying that Mr. Coldwell is the ideal travelling companion.

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Chairman, I should like to say the same thing for Harry Jackman.

Mr. Jackman: May I make the suggestion that if this committee does visit the United Nations organization again that it might, perhaps, be worth while to let the organization know well in advance of our intended visit and, perhaps, we would combine our trip with that of a delegation, let us say from Brazil or a delegation from some other country that would like to make the trip. In that way we would get to know people from other countries in a way that we cannot possibly do otherwise.

I would like to ask the delegates a question concerning one matter: How did you find the Russians informally? Where they able to speak to you with

any degree of freedom so that you felt that you were getting their sincere point of view, or did they always seem to be restrained?

Mr. Cote: No, there was no restraint. I found Mr. Gromyko to be a very pleasant person and altogether different from what he has been represented in the press. I was surprisingly impressed by the fact that he did not seem to resent at all the way we handled the Russians in this country.

Mr. Beaudoin: We talked with the various officials just as if we were at home. The system is arranged for an interchange of ideas. You go from one table to another; you do not know whom you are going to meet; it may be the delegate from Bolivia or the delegate from China. They are all refined people, and we talked with them as we talk among ourselves. It reminds me of what often happens in our courts. Two lawyers will appear before a judge and argue a case strenuously and as soon as the case is over they may get together and have a little refreshment. The various countries present their various points of view and as soon as the matter is over they get together in one of the beautifully furnished salons where they may discuss matters privately.

Mr. Jackman: You did not feel that these men from Russia were hindered in any way by orders from headquarters; that they were not allowed to discuss matters on which they were not briefed?

Mr. Beaudoin: No. More than that, one was impressed by the fact that people of different colour got together; it made no difference whether a man was a Chinese or a Hindoo or a member of any other nationality; everybody mixed.

The Chairman: To continue the line of thought advanced by Mr. Jackman, may I say that in a year or two the new building of the United Nations organization will be erected, and it may be possible for a Canadian delegation to be present at the inauguration of that new building. We can make preparations with that in mind. I had the great privilege of speaking at Mr. Lie's banquet and I found the Russian representative absolutely open-minded, jolly, witty and clever; in fact, full of joie de vivre. He spoke off the record and he spoke openly.

Mr. Benidickson: He spoke good English, too.

Mr. BOUCHER: What about the advisability of a delegation going down in September?

The CHAIRMAN: Well, I cannot render any judgment on that matter at the

moment. It is something for the committee to decide later.

Now, would it be in order for us to receive the atomic bomb report? On Tuesday of last week when we were in New York we met General MacNaughton and had dinner at the Biltmore Hotel, and I took it upon myself to tell him of the intention of this committee and that he had been invited to appear before our committee, and now, with your permission, I shall read the communication from him dealing with that matter:—

Having regard to usual days for meeting of Atomic Energy Commission it seems that Fridays are preferable days for appearance before House of Commons committee. Week commencing 19th May not practicable for me because of Permanent Joint Board of Defence meetings in Ottawa and Dayton, Ohio. Suggest Friday, 30th may, if one day will be sufficient. If two days are required as has been suggested by Mr. Bradette to Ignatieff, would propose Thursday, 5th June and Friday, 6th June, as it seems probable there will be important meeting Atomic Energy Commission on Thursday, 29th May, at end of United States chairmanship.

We all realize that General MacNaughton is a very busy man, and I told him that we would fit his appearance before our committee with his requirements so that he could set the day himself. Is it agreed that the 5th and 6th of June are satisfactory dates for General MacNaughton to come before the committee?

Carried.

I wish now to place on the record a new order of reference, which is as

follows: undate of April 30, 1947.

That the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization of the United States and Related Documents, tabled this day, be referred to the Standing Committee on External Affairs.

We will now ask Mr. Reid to come before us.

# Mr. Escott Reid, recalled:

The WITNESS: The committee has covered a good deal of the material in the report during the last two meetings, and I am not quite certain what the

members of the committee wish to pass on to next.

I will refer to a problem which is discussed in the report, which is a continuing problem: the necessity of reforms in the practices and procedures of the Security Council. There is a section on that in the body of the report. Also in the appendix there is a memorandum submitted by the Canadian delegation

on the subject.

The question arose in the debate in the political committee of the assembly on the use of the veto in the Security Council. Some resolutions were introduced calling for amendment of the charter in order to eliminate the veto entirely, or in part. As you know, the Canadian government was opposed at San Francisco to the wide extent of the veto in the charter, and considered that it should be restricted to the imposition of sanctions. However, it was the feeling of the Canadian delegation in New York, and that of the great majority of the delegations there, that the time had not yet come to press for formal amendments of the charter. Rather, consideration should be given to reforms in the practices and procedures of the Security Council within the framework of the charter as it is.

The committee's debate was concerned much more with the necessity of reforms in the Security Council than with the actual elimination of the veto. To some extent, the newspaper accounts gave a false impression of the debate.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. May I interject at this point, Mr. Reid? Is there any possibility of eliminating the veto in amending the charter?—A. An amendment to the charter in order to come into effect, would have to be ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council. Therefore, there could be no amendment

unless they consented to it.

The Canadian memorandum on Pacific settlement by the Security Council is contained on pages 204 to 206 of the report. I think it is fair to say that it is the most complete statement of the kind of reforms needed in the Security Council which was submitted to the assembly. Perhaps I might draw the attention of the members of the committee to one point in this statement which is, I think of fundamental importance and that is that the charter has imposed on each individual member of the Council the obligation to exercise its rights and responsibilities as a member of the Council, not in defence of its own special national interests, but in defence of the interests of the United Nations as a whole.

If that concept of the rights and responsibilities of the members of the Council were to be generally accepted by all members of the Council, the difficulties which arise from the defects in the constitution of the United Nations would be sensibly diminished.

One of the encouraging developments in New York was that, in the discussions in the political committee, the suggestion was made by a number of

delegates that a great power should be permitted to abstain from voting on a proposal without vetoing the proposal by its abstention and that while no formal vote was taken on that suggestion in New York, nevertheless, since the New York meeting the principle has been accepted by all the members of the Security Council. The reason I say that that is particularly encouraging is that the language of the charter is rather clear on this point.

Article 27 states:

"Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

I would think that any lawyer would say, from that language, that the absten-

tion of a permanent member means a veto.

Now, you have agreement by all the members of the Security Council that abstention does not mean a veto. In other words, you have what is virtually an amendment of the charter made by general agreement without a formal, constitutional amendment; that is most encouraging. There are other weaknesses of the charter which may be remedied in the same fashion.

Mr. Croll: Except that, at some stage, someone may fall back on the charter and say, "Well, yes, that was the practice, but there are the written words. We stand on our rights."

The Witness: I suppose it might happen. I do not know how far precedent will override the written word in the charter.

Mr. CROLL: It is not likely.

Mr. Beaudoin: It is rather unlikely that they will go back on precedent.

The Witness: I imagine it would be possible for a good lawyer to argue that

The Witness: I imagine it would be possible for a good lawyer to argue that it was consistent with the charter.

Mr. Jackman: It makes it more difficult for them to go against the convention which has been established.

The Witness: Yes, it is interesting because it is the way constitutions have developed in the Anglo-American countries.

Mr. Croll: That is just it, it has been our method of dealing with it, but it is not the general method of dealing with it.

Mr. Benidickson: Has not our constitutional development been simply a filling in, in the absence of the written word?

Mr. Marquis: I agree with the position as stated by Mr. Croll. If there is a written law, a nation can refer to that law at any time and vote in accordance with the law.

Mr. Bendickson: Well, it is not clear, at the outset, it is rather ambiguous. Consequently, precedent is a very great power.

Mr. Marquis: It is not in international law.

Mr. Croll: Mr. Reid points out that it is very clear. In spite of its clearness, they ignore it and have set a precedent. My suggestion was that, some day or other, they will say, "There it is; there is no doubt about what our rights are. We have neglected them for the time being, but we are still not prejudiced." We might well go back on the precedent, although it is the practice which has been followed. The possibility is there for adopting the other line of argument.

Mr. Marquis: The decisions cannot overrule the general regulations.

Mr. Coldwell: That is true, but the procedure in commissions and councils, and so on, of abstention is pretty well established.

Mr. Marquis: That is the practice.

Mr. Coldwell: All through the United Nations commissions and so on. abstention is quite a normal way of expressing a nation's position. It is not a veto.

Mr. MacInnis: Abstention is not equal to a no vote?

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. MacInnis: That is quite a favourable step.

The WITNESS: There is one other thing in this memorandum on pacific settlement to which I wish to draw the attention of the committee. As we pointed out in our report on the San Francisco Conference, one of the weak chapters in the charter is the one on the pacific settlement of disputes. It is not one of the best drafted chapters in the charter. The meaning of it is rather obscure

Some of the difficulties which the Security Council found itself confronted with in the first nine months of its operation were due to honest differences of opinion on what that chapter meant. We, therefore, felt it would be wise for us to put in memorandum form our interpretation of the procedures the Security Council should follow when presented with a dispute or a situation. Our interpretation is contained in paragraphs 4 to 7 of the memorandum on pages 205

and 206 of the report.

This memorandum was not accepted by the committee—we did not ask the committee to accept it. The main reason for our not asking for acceptance was that it was clear that a memorandum of this character would not have been approved unanimously by the committee. There was danger, if it were put to the vote, paragraph by paragraph, that certain states would become committed to opposition to certain proposals and that it would be more difficult for them to accept these proposals in practice in the future. Therefore, we felt it wise merely to submit the memorandum in this form. I think it is a reasonable hope that, in course of time, the Security Council will adopt reforms of this kind.

One of the differences between the Security Council of the United Nations and the Council of the old League is in the jurisdiction of the Security Council to deal with disputes. The jurisdiction of the Security Council is limited to those disputes and situations which are likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. If it is a dispute which is not likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it is not a dispute

over which the Council has jurisdiction.

Mr. Marquis: Who is to decide on that point?

The WITNESS: The Security Council decides its own jurisdiction. In our memorandum, we suggest that the preliminary question which the Security Council should address itself to when a dispute or situation is brought to its attention, is whether it has jurisdiction to deal with that dispute or situation. We also suggest that, when a state brings a dispute or a situation to the attention of the Security Council, it should submit in writing a preliminary statement setting forth the steps which have been taken by the states concerned to carry out their obligation under the charter to seek a solution by peaceful means of their own choice before coming to the Security Council. This is an obligation on the members.

What we want to avoid is the bringing to the attention of the Security Council of either frivolous disputes or disputes which the nations concerned have made no real effort to settle and which are being brought before the Security Council for international political reasons.

The reason I draw the attention of the committee to this question of reforms in the practices and procedures of the Security Council is that this is a question which will come up for discussion at future assemblies of the United Nations.

Mr. Croll: Has not the procedure on disputes already broken down? For instance, I am thinking of the dispute between Britain and Albania where, for all purposes, it seemed obvious that the right was with Britain. There did not seem to be any question about it at all. Albania was caught red-handed and that was that. Yet, when the matter came before—was it the Security Council?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Croll: The Security Council, after hearing all the evidence, for all practical purposes, the decision was a veto, if that may be the proper term, by one nation which obviously was interested in the dispute or appeared to have an interest in the dispute. The result was no justice was brought to the dispute.

Mr. Marquis: You could not take any action.

Mr. Coldwell: It is going to the international court, is it not?

The Witness: Yes, the finding in the Security Council was vetoed by one of the permanent members. Then, a resolution was brought before the Security Council to send the legal problem to the international court of justice.

Mr. Croll: Suppose the international court of justice brings in a decision, what happens to that decision? It may go back again to the Security Council?

The WITNESS: It can go back to the Security Council.

Mr. Croll: How else do you enforce it?

The Witness: The members of the United Nations are under an obligation to comply with a decision of the court.

Mr. Coldwell: Would that not go to the Assembly in the form of a report, after the international court has dealt with it?

The Witness: Each member of the United Nations has, under the charter, an obligation to comply with a decision of the court. This is a treaty obligation. Article 94 says:

- 1. Each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
- 2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations encumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Of course, the veto can apply again.

Mr. Croll: Yes, so you are back again where you were.

The Witness: Nevertheless, the discussion of the incident before the Security Council and any discussion which takes place before the court will make the rights and wrongs of the case more clear to the states concerned.

Mr. Coldwell: Is there any manner in which that comes before the Assembly? There is a report from the Security Council to the members and could not that be raised by a member at the Assembly and dealt with there?

The WITNESS: It could be raised in the Assembly at the next session.

Mr. Croll: There would be no report of the Security Council because it is vetoed.

The Witness: The reports of the meetings of the Security Council are public property so the Assembly knows what happened in the Security Council and, in addition, there would be included in the report of the Security Council to the Assembly a statement as to what happened to this dispute when it came before the council.

Mr. Coldwell: It is very complicated.

Mr. CROLL: Difficult is the word.

Mr. Coldwell: But the play of public opinion is important, is it not in these matters?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Beaudoin: Mr. Chairman, after this report has been examined and the questions have been asked of Mr. Reid, do we have to adopt this report?

Mr. CROLL: No.

The Chairman: No, it is brought to us for discussion and representations to be made by the officials of External Affairs. It is for enlightenment.

Mr. Beaudoin: Our next item of business is the atomic energy report?

Mr. Croll: No, that is the fifth item. I think the urgent matter of business is the International Refugee organization. I think, in view of what is happening at the moment, we ought to discuss that as quickly as we can. It is the most urgent problem which is facing our committee and the rest of this country at the moment.

The Chairman: It is also my intention to recommend to the steering committee that the estimates come to us as soon as we have finished the discussion on the D. P. question.

Mr. Beaudoin: The reason I was asking the question was to find out how soon we are going to finish our discussion on this particular point. I am not thinking of myself, since I have no more questions to ask. Apparently there are others who have no more questions to ask as well.

Mr. Benidickson: With respect to the D.P. question, would the powers of this committee permit it to go so far as to hear some evidence as to the availability of shipping for those coming to Canada?

The Chairman: Any House committee has the right to call evidence. We have the power which is given to any standing committee of the House of Commons or Senate.

Mr. Beaudoin: Well, let us move a vote of thanks to Mr. Reid.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions?

Mr. Croll: I think the reason we have asked so very few questions is because the subject is so complicated. In the first place, we received the booklet late and we probably did not have enough time to go through it. Then, there are so many questions, so many angles to the subject we really did not feel we ought to burden Mr. Reid with them. Perhaps the matter will clarify itself as we go along.

Someone brought up the question of the booklet. A poor time to issue the booklet is about the time we come here because we are flooded with information and booklets. It would not be a bad idea if we received something like this during our off season so we could do a little reading on it and perhaps be ready

for the next time you come here.

Mr. Marquis: Or at the very commencement of the session; we had this one two months after the beginning of the session.

The Chairman: I suppose we have to consider the time taken to print it. I suppose Mr. Reid did not dare, but he could easily have told us it would be a fine book for us to study, and digest between now and the next session of parliament.

Mr. Coldwell: I agree it has been difficult to study this particular report. What I think we should have done was to go through the thing chapter by chapter. Some chapters we could omit altogether, but it would have steered us along the way a little better than the manner in which we have been operating.

The Chairman: It is a good suggestion, although we may leave it in abeyance now. I suppose Mr. Reid will have no objection if he is called upon at a later date to attend another session?

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think you could do that just at the moment, but another time, I think he could follow that procedure.

The Witness: With respect to Mr. Croll's point, I can assure the committee that we will try to get the next report out earlier.

Mr. Coldwell: I am not complaining about that because I was with the officials who were there. I know they came back from New York at Christmas or after Christmas and I would say they were completely worn out. I did not have the job to do which they had, and I know I came back in December completely worn out to the extent that, for the first time in a good many years, I went to see a doctor who reassured me there was nothing particularly wrong except I was overtired.

The Chairman: I presume, from the fact you attended these meetings, you are already familiar, to some extent, with this subject. I know the experience we gathered at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows made a wonderful difference to us.

Mr. Coldwell: Yes, that is the reason I have not asked so many questions.

Mr. Croll: I put mine in the form of a suggestion, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Yes, and I appreciate it. I am sure I express the sentiments of the members of the committee, Mr. Reid, in saying we appreciate very much your courtesy and patience in appearing before us.

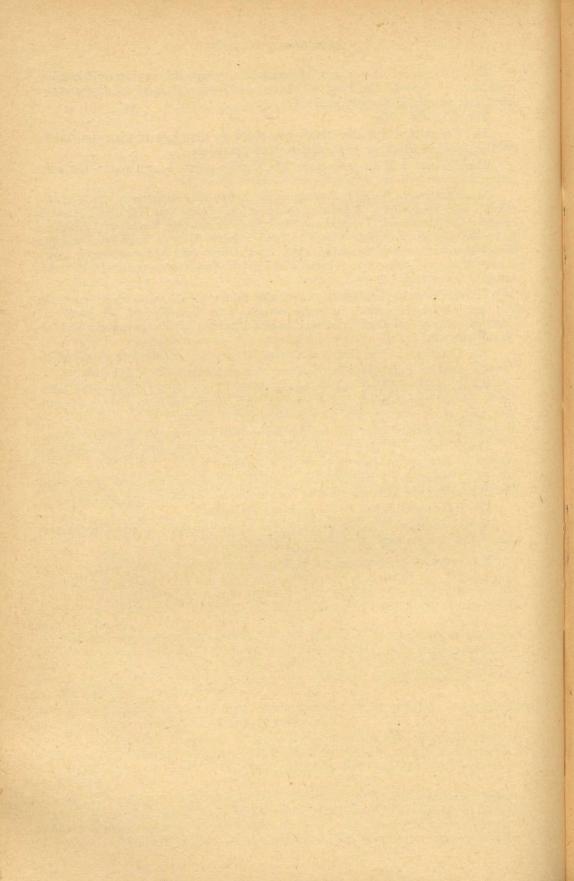
Mr. Coldwell: Who will be appearing before us on the refugee question? The Witness: I think it will probably be Mr. Riddell who has been at a number of international conferences on refugees.

The Chairman: I gather from what the members have said, they would like to consider the D.P. question as soon as we can, next Friday, perhaps.

Mr. Beaudoin: When do we start the estimates?

The CHAIRMAN: The minister tells me a reference will be given in the very near future, so we may have them at any time.

The committee adjourned at 11.50 a.m.



## SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

## STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 3

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1947

#### WITNESS:

Mr. R. G. Riddell, Chief of the First Political Division, Department of External Affairs.

OTTAWA
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#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, May 9, 1947.

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

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Bradette, Coldwell, Côté (Matap.-Matane), Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Low, MacInnis, Marquis, Pinard, Winkler—(17).

In attendance: Mr. R. G. Riddell, and Mr. John K. Starnes of the Department of External Affairs.

The Committee began the study of the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization as referred by the House on April 30 last.

The Clerk informed the Chairman that this document had been mimeographed from a photostat copy and mailed to the members on Thursday noon, May 8, the earliest possible moment. The Clerk also informed the Chairman that copies of the first report on the Atomic Energy Commission (U.N.) to be studied on June 5 and 6, had already been distributed.

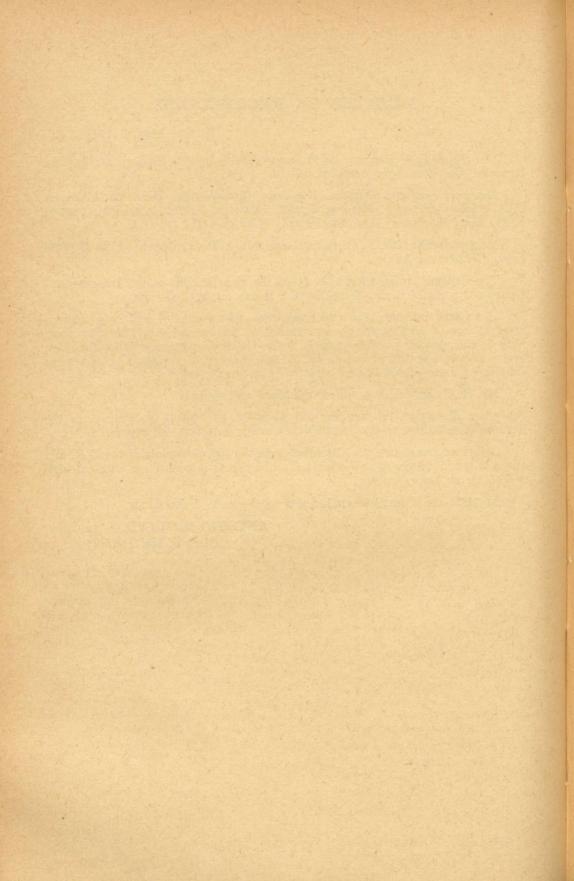
Mr. R. G. Riddell was called, examined and retired.

After discussion, it was decided to refer the future procedure on the Refugee Constitution to the Steering Committee for study and report.

Before adjournment, the Chairman gave the list of officials of the U.N. and others to whom letters of appreciation had been sent in connection with the visit to U.N.O. at Lake Success.

At 12.25 the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, May 9, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.00 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: We now have a quorum. I thank you, gentlemen, for your attendance.

Due to the fact there are so many committees sitting this morning, it brings to my mind the statement of Mr. Graydon last year, that this committee should not be at the tail end of all the other committees. However, we must use a certain amount of diplomacy and patience. I really believe the time has come when the chairman and vice-chairmen of all the committees should meet together and make a decision early in the session to decide what days would be used for the various committees. It has become a big problem for the members and the Committees' Branch who are trying to attend more than one committee on the same day.

In this connection, there is also the question as to the secretary of the committee. We all realize that Mr. Plouffe has done good work as the secretary of this committee, but he is also the secretary of the radio committee. I made a special plea yesterday to the authorities to see if it were not possible to keep Mr. Plouffe with us. Once a person has become familiar with the activities of a particular committee he is very valuable. A new man cannot gather, in one or two sittings, the information necessary to the proper conduct of the office.

Mr. Fleming: May I interrupt at this point, Mr. Chairman. I think some of us will have to see to it that the radio committee does not meet on the same day as this committee, because I think that is a very important point. Mr. Plouffe is needed on the radio committee because of his experience there and, for the same reason, he is needed by this committee because of his experience here.

The CHARMAN: The radio committee generally sits once a week, and we

may see that we do not sit on that day.

There is also the matter of making the report to be considered. I believe that every member of this committee should take some responsibility for the wording of it. What I have in mind is this, that we have a short discussion of this report here. I have always had in mind the fact that it might be good for our committee as a whole to discuss it at one meeting so as to decide what should be included in our report to the House of Commons. We may have, no doubt, the same situation with respect to the D. P. persons. These questions are very important, and, no doubt, by means of our report, we can gain the attention, not only of parliament, but also of the whole country. Therefore, I think the committee should realize such a responsibility is too heavy to be left on the steering committee, the secretary or myself. I will leave this question with you, but I should like your opinion on it at the next sitting of the committee.

Mr. Jaques: May I ask a question? Are these minutes to be published?

The CHARMAN: Of these meetings?

Mr. Jaques: Yes. The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. JAQUES: I have not had a copy as yet.

The Chairman: The printing of the minutes is quite a problem but it is being done as quickly as possible. The secretary informs me that No. 2 will be ready to-day.

I should like to inform the committee that General MacNaughton has confirmed the dates of June 5th and 6th, when the committee will be sitting

on the atomic energy report.

This morning we have with us Mr. Riddell, of the Department of External Affairs. He will deal with the problem on our agenda for today.

## Mr. R. G. Riddell, Department of External Affairs, called:

The Witness: I understand the committee has before it, at the moment, the constitution of the International Refugee Organization which has been tabled in parliament and which will require approval by parliament. I am sure I do not need to explain to the members of this committee the background of the refugee problem which has resulted in the establishment—

Mr. Marquis: Will the witness give a broad picture of this organization? The Witness: Yes, I will be very glad to do that, Mr. Chairman.

The war resulted in the uprooting of literally millions of people in Europe. One of the things we forget when we consider the refugee problem is the very significant movement of repatriation which was carried out. It is estimated that several million people were repatriated to their homes during the months immediately following the armistice in Europe. However, after that process of rapatriation had been completed, it was found that there were roughly a million persons in Europe, the number of whom has since been reduced to about 850,000 persons, who, for various reasons, could not return to their homes.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. What is the difference between a displaced person and a refugee?—
A. The word "refugee" is a rather broader term. The term "displaced persons" refers to people who, in the course of the war, because of the exigencies of the war, were uprooted from their homes and moved about in Europe. The term "refugee" applies rather more generally to, and includes people who, before the war, left their homes because of political persecution or for other reasons. The term "displaced persons" applies now to people who are in the displaced "refugee" is a rather broader term and includes a good many refugees who are charges of the military authorities and of the UNRRA authorities. The term "refugee' is a rather broader term and includes a good many refugees who are now in France and many parts of Europe. The term "refugee" also includes a good many people in the Orient who have been driven from their homes and are charges of the various refugee organizations.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, the statement was made, as I understand it, that there are about 850,000 who, for various reasons, cannot be repatriated. Can you give us on what ground that decision was made? Is it racial, religious, political or what?

The Witness: There is a variety of reasons, Mr. Chairman. In some cases they have no homes to which to return. The cities or towns from which they came have been destroyed. There is nothing to which they can go back. In other cases, all their relatives have been lost and there are personal reasons for their unwillingness to return. In the majority of cases their unwillingness to return arises from the political changes which have taken place in their countries of origin and which make them dislike the idea of returning to those countries.

Mr. Jaques: From what I understand, there were hundreds of thousands, not to say millions, of displaced persons who did not want to be repatriated. They did everything they could to prevent being repatriated, but they were forced back, really at the point of the bayonet. I should like to know why there are 800,000 exceptions. Who are they? I think there is a story behind this.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, the policy of the occupying authorities in Germany and the policy of the United Nations itself, in dealing with the refugee problem, has been to avoid the repatriation of any person who was unwilling to accept repatriation. We have had a number of enquiries concerning the possibility that people were being forced to accept repatriation against their will. We have always been assured by the occupying authorities that that is not taking place.

Mr. Jaques: I remember it being stated in parliament, perhaps a year or two ago, that there were hundreds of thousands who resisted forcibly and the military authorities fired over their heads and then into them to force these people into the trains. There were hundreds of thousands, not to say millions, of those people.

Mr. Coldwell: Are you not confusing the people who were ejected from these countries and sent into the occupied zone? I say that, because I was on the refugee committee for the whole of the discussion and everything was done by the occupying nations to refute the suggestion there might be anything in the nature of a compulsory repatriation. The whole criticism of Britain and the United States and, to some degree France, by some of the nations was they had refused, in any way, to put pressure on the people in the displaced persons camps to return to their countries of origin. Even when it was sometimes contended, I think improperly, that some of these people were traitors, war criminals and quislings who should be returned to be dealt with, the occupying powers refused, day after day. I heard the whole discussion. I think Mr. Jaques is thinking of the people who were ejected from certain places.

Mr. Jaques: I am thinking of the people who, having no great power to defend their interest on this side, have already been returned forcibly to the place from whence they were driven, and those people, to-day, who are sifted out. I just want to know why exceptions were made and for what reason, on what ground? There is no doubt at all there are millions of these people who have been forced back against their will.

Mr. Marquis: By which country, do you know?

Mr. Jaques: Well, by the allied command or the allied forces.

Mr. Coldwell: Which of them?

Mr. Jaques: All of them, I suppose. It was a year ago or maybe two years ago, but it certainly happened. I never heard it contradicted before. Apparently, while there were millions being forced back east, hundreds of thousands were coming west. We now hear there are these 800,000 who were exempted and I should like to know what the idea was behind this?

Mr. Marquis: In this 850,000 refugees, I understand there are a number of people who are considered as aliens in their own country by the actual govern-

ment of that country at the moment.

The Witness: Because of the fact they were refugees, or because of the fact they have refused to return? I am not sure what the situation is in that regard, but it is quite possible some of the countries of origin have taken away the citizenship of persons who have refused to return. I am not sure whether that has actually taken place, yet.

Mr. JAQUES: I am referring to the countries behind what is called the iron curtain. It is a fact that, rather than be forced back there, hundreds of

them committed suicide. Now, it seems there are 850,000 who are to have the privilege—I am not saying anything against bringing them out—but why should they be singled out for this preferred treatment?

Mr. Marquis: Mr. Chairman, it would be important, I feel, for us to have some evidence that people were forced to go back to these countries. Perhaps this is true, but we have no evidence of the fact that part of them or a great number of them were forced to go back to some country to which they did not want to go. I do not know if the witness would be in a position to give us some information relating to that or not?

Mr. Fleming: It seems to me that this problem could be resolved if Mr. Riddell could answer two questions or give us information on two points. First, from what countries did those 850,000 displaced persons come; what are their countries of origin prior to displacement? Then, secondly, if there is any difference between this point and the first one, into what racial groups are they divided?

The WITNESS: We can give very general figures in that regard, Mr. Chairman. The 850,000 were divided up, roughly, as follows: 345,000 people of Polish origin, 128,000 of Yugoslav origin, 187,000 from the Baltic states—and 156,000 others.

### By Mr. Fleming:

Q. What do you mean by the Baltic states? Do you mean just the three which were taken in by Soviet Russia?—A. Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Q. Just the three?—A. Yes.

Mr. Jaques: I am not trying to put you on the spot, of course, but can you say or would you say all the people who have expressed a desire not to be repatriated have been sifted out and are now to be allowed to proceed wherever it is they desire to go? Can you say that there were no forcible repatriations since the war ended?

The Witness: Well, Mr. Chairman, according to our understanding, each occupying authority was under certain obligations to repatriate the nationals of any other occupying authority who were found within its zone of occupation. In other words, the United Kingdom was under obligation to repatriate Soviet citizens within the areas occupied by the United Kingdom troops and, conversely, the Soviet Union was under an obligation to repatriate United Kingdom citizens who were found within their area.

Mr. Jaques: Those who were not shot as traitors, of course.

Mr. Marquis: Against their will?

The Witness: There was an obligation to repatriate the citizens of either country. For the purpose of this agreement the Soviet Union was taken to be the Soviet Union as at the date of the outbreak of war. There was also an obligation to repatriate persons who had engaged in traitorous of illegal activities.

Mr. JAQUES: Against whom?

The WITNESS: Against the country of origin. For instance, persons who were found serving in the German army.

## By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Against the country of origin or against the country of which they were nationals?—A. Against the country of which they were citizens which, in most cases, was the country of origin. There has been a very genuine effort to make certain that no one was repatriated who did not come specifically within those categories. Inquiries we have made have indicated that any one who could genuinely claim to be a refugee was not repatriated to his country of origin against his will.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. There was no discrimination whatever because of race or religion?—

A. We have no knowledge of any.

Q. All I can say is that I have heard plenty of complaints and have received plenty of letters beseeching me to rescue this relative or that relative from being forcibly repatriated. It was for this reason I brought the question up. We all know what happened to General Morgan when he made a statement on this very thing. He was immediately dismissed from his commond on the orders of Mr. LaGuardia. He threw a little light on what was happening and immediately he was silenced and deprived of his command.—A. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think all I can say in this connection is that complaints of this nature have been drawn to our attention on a number of occasions. We have made enquiries in connection with them and the evidence we have secured on those occasions seems to us to have shown that the people were not genuine refugees. Genuine refugees were not being forcibly repatriated against their will. We would be glad to make further enquiries about other specific cases which are drawn to our attention.

Mr. Jaques: We have, among the members of this House, a man who originated in a country which is now behind the iron curtain. He has recently made an extensive tour of Europe and, I believe, he has a great deal of information. I think it might be worth while if he were asked to give some information to this committee at some convenient time. He has been there and he is an unbiased observer.

The CHAIRMAN: Who is that?

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Hlynka.

The Chairman: If the members of the committee agree, I should like to see Mr. Riddell make a general statement and then have a period of questioning afterwards. I believe it would simplify matters for Mr. Riddell and also for the committee.

Mr. Jaques: I hope Mr. Riddell will excuse my remarks. Of course, they are not in the slightest degree personal.

The WITNESS: I understand that perfectly.

## By Mr. Marquis:

Q. One question on that point, if you will allow me. I understand that the Soviet Republic has the right to repatriate their subjects and Russians, who were considered to be refugees can be taken back to their country and forced to go there; is that true?—A. That is true, Mr. Chairman, with certain qualifications. In the United States zone, that obligation to repatriate Soviet citizens has been acknowledged only in he case of Soviet citizens who were found in German uniforms, persons who were charged with treasonable offences against their government and certain other similar cases. My understanding is that the United Kingdom, in its zone, is acting similarly, although I am not quite clear on that point.

Q. And those who are not in this category can remain there or go to some other country as D.P.'s, if they desire?—A. They can remain in the occupied zone. The question of their going to some other country is another problem yet to be decided.

Q. As for the Polish people, are the Polish people under the same rule as the Soviets? Those 345,000 Polish people who are refugees over there, are they subject to the same rule?—A. No.

Q. This is a particular regulation?

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. May I ask a question? Does not the I.R.O. constitution which was accepted after a very long discussion, specifically protect the people who are political dissidents from forcible repatriation?—A. Yes, it does.

Q. As I said a moment ago, the whole criticism of the administration of the occupying powers, levelled by the eastern countries, Jugoslavia, Poland and Russia, was on the basis that their nationals were not being returned. These countries did attempt to make it rather comprehensive by trying to get a resolution through that persons of all stripes should be returned, but the committee dealing with this problem certainly turned it down specifically. There is an article in the constitution protecting all these political dissident persons who would not return because of disagreement with the views of the government of their countries and who feared persecution because of their views; that is right, is it not?—A. Yes.

Mr. Graydon: I suppose all the persons in the displaced persons camps are not there and not refusing to go back due to political reasons. I suppose economic reasons have some bearing on their decision as well?

The Witness: Yes, I think so. I think in many cases the hardships of life in eastern Europe at the present time make people hesitant about returning. As I suggested previously, in many cases, they have not anything to which to return. Their farms are gone and their homes have been destroyed.

### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In other words, they are better off where they are in the displaced persons camps than they think they might be in their homeland?—A. I think so.

Q. In addition to that, there is always that hope, either slim or substantial, that perhaps if they stay long enough in the displaced persons camp, some country on this side of the Atlantic may decide to take them in?—A. Yes.

- O. I know when we visited Bockhorn camp in Germany, which was a Polish camp and also the camp where the Balts were at Oldenburg, there was a great desire, particularly among the Balts, to come over to Canada or the United States. There were men there who had had substantial businesses, men who had high ranks in professions in their home country and many of them were anxious, when they saw some Canadian members of parliament, to try to get in touch with us to see what the possibilities were of coming to Canada. We did not have an opportunity of meeting or talking with them, but it seemed to me that hope may have, in some respects, kept some people in the displaced persons camps. I suppose with the idea that, as conditions changed, they might not be forced to go back to their own countries where economic conditions, apart altogether from the political aspects of the problem, but where economic conditions would not be as good as they might hope they were in some other land which might take them in. I was wondering if that was the situation in other camps. Do you know much about that?—A. I think it is a little difficult to generalize because it is hard to know what people's motives are, but I would agree with Mr. Graydon that many of these people in the displaced persons camps are probably hoping that they can find new homes rather than return to their former homes.
- Q. I suppose many of them think they have a better chance of getting into a new land by being in the displaced persons camps than they ever would have if they stayed in their own country because the fact they are displaced persons has some claim, I take it, upon the sympathy of other people. Time after time, other countries decide to take them in as a special type of immigrant. That is just something I throw out as a possibility. I do not want to delay the discussion because I think we ought to go on with Mr. Riddell's evidence.

By the Chairman:

Q. A large nation made a statement about four weeks ago that most of these persons in displaced persons camps were persons who did not want to work. These people did not want to go back to their country of origin because they were being provided with food and clothing and so on. Are you in a position to say if there is any foundation for such a statement?—A. I would be inclined to question that statement, Mr. Chairman. I do not think life can be as pleasant as all that in a displaced persons camp. From the reports I have seen, I think the people in the displaced persons camps live fairly close to the subsistence level.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Before Mr. Riddell continues with something else, may I ask one question? I have understood from what was said here this morning that a person may not be forced to return to what we have called his country of origin if he feared persecution or some form of disagreeable experience which made return objectionable to him. If that be a correct statement of the situation, what is the position of a man who fought against his own country because he was dissatisfied with the regime that obtained in it at the time the war started and the time he began to fight against his own country? What is the position of the man who fought his own country to free it from a dominating influence which he considered a baneful influence?—A. I think it is difficult to see how those circumstances could apply except to the case of a man who had enlisted in either the German or Italian armies in the course of the war. I do not think there is any provision by which anyone who had served voluntarily in the German or Italian armies during the war can be regarded as a refugee or displaced person under the term of the document we have before us at the moment.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. He is considered as a traitor?—A. Well, it would depend on the attitude of his own country.

Mr. Coldwell: If you put on the record the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on the 12th of February, 1946, that would answer many of the questions which have been asked. It is annexed to the document headed, "Constitution of the International Refugee organization." If you look at the resolution, you will see it was decided to refer the problem to the Economic and Social Council for a thorough examination. It is recommended that the Council take into consideration the following principles:

1. This problem is international in scope and nature;

2. No refugees or displaced persons who have finally and definitely, in complete freedom and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin, expressed valid objections to returning to their countries of origin and who do not come within the provisions of paragraph (d) below—

(D) reads as follows:

Considers that no action taken as a result of this resolution shall be of such a character as to interfere in any way with the surrender and punishment of war criminals, quislings and traitors—

Mr. JAQUES: What do you call a quisling?

Mr. Coldwell: Just a minute, you know what a quisling is. May I just finish this?

Mr. Jaques: What do you call a quisling?

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Jaques of all persons should know what a quisling is.

Mr. Jaques: You have no reason to call me a quisling. My record is as good as yours. I should like you to take that back.

Mr. Coldwell: I did not say you were a quisling.

Mr. Jaques: I call upon you, Mr. Chairman, to make this member take his remark back. I have heard enough slurs from the leader of this party.

Mr. Coldwell: I would say a man of the type of Gerald L. K. Smith, who was indicted for un-American activities during the war and supported Hitler—

Mr. Jaques: He never did.

Mr. Coldwell: —and Nazi ideas in the United States—

Mr. Jaques: It's a lie.

Mr. Coldwell: —is a quisling.

Mr. JAQUES: It is a lie.

Mr. Coldwell: He is a quisling and I let his record stand as to whether that is true or not.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, I must insist on defending myself from that charge.

The CHAIRMAN: I did not hear that; Mr. Coldwell was reading a paragraph.

Mr. Jaques: This member has charged me with being a quisling. He said I must be a judge of quislings; that is what he said.

Mr. Coldwell: No, I said your friend Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith was a quisling.

Mr. Jaques: He is no quisling. You said General Mihailovich was one; he was murdered by your friends.

The Chairman: I should like Mr. Coldwell to carry on with the paragraph from which he was reading. On what page is it, Mr. Coldwell?

Mr. Coldwell: On page 18 of the memorandum.

The future of such refugees or displaced persons shall become the concern of whatever international body may be recognized or established as the result of the report referred to in paragraph (a) and (b) above, except in cases where the government of the country where they are established had made an arrangement with this body to assume the complete cost of their maintenance and the responsibility for their protection.

If you took account of the reasons which may govern this, you will find, I think, fear of prosecution and so on at the hands of the countries to which they might be returned. It is perfectly clear.

Mr. Hackett: Mr. Chairman, what I was trying to find out was whether or not any protection is afforded to a man who has taken up arms against an element in his own country and has fought against it—

Mr. Marquis: Such as DeGaulle.

Mr. HACKETT: You might take that, but DeGaulle is not the best example you could find.

Mr. Jaques: There is Marcel Thorez, the French Communist leader who backed Hitler until he invaded Russia. They do not condemn Communist traitors.

Mr. Macinnis: I think if we are going to deal with this matter in any objective way, we will have to confine our historical survey. What is considered to be a displaced person and a refugee is pretty well defined. I think if we are going to make any recommendations which will be helpful to these people, no matter how many there are or how few there are, we have to confine

our discussion to how we can assist them. The other historical matters in connection with this may be of interest, but, I submit, if we are going to be objective in the matter before us, we have not got the time to go over it in this committee.

Mr. HACKETT: We will have to accept these definitions?

Mr. MacInnis: What I have in mind is that what is now considered to be a displaced person is pretty well known and the desire is to help those displaced persons to find homes. If there are 850,000 or no matter how many there are, those are the people we can assist. I do not think there is anything we can do which will go beyond the date of this resolution, February 12, 1946. We have the constitution of the International Refugee organization before us, and if there is any assistance going to be given I think it will be given under the provisions of that constitution, provided we are going to operate as a member of the United Nations under which this constitution was drawn up. Therefore, I would suggest we try to confine ourselves within those limits.

Mr. Marquis: The question put by Mr. Hackett was one concerning a very material subject, what is a refugee or a displaced person? For that reason, we are trying to find out some examples of these persons in order to understand the regulation. Sometimes it is better to have a broader view of a situation. Some groups are now refugees and some others are not, and we should discuss the reasons why some are refugees and some are not. With regard to DeGaulle, he was the leader of the government. There was another government in his country, but the country recognized his movement was in the interest of that country. There are some other groups, perhaps, which are not in the same situation. It may be of interest to the members of the committee to know what has been done with those groups.

Mr. Coré: I think they are pretty well defined on page 12 of the constitution.

Mr. Jaques: Arising from Mr. Hackett's question, may I ask what would be the situation of a man who fought from the first for his country, but during the war that country was conquered or, if you like, "liberated", so that a totally different regime was set up. Then, because this man was still loyal to his country of origin, he is now called a quisling and traitor and even shot. Greece is one of those countries and also Jugoslavia. In Poland the same thing took place, in fact, in every country which has been liberated by the Soviet. This was true in Greece. Thousands of them were being murdered and they would all have been murdered had it not been for the British stepping in two years ago, in spite of the opposition of the leader of the CCF.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, if the committee would follow the suggestion which has already been made by one of the members of the committee with regard to the definition of "refugee", which appears on page 12 of the document which is before you, I think it would settle the matter. This definition of "refugee" and "displaced person" was worked out with great care and at a sacrifice of considerable time in the various committees of the United Nations. The members of the committee will see it is divided into sections, the first of which definies refugees and displaced persons, and the latter sections define persons who are not refugees and displaced persons.

Now, I am not sure whether the committee would care to examine those definitions clause by clause. This is a rather long and complicated section of

the constitution.

With reference to one question which has been raised, on page 12, paragraph 2 of section A of the memorandum, the latter part of the paragraph provides that no one is a refugee,

Who is outside of his country of nationality or former habitual residence, and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of his country of nationality or former nationality.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. When was that signed or agreed to?—A. This constitution has not yet been brought into force. It has been signed by Canada and by thirteen other countries—fourteen countries now—and will come into effect when it has been signed and ratified by fifteen countries. In the meantime, however, there has been a general disposition to accept the definition of refugees and the provisions for their care which have been outlined here.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. And there is also the fact that even prior to the adoption of this definition the occupying powers, Great Britain, United States and France, were working practically on this basis, although it was not constitutional at that time. The criticism that was made by other nations was ill-founded and unfair.—A. Yes.

The Charman: We have the statement of Mr. MacInnis that Canada is directly interested in the displaced persons matter and we have to do something tangible for other persons. I believe it would be in order to go over every paragraph of this definition with regard to refugees because then we may bring in some recommendations which may fit in with what we may do.

Mr. Coldwell: I believe that would be a wise course to follow.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. What is the commitment of Canada if she signs this?—A. If this document is signed and the signature ratified, Canada will become a member of the International Refugee Organization; she will accept the financial obligations that are provided in the Annex on pages 15 and 16, and it will be necessary to present to parliament an estimate asking for approval for the expenditure of funds in this regard. The estimates for the first year of the operation of the I.R.O. will call for the expenditure of about \$5,500,000.

By Mr. Kidd:

Q. Will Canada have other obligations besides financial ones with regard to these displaced persons? Can you enlarge on that?—A. The situation is that the International Refugee Organization does not lay on any member a specific obligation to accept any refugee or displaced person. The resettlement of refugees and displaced persons will be discussed by the International Refugee Organization when it comes into existence and when the Council meets, and no doubt suggestions with regard to resettlement of displaced persons will be made; but there is no constitutional obligation to accept.

Mr. Marquis: I think we should accept the principle of taking some here.

Mr. Hackett: It would be a rather futile membership if we did not.

Mr. Jaques: It boils down to this, that this agreement is not in force; and in the meantime is it a fact or not a fact that people have been repatriated against their will? Will you say that nobody has been repatriated against his will from the end of the war to the present time?

Mr. HACKETT: I do not see how that statement could be made.

Mr. Cote: There is no official record that I know of that deals with that point.

Mr. Jaques: What I am trying to get at is this—Mr. Benidickson: Repatriated from what area?

Mr. Jaques: From wherever these displaced persons were. The point I am trying to make is that they have been sifted out, and these are preferred ones for reasons which are political or religious or because of race—I do not know, but that is what I believe they are—and those who do not please the powers that be have been sent back to whatever fate awaits them, either as quislings or traitors, or whatever you like to label them.

Mr. Marquis: I think it has been impossible to make an investigation on that point. The General Assembly has not had the power until now to make an investigation in all parts of the world. So it is possible that some groups have been repatriated against their will by some countries. However, those are general statements in the newspapers and we have no concrete evidence to go on.

Mr. Jaques: We have eye witness accounts. Surely we are all familiar with newspaper accounts.

Mr. Coldwell: I think we should go on with this matter that is before us. May I say that I have no doubt in my mind that persons were repatriated against their will, particularly in the early stages, but since the organization among the nations was set up, protection has been given to political dissidents. However, I think prior to that, undoubtedly, during the turmoil of the immediate aftermath of the war people were sent back to their countries of origin when they would rather have remained where they were. The point I am making is this, that the constitution as now established is now used to protect such persons defined in this document against repatriation against their will.

Mr. Marquis: Is there any control of the area under the direction of the Soviet Republic?

Mr. Coldwell: The Soviet delegates at the meetings of the committees said they had no refugees within their borders.

Mr. Benidickson: Could Mr. Coldwell make a rough estimate of the date he is speaking about or when the change in system took place?

Mr. Coldwell: Criticism was levelled against the occupying powers of the whole east last year.

Mr. Cote: Irrespective of what has taken place, I think we are off the track at this moment, because there was no organization set up for this purpose. As Mr. Coldwell has mentioned, these things occurred during the turmoil of the aftermath of the war. Now, three or four powers were in charge, and I think It would be beyond our status to go into making an examination. Before the organization is set up it is difficult to analyze or criticize or judge what has been done; we are dealing with an organization which is about to take over certain responsibilities. I think we should confine ourselves to the proposal which has been made to Canada as far as we are concerned in this particular document, and see whether this document satisfies us or not; but I do not think we should revert to the past and examine what has taken place with regard to an organization which was not in existence. We are dealing with an organization which is about to be organized and in which, naturally, we are going to participate, and I say to the committee that we should not use our time in discussing things that are not connected in anyway whatsoever with the responsibility of that organization that is about to be set up.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, I have not received an answer to my question. My question is this: there were sifted out from all the millions of displaced persons some 850.000 people who now are able to go anywhere they want to go

in the world. Now, I am asking, how were they sifted out? Did they draw lots? Were they just lucky? If they sent back millions of people why have they kept 850,000? Who are they and why have they been singled out for this preferred treatment? That is the question I am asking; and I want an answer if it is possible to get an answer.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I think all I can do is reiterate the statement that I made previously. In the period immediately following the armistice there was a general movement of repatriation which took place very rapidly in western Europe, and that was a movement which took place in all directions, both from the west to the east and from the east to the west. There were, for example, thousands of French people who had been taken into eastern Germany and Poland. They were repatriated, during this general large scale movement of repatriation, after the armistice. The occupying authorities organized displaced persons' camps, which they operated in co-operation with UNRRA. The division of responsibility was a rather general one. The occupation authorities maintained the camps generally, the UNRRA authorities provided for the organization of the camps. These camps were open to any genuine refugee who was unwilling to return to his country of origin. At various times since the establishment of the camps inquiries have been made among the refugees to discover whether any of them were then willing to return to their place of origin, and the suggestion has been made that from time to time pressure was put on certain of them to return. Inquiries have been made by the Canadian authorities in regard to specific suggestions that pressure was being put on people to return.

Mr. HACKETT: From people or individuals?

The Witness: Individuals or groups of people. Those inquiries have not resulted in our discovering any evidence that anyone was being forced against his will to accept repatriation to his country of origin.

## By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Mr. Chairman, might I ask this question in order to get some information for Mr. Jaques? Have you any information as to the largest number of persons who were in the displaced persons' camps; how many are in the displaced persons' camps now; if there is a difference between the number there in the first place and now, to what countries did those people go, by and large?—A. I have not those figures immediately before me, but I think they could be secured. I may say that the movement of repatriation since the establishment of the camps has not been very great. Various efforts have been made to find out whether people would be prepared to accept repatriation.

Q. I think you can get the information, and if you can it will be useful

to this committee.—A. I think we can get the information.

## By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Repatriation was carried out before the establishment of the camps, was it not?—A. This is the general movement of repatriation which took place immediately after the armistice.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Was it 3,000,000 people who moved one way or another?—A. My impression was that the figure was considerably higher than that.

Mr. HACKETT: That is exclusive of military forces?

The Witness: Yes. The Germans had been busily occupied for a number of years putting people on forced labour in various parts of Europe, and there was a tremendous initial obligation on the part of the occupying authorities to unscramble this situation and get people back to their homes as rapidly as possible.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Has any policy been adopted whereby these persons in displaced persons' camps can do some work?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. Do they do very much, though?

Mr. HACKETT: They are not fed enough to be very effective.

Mr. Graydon: I realize that. I am more interested in the morale of these people, actually.

The WITNESS: Yes, they have been employed by the occupying authorities.

#### By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Have they been paid?—A. Yes, they are paid a nominal figure. I am not sure what the figure is, but they have been employed by the occupying authorities. In certain sections of Germany a good deal of forestry work has been done by people who are in these camps. Usually they maintain and take care of their camps. I understand that that is quite an ambitious engineering undertaking and it has been established by displaced persons themselves.

Mr. Graydon: Some of the engineering I saw would not come in that category.

The Chairman: I believe it would be in order now to revert to Mr. Riddell's statement in which he is giving us a general picture of the activities; and then we will go into the special sections and discuss the whole matter.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, a good many of the matters I had in mind to mention have been brought out in the course of the discussion. The constitution of the International Refugee Organization which is now before you was approved at the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and was submitted to the members of the United Nations. The first signature to be placed on the document was that of the Canadian representative, and the constitution is now before the Canadian parliament for ratification.

I might say a word or two in regard to the coming into force of this constitution. It is provided in the document that it shall not come into force until it has been signed and ratified by fifteen members of the United Nations whose total contribution amounts to 75 per cent of the total budget of the Organization. The constitution has been signed by fourteen, only three of whom have ratified it. The contributions of the fourteen states together amount to approximately 73 per cent of the budget; therefore, if it is signed by one or two more states and ratified by all fifteen the constitution will go into force.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Is there a prospect of that happening?—A. Yes, there is a very good possibility that two more states will sign within the near future. The question or ratification is more difficult and may take a little more time. There was some urgency in the matter since UNRRA, which is now administering the displaced persons' camps, will terminate its activities in the middle of the summer. The Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization, for which provision is also made in the document before you, is now meeting in Geneva. Some concern has been expressed because of the fact that It is necessary to recruit personnel to administer the camps and carry on the work of the I.R.O. When this body comes into existence that personnel could most logically be recruited from UNRRA, and if this is to be done—it must be done soon—the extra signatures and necessary ratifications are wanted now. A difficulty may arise, however, between the termination of UNRAA and the time this constitution comes into force. It is hoped the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization may be able to carry on in some form during that intervening period.

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#### By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Have you got the names of the states which have signed? I suppose the United States and the United Kingdom have signed?—A. Yes, I can give you a full list, if you wish: Canada, Dominican Republic, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Phillipine Republic, United States of America, the United Kingdom, China, Belgium.

Q. What about Australia?—A. Australia has not yet signed. It is pos-

sible she will sign shortly.

Q. And South Africa?—A. South Africa has not yet signed. I am not

sure whether they intend signing or not.

Q. They are not in the list, unless I have looked in the wrong place?—
A. They are immediately after the Ukraine on page 17.

#### By the Chairman:

Q. Are there any governments which have accepted the draft constitution of which you know?—A. The governments of New Zealand, the United Kingdom and China have signed without reservation.

Mr. HACKETT: Russia has not. I see the Soviet Republic.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Are there any of the Russian satellite states in this at all?—A. They took part in the conferences in which this constitution was prepared, but it is unlikely they will sign.

Mr. Coldwell: They were fundamentally opposed to most of the sections dealing with these displaced persons. I am quite sure that they will not sign. Their view was that persons who would not return to their countries of origin, must, of necessity, fall into one of the three categories and therefore, they should not be responsible for any expense in connection with their maintenance.

Mr. Graydon: I know when this question came up at the General Assembly in London the Soviet representative as well as the Soviet's satelite states representatives were strongly opposed to the British idea of having an International Refugee organization. They voted against it and fought against it so far as my memory goes. I am amazed there was as much progress made at the second

Assembly as there was.

Mr. Coldwell: As a matter of fact, the voting on this was quite interesting. In almost every instance, almost everyone voted for the amendments proposed in this constitution and proposed by the Soviet Union. It is for this reason the criticism of the countries now in charge is rather queer criticism, because everything was done by the countries to protect people who did not wish to return.

Mr. HACKETT: Why would a country like Sweden stand out?

Mr. Coldwell: Sweden abstained from voting on the constitution, but supported most of the definitions.

Mr. HACKETT: How about India?

The WITNESS: I think it is unlikely India will join.

Mr. Coldwell: Again, India abstained on the ground that this did not deal with Asiatics.

The WITNESS: There is a problem in connection with repatriation. I think the Indian government feels it has social problems of such magnitude of its own, and also that this problem is one which does not specifically and directly concern it.

Mr. JAQUES: The fact remains that the United Nations has taken action after the majority of people have been repatriated. This is the point I should like to make.

Mr. HACKETT: Even if that were true, what bearing would it have on what we are trying to do?

Mr. Benidickson: Even if it were true, there are still many people left. Have we had an estimate of the number of people left?

The WITNESS: There are roughly 850,000.

Mr. Jaques: Why have they been singled out?

Mr. Graydon: Because they did not belong to Soviet Russia nor is Soviet Russia their place of origin. Those people who are in there now, none of them are Soviet citizens. These are Poles, Jugoslavs, Balts, and 156,000 others.

The WITNESS: In the others, there may be included some who are Russians, but I should not think the number would be large.

Mr. Graydon: Then, my statement is not quite correct.

The Witness: I think it would be unfortunate if we accepted as a fact that the initial repatriations which took place after the armistice were, to any extent, forced repatriations. My understanding is that it was largely a voluntary repatriation on the part of the people who were extremely anxious to get home to their place or origin. It was a movement of people which took place in all directions. The 850,000 people who are now in displaced persons camps, represent a genuine, solid core of refugees.

Mr. Jaques: Then, it is not true at all that a large number of people were forcibly repatriated at the point of the bayonet? They were not fired into and hundreds of them did not commit suicide, those stories are false?

The WITNESS: Well, Mr. Chairman, I do not think anyone in Canada knows everything which happened in Europe during that period immediately after the war, particularly in the eastern part of Europe.

Mr. Graydon: I think that is a miracle of under statement.

Mr. Jaques: I am speaking about what happened on this side of the iron curtain.

The Chairman: In the case of Holland, France and Belgium, those who were repatriated were so glad to go back to their own country, you could not prevent them. The pressure was tremendous.

Mr. Jaques: I am referring to those people who were forcibly repatriated to behind what has come to be known as the iron curtain. Then, all the stories we heard of them being forced into troop trains, into cattle trucks and forced to go at the bayonet, hundreds of them committing suicide; none of that is true?

Mr. Marquis: Part of it may be true and part may be untrue. We do not know exactly how it happened.

Mr. MacInnis: The point is, we have no way of ascertaining how much is true and how much is untrue. There are things happening in Canada which may receive a great deal of publicity and we all know that what really happened was not what we heard had happened.

Mr. Coldwell: If Mr. Jaques had been present at the meeting at which this constitution was discussed and adopted, he would have—I have no doubt Mr. Graydon will remember and I suppose in London the same thing happened—he would have found out that the sole criticism levelled against the United States and Britain was that they had protected these people from repatriation, as it was called, had discouraged them from going back to their country of origin, not that they had forced them at the point of the bayonet.

Mr. Jaques: I am not saying who did the forcing. I was not there. I am only repeating what we have all read, not only in the newspapers in this country, but in magazine articles, signed articles, by reputable war correspondents. We have all, I suppose, had letters from constituents who have beseeched us to work in behalf of one or more of their relatives who had no desire to be repatriated.

Mr. Hackett: I wonder if Mr. Jaques would consider this; is not the question which he asks and the questions which he has asked throughout the day, possibly a topic for a separate enquiry; but are we not impeding and delaying the aid we can give to those who are still within reach of assistance, by making this enquiry into the unhappy lot of those who were dealt with before the agency we are trying to set up could come to their rescue?

Mr. Marquis: And that is something over which we have no control at all. Mr. Jaques: For one obvious reason, all my questions have been directed to this point, for what reasons have these people been sifted out? I think that is the most important point.

Mr. MacInnis: Mr. Chairman, I wonder if Mr. Jaques is opposed to giving assistance to those who are left?

Mr. JAQUES: No, not on general principles, certainly not, but if these people have been sifted out for reasons of a racial, religious or even political nature, then I think these cases should be very carefully examined.

Mr. Marqus: Yes, but Mr. Chairman, if these things have been done by countries over which we have no control at all I do not know what steps could be taken by this committee to make recommendations concerning the matter. If it had been done by our own country, it would not have been the same thing, but I do not think Canada has done anything of the kind in relation to the people who were forcibly repatriated.

Mr. MacInnis: May I ask again, then, if this would be Mr. Jaques' position? He clarified it somewhat, but it is not quite clear. He would be opposed to Canada rendering aid to the persons now in the displaced persons camps until he had definite information as to the reason for their survival?

Mr. Jaques: That is not the point I am making at all. I have never said that I opposed the repatriation of these people. What I do want to know, if I can find out, is on what ground they have been shifted out from the millions who found themselves displaced and who have been, willingly or unwillingly, repatriated.

The Chairman: It must have been due to the fact that those who remained must have been there of their own volition. It may have been due to the hope they would be able to come to South America or Canada, or some place like that.

Mr. MacInnis: Or their refusal to leave the camps.

Mr. Jaques: That is obviously true, but why should these particular ones be granted the right to choose their future place of residence when millions have been sent back whether they wanted to go back or not. Is it suggested that all the stories we have heard and all the evidence of that kind is entirely false?

Mr. MacInnis: There is one other question which I should like to have answered. Is there any evidence, Mr. Riddell, that anybody or any group of people have been removed from the displaced persons camps since the displaced persons camps have been set up and recognized—

The WITNESS: Against their will?

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Against their will?—A. No, there is not.

Mr. Coldwell: Is it not a fact, Mr. Riddell, the recommendations of the countries which wished to have some repatriation, perhaps on what we might call a compulsory basis, were denied the right of sending persons in to investigate and pick up people in these camps upon whom pressure could be exercised?

The Witness: Yes, that is quite true. It has been pointed out that the general criticism of the western occupying forces in Germany and Austria has been that they have not repatriated enough people rather than that they have

repatriated too many people. As I said, we have enquiries from time to time concerning charges that forced repatriation had taken place or was taking place. We would be glad to make further inquiries with regard to specific cases of this kind.

The Chairman: Is there any specific charge you have from any newspaper or any organization, Mr. Jaques?

Mr. Jaques: I do not have them at hand or even on file. Surely all the members of the committee are familiar with them. I might make this explanation; when these forcible repatriations were being made, it was under an entirely different administration in the United States. In those days the policy was one of complete appearament toward Moscow. Now, of course, the policy is different. It is quite the reverse. Now, the United States is getting tough. Naturally, that policy exends to repatriation as well as many other things.

The Chairman: Is it not the opinion of the members of this committee that the displaced persons camps should be abolished as quickly as possible, in a practical way, because of the physical, spiritual and mental deterioration which is taking place. I suppose that is the basis of our discussion this morning. Canada desires to do her share, as do all the other nations who have signed this protocol. It is the desire to abolish these camps as quickly as possible and to return these people to a normal life. I believe that is the basis for our discussion this morning.

It is now nearly twelve-thirty, is it your desire to continue until one o'clock?

Mr. Low: This report, unfortunately, did not come into my possession early enough to enable me to read it before I came here. For that reason, I should like to go over it rather carefully before we go too far into the discussion of it.

Mr. Benidickson: I recognize I did receive a copy of this memorandum in the mail, but we all know we receive a great number of documents of this kind. I would just suggest that, if it were sent out under the auspices of this committee, it should have been ear-marked as a subject for discussion at this meeting. Then, I think we would have read it rather than putting it aside for weekend reading. If, in the future, there is anything of a similar nature to be mailed to us which is going to be the subject of a discussion at the next meeting, a letter should be attached to it saying this matter is coming up for discussion in the External Affairs Committee. Then, we would be prepared in advance of the discussion, and we would not put the material aside to be read at a time when we had more leisure.

Mr. MacInnis: I would suggest, if Mr. Riddell has not any further explanation to give us this morning, we could adjourn now and perhaps the steering committee could take this matter under review and have a definite recommendation for us on it at the next meeting.

The Chairman: That is for future discussion and for future decision. Is that agreed?

Agreed.

Before we adjourn, we received the authority of the members of the committee at our last meeting to send a letter of thanks to the people who were so kind to us during our visit to New York. Letters have been sent to the following:

Trygve Lie, Secretary-General, U. Nations.
L. B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.
Byron F. Wood, Director of Bureau of General Services, U.N.

Byron Price, Assistant Secretary General Administration and Finance,

Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary General, Public Information, U.N. William Agar, Chief of Speakers Section, Public Liaison Division, U.N. Mrs. Janet Salemanca, Speakers Section, U.N.

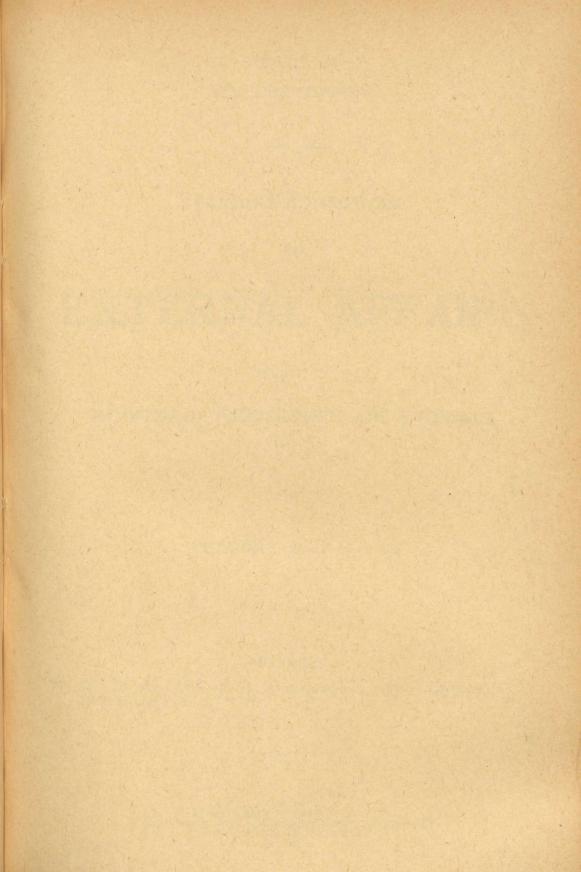
A. P. Lait, Canadian National Railways, New York.
Mr. Saunders, Director of Transportation, U.N.
Miss Gertrude McKetterick, Transportation Headquarters, U.N.
Jehan de Noue, Chef de la Section du protocol, Nations Unio.

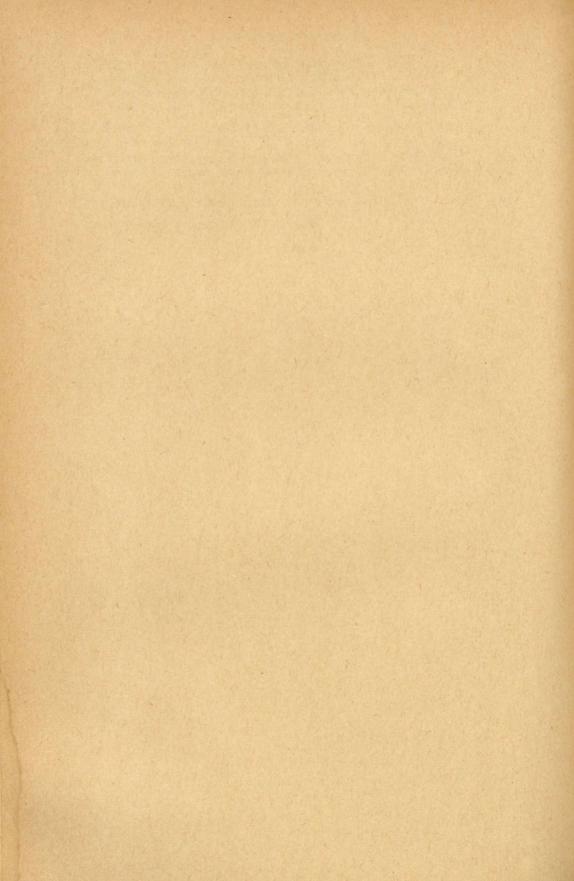
I must say those people were very kind to us and went out of their way to make our trip a most pleasant one.

Mr. Benidickson: I see those letters went out through the secretary. I trust another letter went out on behalf of our group, speaking of the many kindnesses of the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: That was done.

The committee adjourned at 12.30 p.m.





## SESSION 1947 HOUSE OF COMMONS

### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 4

TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1947

#### WITNESS:

Mr. W. D. Matthews, Chief Administrative Officer, Department of External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1947

#### ERRATA

The order of refrence under date of April 30, 1947, printed on page 49 of the minutes of proceedings and evidence No. 2, should read in part

The Constitution of the International Refugee Organization of the *United Nations*, etc., etc., and not of the United States.

#### ORDER OF REFERENCE

Monday, May 12, 1947.

Ordered—That Votes Nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, and 56 inclusive, of the Main Estimates 1947-48, dealing with External Affairs and referred to the Committee of Supply on March 4, 1947, be withdrawn from the Committee of Supply and referred to the Committee on External Affairs.

Attest

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE, Clerk of the House.

#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, May 13, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Bradette, Coldwell, Côté (Matap.-Matane), Croll, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Leger, Low, MacInnis, Marquis, Pinard, Winkler.—(16).

In attendance: Mr. W. D. Matthews, Chief administrative officer; Mr. S. D. Hemsley, Assistant chief administrative officer; Mr. H. F. Clark.

The Chairman read a report of the Steering Committee under date of May 12 recommending methods of procedure.

A letter to the Chairman from Mr. Eric W. Morse, United Nations Society in Canada, under date of April 8, 1947 was read.

Ordered,—That Mr. Morse's letter and attached correspondence be printed as appendices. (See appendices A, B, C, and D.).

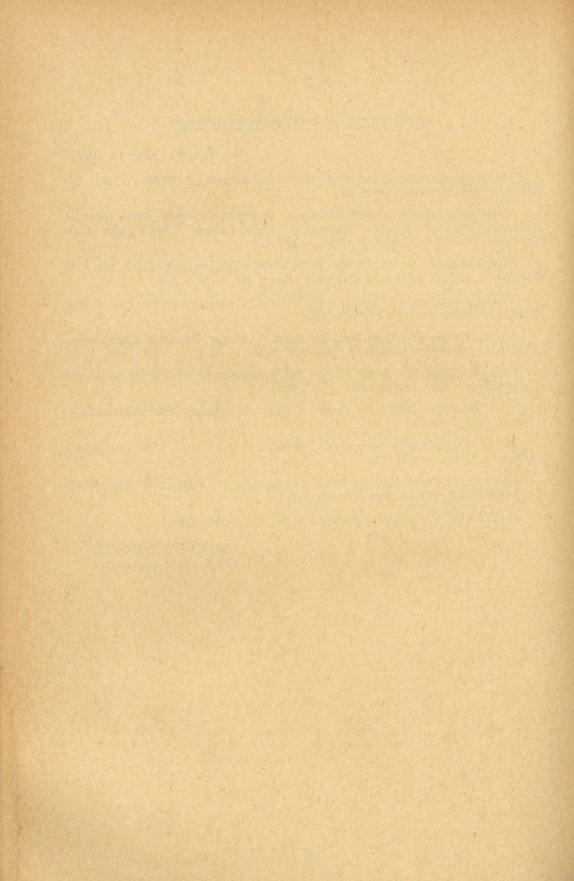
The Committee began its study of External Affairs Main Estimates as referred, being items 41 to 56.

Mr. W. D. Matthews was called, interrogated and retired. He was assisted by Messrs. Hemsley and Clark.

The witness distributed copies of a comparative statement relating to the Estimates of External Affairs Department.

At 12.15 the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, May 13, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: Order, gentlemen, please. I should like to compliment you for coming early to this meeting on such a rainy day. If I may be permitted, I will read a memorandum from the steering committee which met on May 12, 1947.

The steering committee of the committee on External Affairs met this day at 2.15 o'clock in the office of the chairman.

Members present: Messrs. Low, Winkler, Leger, in addition to the chairman. Messrs. Fleming and Jaenicke also attended.

At this point I must state that when we found we could not get the regular members of the steering committee, we called the members of the different parties so that all parties would be represented at that meeting.

After discussion, the steering committee decided:-

- 1. To meet on Tuesday to begin the discussion of the External Affairs estimates which were referred to the committee, taking as the last item general administration.
- 2. To resume its discussion on the constitution of the Refugee Organization, and D. P. with Mr. Riddell in attendance for questioning. Reference was made to the inter-departmental government committee on refugees.

As you will notice we are not continuing the discussion of the resolution on displaced persons, the reason being Mr. Riddell is presently in Toronto. He is delivering a speech there so that the members of parliament and others will know what this is about.

3. To place before the committee a letter from Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary, United Nations Society of Canada, addressed to the chairman.

I will now read that letter. (See appendices A to D inclusive this day's evidence).

If you agree we will have this letter presented with the evidence and also the other correspondence attached thereto.

Some hon. Members: Agreed.

The CHAIRMAN: Carried.

I again reiterate my invitation to the members of the committee to give consideration to phases of the committee's report to the House inclusive of recommendations. As you will readily appreciate the matters we have to discuss are so intricate and so involved that it would be asking too much of the chairman to do all the work of preparing the draft report. So I am going to suggest that we have special sittings to consider sections of the report to be made in accordance with our terms of reference, each one relating to a particular phase of external affairs. That is one of the reasons why we have here today Mr. O. W. D. Matthews, chief administrative officer; Mr. S. D. Hemsley, assistant

chief administrative officer and H. F. Clark. They will be ready to give you all information respecting the items of the estimates starting with item 41, the estimates being for departmental administration; and then we will go on to item 43 which relates to administration. Yesterday in the steering committee it was decided that we would leave the administrative item over until the last; and it is always a prerogative of our members to reopen any discussion at any time they wish. The officials of the Department are prepared to deal with departmental administration.

Mr. Croll: What is the one we are on this morning?

Mr. Matthews: Vote 41, which includes the provision for information work.

The Chairman: I believe it will be satisfactory to every one. We are really in the hands of the departmental officials who are here to deal with the activities of the department. We will now ask Mr. Matthews to proceed.

## W. D. Matthews, Chief Administrative Officer, Department of External Affairs, called:

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, I would like to start by having these mimeographed sheets passed around to the members. They give a great deal more information than the printed estimate book concerning the appropriations for last year and the expenditures for last year. If I could have these handed around then I could explain various points about them. On the first page, Mr. Chairman. the first column shows the estimates as they are printed in the estimate book. That includes the amounts for the supplementaries passed last June, but not for the supplementaries that were passed in March. The second column includes supplementaries passed in March, and the pages of detail also show the transfers that were made between heads of expenditure with the approval of treasury board. The third column is for 1946-47 expenditures which are subject to minor adjustments because the books are not yet closed. It would be fairly accurate for all expenditures from Ottawa, but not for the expenditures from our offices abroad as the March accounts are not in from all our missions. There will not be wide variations in total amount because we know how much money they got but there may be variations in the breakdown according to heads of expenditure and the details. The 1947-48 estimates are as printed. The next column shows you the amounts for information work for 1947-48. Actually the estimates were prepared last November which was long before the decision was taken to consolidate the information service with the department. The amounts in the third column show the amounts prepared by C.I.S. for estimates for this fiscal year. They were included in the Department of External Affairs estimates when printed and the breakdown under the various subheads of expenditure are shown in the following pages. For comparative purposes the C.I.S. estimates for 1946-47 and their expenditures for 1946-47 are given. There again, there may be some slight variation in the actual expenditures because the books are not closed for the fiscal year but the variation will be very slight.

I am not sure, Mr. Chairman, just what the committee would like me to refer to. The details of the vote for departmental administration are given

on the fourth page of this mimeographed material.

## By Mr. Croll:

- Q. What do you mean by temporary assistance? You have quite a large amount in there.—A. That is salary payment for everyone who is not a permanent civil servant, a technically permanent civil servant.
  - Q. Yes, but this is quite a large amount.—A. Yes. We have the details here.

Q. How many would you have who are not permanent?—A. We have the actual figures used for the preparation of the estimates.

Mr. Fleming: Mr. Chairman, I do not want to interrupt, but could we have some direction as to the way we are to take these statements up. There was a statement made in the steering committee that there would be, perhaps, quite a lot of general discussion under the head of departmental administration; it might be held over and we might dispose of some specific items.

The Chairman: We have votes 41 to 46 which have been referred to us. I do not think we can take the others up yet.

Mr. Fleming: I want to prepare on how we are to go about it.

The Chairman: If it is satisfactory we could call item by item, unless some other arrangement would be more convenient for the officials of the department.

Mr. Fleming: Would Mr. Matthews be prepared to discuss any of these items?

The Chairman: We might follow the suggestion of Mr. Matthews and take page 5.

The Witness: I thought you wanted departmental administration, but we are prepared to deal with any item the committee may wish to call.

Mr. Croll: If that is departmental administration, I thought you wanted that first.

Mr. Marquis: This is vote No. 41.

The Chairman: What I had better do probably is call the items one by one. If you want to you can leave that one out for the time being; if you are not prepared to proceed with any item that is called it may be held over and dealt with at some later time. Now, item No. 41, departmental administration; we can go on with that one.

The WITNESS: Sure.

The Chairman: I believe it will fit in with Mr. Matthew's idea of going on to page 5 of his report, and then call all these items, the first one being salaries, and then temporary assistance and other items so as to have coordination in our discussion.

Mr. Fleming: Has Mr. Croll's question been answered?

Mr. Croll: I will accept the chairman's suggestion and wait until we come to it—if there are any other items with which the committee desires to deal first—and then when we reach that one I can ask my question again.

The Chairman: It will lead to better coordination in our report if I call the items one by one.

Mr. CROLL: All right.

The Witness: The salaries make provision for the permanent members of the staff serving in Ottawa; the ones who are permanent civil servants. There are 64 included in that item.

Mr. Jaenicke: You have that right in page 106 of the estimates.

Mr. Fleming: That compares with 65 for last year.

The Witness: Yes, 65 last year. Those are the figures as we foresaw them last November. Various people have been moved back here and there are always changes being made in the staff.

Mr. Fleming: There is not considered to be any need for expansion in the permanent personnel of the staff.

The Witness: A very large proportion of the people who have been brought in will be made permanent but they are now not permanent appointments and we can only provide under this heading for persons who are permanent at the

moment the estimates are prepared. If we get others made permanent we will be able to transfer funds from the provision for temporary assistance to cover the new permanent appointments. That of course will have to be done with approval of the treasury board.

Mr. Marquis: It will not make any great change in the actual expense, they will come over to permanent positions from temporary ones?

The WITNESS: No, it will not make any difference in the expenditures.

Mr. MacInnis: Many of those temporary appointments are permanent except in the terminology of the civil service commission.

The WITNESS: Yes, we hope a large proportion of them will become permanent.

Mr. Croll: Why are they not permanent now?

The Witness: The reason they are not permanent now is because during our period of great expansion, that is during the war, the civil service commission was not holding competitions to qualify people for permanent appointment. Now, the commission has started competitions for permanency. We are advising every one of our temporaries to take those examinations now and if they are successful we will be able to approach the commission and ask them to make the appointment permanent in the technical sense. The results of these examinations held by the civil service commmission for the general clerical and stenographic grades are not out yet but the examinations have been held. We have asked the commission to advise us of the names of the members of our staff who have qualified for permanencies so that we can begin turning the wheels to complete the process.

Mr. Croll: I am not concerned with the stenographic staff as much as I am with the higher grades who have been with you for perhaps many years and are still there on a temporary basis. I mean the people who are valuable to your department, and who are in a grade say two or three grades above the stenographic staff?

The WITNESS: The same situation applies to them because during the war, with two exceptions there were no examinations for permanency. The exceptions of persons who could qualify for permanent appointment were as follows. One was for the foreign service officer grades and it included third secretaries and up. It was considered they could qualify for permanent appointments because the examination applied to people who were overseas serving in the forces. Actually the examining board, including Mr. Hemsley, went around Europe examining people for appointments. The competition was designed for persons in the forces overseas and that procedure was not considered prejudicial to people who were serving abroad. The second group is that selected by special examinations conducted for the selection of stenographic staff for our offices abroad. The department does, from time to time, review the case of individuals who have been appointed as a result of those examinations. Normally we cannot make them permanent until they have served for a year in a temporary capacity. Periodically we review all the foreign service officers who have been in the service for a year or more and all who have given satisfactory service will then be recommended for permanency. Such a review is under way at the moment. Where a foreign service officer has over a year's standing in the department the case will be considered and a recommendation will go forward for permanent appointment of those who are considered satisfactory.

Mr. Croll: So that a large number of these may be on foreign service.

The Witness: For civil service purposes instead of having a person appointed into the grade of third secretary, second secretary, first secretary, they are now appointed foreign service officers grade I. II, III, and they are called 1st or 2nd or 3rd secretaries. They serve either in Ottawa or at the posts abroad.

Mr. Fleming: Are there increases provided for in salaries all the way down the line to account for the increase in this appropriation from \$176,000 in last year's estimate to \$213,000 this year?

The WITNESS: I can give you the detail of the way that increase is reached. Annual increases aggregated \$4,980. Persons transferred from offices abroad to serve in Ottawa, \$15,390.

Mr. Fleming: How many people in each case are involved; that is those who have an annual increment?

The Witness: I will have to count those, I have not got the total. There are forty who received annual increases. There are four who were transferred from posts abroad to serve in Ottawa whose total salary was \$15,390. Then there is a large group who were receiving cost of living bonus which bonus has now been consolidated with the salary and therefore although there is a paper increase there they are still receiving the same amount.

Mr. Marquis: That amount was paid last year.

The WITNESS: Yes, it was paid last year and there is a decrease in "Other Paylist Items" and an increase in the salary appropriation.

Mr. Fleming: How many individuals were there involved in that?

The Witness: Thirty-three. There were six new appointments, a total of \$23,865. That makes a total increase of \$63,995. Certain decreases have been subtracted. There were people transferred to offices abroad, \$30,590. There was one resignation, a decrease of \$1,620; one replacement at a lower salary of \$300; making a net increase of \$31,485.

The Charman: Are there any more questions on the salary item? The next item will be temporary assistants. Is that item covered by the answers given to Mr. Croll's question?

Bu Mr. Croll:

Q. Have you the number of the temporary assistants?—A. Yes, the total number in Ottawa at the present time is 368.

Q. And outside?—A. I will have to go to another vote for that figure.

Q. Do not bother, then.—A. That is covered by another vote, sir.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. This item would cover the 368 employees?-A. Yes.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Would some of the higher officials such as counsellors be included in that item?—A. Yes, because a certain number of them had not been appointed by the civil service more than a year ago. For instance, Mr. Pierce, who is going as Ambassador to Mexico had been serving in a temporary capacity for some time. He was covered by the temporary vote in the estimates. Mr. McDermott, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Hebert, Mr. Hopkins, all in the counsellors grade, are included in this item and there will be others right down the line to office boys.

## By Mr. Fleming:

Q. This item shows a very substantial increase over last year's expenditure. It has risen from \$391,000 to about \$681,000. How do you account for that increase?—A. Well, the greater part of that increase results from the fact the 1947-48 estimates include a provision for the information work which was in a separate C.I.S. estimate last year. The amount included is a figure in the fifth column, \$146,440, so that brings the comparison down to \$534,000 which still is a very substantial increase.

Q. That is about half of the increase?—A. Yes.

Q. The increase aggregates about \$280,000 and the information service accounts for about half of that?—A. Yes. Part of the additional increase will result from the reduction of the other pay list item which is the third item. It has dropped from \$53,000 to \$15,000, resulting from the consolidation of the war bonuses with salaries. The bulk of the additional amount will be accounted for by the increased number of appointments. As you know, we have been bringing in large numbers of young men who were overseas. They are receiving training in Ottawa and then will go out in the field, or the majority of them will. The estimates this year allow for the appointment of a fairly substantial number of these men. Then, there will be expansion of the clerical and stenographic staffs which must take place with an expanding office.

Q. Is there a breakdown available showing a comparison of the personnel whose salaries are provided for under the item, temporary assistants, this year as compared with last year?—A. Yes, I could give you that comparison. I will give you, first, the position as we saw it when the estimates were prepared in November last. As I say, when dealing with these items you must remember some of the permanent personnel may have moved out of Ottawa since then. Last year there were six special assistants provided for in the estimates who were war-time appointments. This year there is one left in the estimates, but actually there are none left, in fact, today. So the item for Special Assistants to the Under-Secretary appointed on a war-time basis has dropped from \$34,350 to \$5,000. The number of counsellors provided for has gone up from nil last year to six this year, providing for a total compensation of \$36,300.

The number of first secretaries for which provision is made has gone up from three to five with an increase in compensation from \$13,500 to \$22,500. The number of second secretaries—we are really getting into the foreign service officer grade 3, here—is the same, two each year. The number of foreign service officers, grade 2, has gone up from seven to eleven, and in dollar amounts from \$23,100 to \$36,300. Two assistants in External Affairs, who were also war-time appointments, have been dropped, so there is a decrease there of \$6,120. The number of third secretaries for which provision has been made has gone up from 21 to 35, with an increase in the total amount of money concerned from \$51,630 to \$91,710. We have provided for three head clerks as opposed to none last year. I do not know whether you want all these items right down to the clerical and stenographic grades as well.

Q. I do not think we need all that detail. Just give the main items accounting for the increase of \$144,000 in salaries alone exclusive of the

Canadian Information Service.—A. Yes.

Q. Does that cover the main items?—A. I think those would include the main items. There are salary increases in addition to new appointments of \$9,610.

Q. How many people are affected by that?—A. How many?

Q. Yes.—A. It would cover more than two columns, almost three columns

on a foolscap page.

Q. It would be a substantial number?—A. It would be a substantial number, yes. The increase resulting from the consolidation of the cost of living bonus is \$65,000; the consolidation of war duties supplements with salaries, \$1,100. Reclassification accounts for \$7,335 and then, new positions which I mentioned, account for \$105,000; replacements at higher salary \$1,600; transfers from other offices and divisions \$9.200. To offset that, there are various decreases. Positions dropped which would be largely special assistants, account for \$26,200; third secretaries who were made permanent, \$5,000, so that is taken into the other item; transfers to other offices, \$5,900; replacements at lower salaries, \$2,900. The total of the increase is \$201,000, decreases \$40,000, so the net increase is \$161,000.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Mr. Chairman, it was mentioned a little while ago that a great many have been recruited from the armed forces. Is the total number so recruited available?—A. We have been working on the records to obtain that figure last night, but we are not quite satisfied with the result. We could bring that information to the next meeting.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, this committee is considering the estimates, but I presume that will not prevent or preclude discussion on external affairs when the estimates come up in the House?

The Chairman: No, it does not take away any prerogative of the House of Commons. It is hoped it will shorten the debate on External Affairs, or, on the estimates, at least.

Mr. MacInnis: We had the same discussion last year, but it did not prevent Mr. Jaques from speaking on the estimates when they came up in the House, so I think he will have the same opportunity this year.

The Chairman: It is not the idea of committee work to stop discussion. It may, and the hope is, that it will shorten the discussion on the floor of the House.

Mr. Fleming: The hope is, as I understand it, the committee will clear up a lot of the details and then the discussion in the House can be confined to a general discussion on External Affairs.

The Chairman: The officials are able to speak directly to the members of the committee. They cannot do this on the floor of the House of Commons, so it is a great advantage to us to have this information from the officials concerned.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. I am back again where I started. There are 368 people in Ottawa drawing, if I see the thing correctly, \$390,000. By a quick calculation, that indicates about \$1,000 each. This seems a very low salary for people working in external affairs at all levels?—A. It is \$680,000 provided for in this year's estimate; \$390,000 is the actual expenditure last year.

Q. That is the actual expenditure last year?—A. On External Affairs; last year, the amount spent on the information staff was not included in our vote.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. In other words, there were not 368 people whose salaries were charged against the \$390,000?—A. No.

Q. The figure of 368 is the figure for the fiscal year 1947-1948?—A. \$680,000.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. The thing with which I am concerned is, how many of those do you expect to make permanent this year?—A. That will depend on how many of them will qualify as the result of the civil service examinations for permanent Positions. We would hope to make permanent all of those who have given satisfactory service, who qualify in a competition, and who have had the

necessary one year's service in a temporary capacity.

Q. Have you any idea how many you have with one year's service or two years' service?—A. I have not got those figures up to date, but the bulk of those people will not have had an opportunity to qualify by means of a competition for permanent positions. A competition has been held in very recent months, the results of which are not yet out. Our department expanded so rapidly during the war and during that period, no competitions for permanent positions were held.

#### By Mr. Leger:

Q. Would you say you had a substantial number who have not served their year's service?—A. It would not be large, probably 50 or 60. It would not be

a large proportion of that total.

Q. Most of them would be returned soldiers?—A. This will include female clerks and stenographers as well, but, certainly, most of the males would be returned soldiers.

#### By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. You mentioned some counsellors and first and second secretaries being included in the number of 368. Are those people subject to civil service examination the same as anyone else?—A. Yes.

#### By Mr. Fleming:

- Q. I was making a rough calculation along the lines of Mr. Croll's enquiry and if the 368 people worked for the full fiscal year, \$680,000 divided among them would work out to an annual salary average of \$1,900?—A. Yes.
  - Q. The number, 368, includes your clerical and stenographic staff?—A. Yes.

#### By Mr. Cote:

Q. May I ask the witness if the amount, \$477,440 is all the money that will be spent during this fiscal year on the Information Service, including salaries?

The CHAIRMAN: I do not want to interrupt you, but we are on page 5, item 2.

Mr. Cote: I know, I am on page 5, the second last column. There is an amount of \$146,444, for the temporary assistants' salaries, I suppose, and I see only \$20,000 for printing and stationery, a total amount of \$477,144. I understand that is the correct amount and will take care of all the expenses of the Information branch of the department?

The Witness: No, sir, when we broke up the figures which had been submitted by C. I. S. in the estimates, we broke them into the two separate votes which were appropriate for the External Affairs department. Those expenditures in Ottawa, were included in our vote for departmental administration, and expenditures abroad were included in vote 43, for representation abroad. Details of this item, are three or four pages farther along. It totals \$169,000 and is included in a separate vote.

## By Mr. Cote:

Q. That would apply to this?—A. That would apply to that, yes. The Chairman: Are there any more questions on this item?

## By Mr. Croll:

Q. It strikes me, despite the fact the department has grown very quickly during the war, no one can deny that and it was quite right and proper, one of the things the department ought to do for its own good as well as for the good of the service, is, as quickly as possible, to make these men permanent so as to give them the security to which they are entitled. I think you have a disproportionate number of temporary assistants. There was a reason for that, but there will be no further reason for it. I, for one, desire to see these men made permanent as quickly as possible.—A. It is our intention, sir, as soon as the technical requirements are met, to go ahead and make them permanent.

#### By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. There is a provision in the Civil Service Act for a certain percentage of employees in any department that have to be temporary?—A. There is, but, with a rapidly expanding department such as ours is at the moment, that does not cause difficulty. When we reach our maximum, it might.

#### By Mr. Fleming:

- Q. I should like to suggest there has not been much progress made in that direction during the fiscal year which closed on March 31. Is it to be expected there will be some substantial progress made in that direction in the present fiscal year?—A. Yes, because the Civil Service Commission, for the clerical and stenographic grades, has now held an examination which will qualify those people for permanent positions.
- Q. I think we are more concerned with the people who are holding responsible positions in the department.—A. In those cases, our very large intake has been since the war. Appointments have been made from the young men who are coming out of the forces. We did have a review made so that a certain number were made permanent last year, but the number showing in the departmental administration will not have gone up. I think the total number of permanents in Ottawa, comparing March, 1947, with March, 1946, March, 1947, is up 14 and representatives abroad, the figures are up 15. There were very few of these people who came in early enough to have had a year's temporary service. There will be, I hope, a very large batch to be recommended for permanancy as a result of the review which I mentioned earlier which is, at present, being made in the department.

#### By Mr. Croll:

- Q. The practice of sending temporary people abroad strikes me as being not the most desirable thing. These people who leave their homes, cut away from their roots a bit, so to speak, find themselves in a temporary position with a possibility of having the position cut out from under them after perhaps two years service. It seems to me those people should be the last to be of a temporary nature?—A. The only reason it has been done is that, with the opening up of new missions our requirements abroad have been too great to staff all places with people who have had a year's service in the department. Quite apart from the reason you have mentioned, it would be desirable to have people serve one year in the department to learn the work of the department. Then, there would be a chance to make such people permanent before they were sent abroad. The demands on our staff have been so great that some people have had to be sent abroad with a very small period of training in Ottawa.
- Q. Have there been any examples of people who went abroad on a temporary basis losing out?—A. No, I do not think we have told anyone who went abroad he had to come back. Actually, it would be the department's expense and responsibility if these people were moved back. There would not be a financial loss involved if those people were told they were not suitable.
- Q. I am not thinking of the financial loss, I am thinking of other losses. You pick your people rather carefully, as I recall it, even those in the army you picked very carefully. Have you had any of those people fail on you in the competitions?—A. You mean during the course of the year?
- Q. Yes.—A. No, I think everyone of those people have proven to be very satisfactory: It is a very remarkable result.

#### By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. What educational qualification is required?—A. The minimum is university graduation which, in the case of most of those who have been coming in recently has been the maximum too, because they have not had the time to take post-graduate work. They were in the army.

Q. What courses would these people take at the university?—A. It would

be chiefly general arts subjects, but not solely.

Q. Do you advertise those positions?—A. Yes, they are advertised in the ordinary civil service way. The advertisement as I recall it, says, university graduation, preferably with specialization in history, economics, political science or law.

Mr. Jaques: Economics, what sort of economics?

Mr. Fleming: Not home economics.

Mr. Jaques: This is a pertinent question, I think. If it is economics as taught in the London School of Economics, I must say I should like to register a protest.

Mr. Marquis: Some of them receive lectures from Mr Gregoire in Quebec.

Mr. Jaques: That includes a great deal more than economics.

The WITNESS: I think economics, as a university subject, is rather a broad subject. We do not try to spell out the details of the curriculum of the university these people must attend.

Mr. Jaques: Shall I put it this way; supposing an applicant were to qualify by passing the very strict examinations to qualify as a fellow or associate of the Social Credit brand of economics, would you say he would be engaged?

The Witness: All we ask is a degree from a university of recognized standing. The applicant has to have a degree. The applicants write the civil service examination as well. We do not specify what university an applicant must attend or the nature of the course given at that university.

Mr. Marquis: You give the applicant a star for his science, whether it be social or not.

Mr. MacInnis: It must be a recognized university.

## By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Is there any qualification as to birth or nationality for the men who are to be appointed to confidential positions? Would those positions be given to people born in other countries or would those positions be confined to native born Canadians?—A. No, the requirement is that a person must be a British subject and a Canadian citizen.

Q. By birth?—A. No, with at least ten years residence in Canada.

## By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Would those in the category of temporary assistants include those who were loaned by other departments or services not connected with the government?—A. No, it is just those who are on the Department of External Affairs payroll. There are none really loaned by other departments at the moment.

Q. There were in recent times, were there not?—A. There were various people who came on a temporary basis from the universities and such places as that. I do not recall any of the men who were loaned from other departments in Ottawa.

Q. Those who came from universities are not included in this list?—A. No, they would be included in the 1946-1947 figure, but they have all been dropped now for the current year.

Mr. Croll: Just to see if we can make a little progress, may I suggest there is no purpose served in discussing these fixed items, such as freight and express. I do not know anything about them. The only other item which is fluid is the one for publicity and information.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. There is a great difference in the freight and express figure. It has risen from \$750 last year to \$10,000 this year?

The Chairman: I believe it will be preferable to proceed in an orderly fashion and call the items. Then, we will know exactly where we are. Temporary assistants, any more questions on that item?

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Mr. Matthews, is there any distinction in the qualifications of an applicant for the Department of External Affairs and the applicant for a position in any other department? Are the same requirements asked when these applicants pass their examinations under the Civil Service Commission?—A. The normal requirement is a five year period of residence in Canada while it is ten years for the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, just for my information, and the reason I ask this question is because I have heard considerable complaint about the matter down at the U.E.L., at least among some of the people I met, is Mr. Stanley Ryan an employee of the Department of External Affairs?

Mr. Cote: Who is he?

Mr. Jaques: Up until recently he was representing the Canadian Press, I understand.

Mr. Jaenicke: Mr. Pearson told us he was simply an employee of the United Nations.

The Chairman: That is what Mr. Pearson told us at a conference at the Biltmore Hotel last Tuesday. We were told he was a civil servant of the United Nations organization by Mr. Pearson.

Mr. Jaques: The point I am trying to make is this, Canada is credited, more or less, with his sponsorship.

Mr. CROLL: No, that is not so.

Mr. JAQUES: Whether you think so or not, that is a fact.

Mr. CROLL: Mr. Pearson denies that.

Mr. Jaques: It will not help if he does; it cannot alter the fact. I say that he has been, and he has not brought credit to Canada as a whole. As I say, he is only one of hundreds of cases. He attaches the name of "Canada" to himself when he has no such name. I think there is too much of that sort of thing. If a man is going to occupy a confidential position in the service of his country, he should be beyond suspicion.

Mr. Jaenicke: I object to that, he is not in the service of the country.

Mr. Cote: I do not think it is proper for this committee to pass judgment or make remarks upon an appointee of the United Nations, and especially if that appointee is a Canadan. I think we should be the last country to criticize our own countryman. These appointments were made by a U.N. representative in Ottawa who had nothing whatever to do with the Department of External Affairs. I happen to know the man who has been hiring these people. He has nothing to do with the External Affairs Department. I think we should be the last ones to criticize Canadians who are appointed by the U.N. and solely by the U.N. I object to that and I think our remarks should be confined to the report.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Since we are dealing with the estimates of the Department of External Affairs, I should like to know, if that man directly or indirectly, received a salary from the External Affairs department? A. No.

Mr. Jaques: It was to find out whether there was any responsibility that I asked the question. There is a general misunderstanding and I just wanted to clear it up. Who recommended him, do you know that?

Mr. MACINNIS: There may be a time at which that point may be raised here, but it is not this time because it does not come under this item.

The Chairman: From the answer given by this official, it would appear this department had nothing to do with his appointment. I do not think we should go into the matter any further. Will the temporary assistants item carry?

Mr. Jaques: Just one last question, if a man, anyone, is appointed to the U.N. from Canada or any other country for that matter, does that country or does the government have anything to say or do about the appointment of that man?

Mr. Cote: I submit not. Appointments were made after an announcement had been made in the paper telling anyone who desired to apply for the job. There was a representative of the U.N. here in Ottawa who made the appointment or recommendation directly to the U.N. without the Canadian government having anything to do with it.

Mr. Jaenicke: Mr. Pearson explained he was in London at the time. A man was needed at the time and they took this man on.

The CHAIRMAN: The next item is a small one, "other paylist items."

Carried.

Printing and stationery.

Carried.

Freight and express.

Carried.

Telegraphs and telegrams.

Carried.

Postage.

Carried.

Travel and removal.

Carried.

Publicity and information, sundries.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Will you outline generally, in view of the reduction, how that reduction comes about, Mr. Matthews, please.—A. The reduction in which item, sir?

Q. Publicity and information.—A. You see there was nothing in the 1946-47

departmental estimates for that.

Q. Yes, but it was a different vote, wasn't it?—A. It was voted as a Privy Council item for the use of the Canadian Information Service. You will see the amount voted for 1946-47 was \$204,000.

### By Mr. Cote:

Q. And the actual expenditure was?—A. \$123,000.

Q. And they want to increase that?—A. Yes.

## By Mr. Croll:

Q. I would say from press reports that I have seen that you are reducing the personnel abroad; is there any truth in that?—A. Actually at the moment personnel for the C.I.S. is really static. It is only a short time that the informa-

tion service has been in the department; a review is being made as to how it shall carry on. Everything is just stationary. I do not think there are any reductions other than normal resignations which you get in any event.

Q. I have the figures upstairs. I could go up to get them. They show that our information service abroad is only about one-third of the information service maintained by Australia and even New Zealand; and it is much less than the Netherlands and it is less than Belgium; and that I think is true also with respect to the United States. That, I think is a matter for some concern. I am wondering whether you are starving that part of the service or whether you are taking advanage of what that service can do? That is the object of my question.—A. As I was saying, sir, at the moment it is really a matter of reviewing what shall be done. I think, Mr. Chairman, that when it comes to a discussion of what the future policy and development of that service may be, it is an item which should be dealt with by Mr. Pearson. I am not competent to deal with it.

Q. It is a matter of policy, is it?—A. Yes.

#### By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Your proposed increase this year is \$37,000?—A. That is for expenditures on this particular item in Ottawa, yes.

Q. Last year the amount was \$204,000 and the expenditures were only

\$124,000?—A. Yes.

Mr. Croll: The item should stand in view of what I have asked. For instance, the suggestion that the Washington office will be closed. I saw that in the press. That will entail some reduction in wages and whatnot. It is a matter of some concern.

The Witness: In the details of vote No. 43 you will see the amount provided for offices abroad. With respect to Washington, in addition to the amount of the vote with which we are now dealing, there is an estimate of \$62,829.

Mr. Croll: Where is that?

The WITNESS: That is on the next to the last page, sir.

Mr. Marquis: That comes in under another item. We might carry this one.

The Chairman: Of course, a standing committee is unlike a committee of the House of Commons; you can always refer back to any question or item.

Carried.

Now, gentlemen, I believe it will be in order to go back to the estimates of External Affairs. I do not believe we can deal with passports this morning, that is item No. 42.

The Witness: I am not sure how much detail you will need to go into that, sir.

Mr. Macinnis: Is there very much that we need to go into on that item? We had quite a long discussion on it last year and I do not think it would be profitable to take time to go over it now.

The Chairman: Not unless some members of the committee could bring some new points up. We made some recommendations last year which were very valuable.

Mr. Marquis: Which item is that?

The Chairman: Passports, item No. 42. It may be that there are some members who may have some questions to ask or some changes they want to recommend.

Mr. Leger: That item can stand, I suppose.

Mr. The Chairman: Yes, but I believe we should have a few words from Matthews.

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The Witness: There is some detail with respect to the passport office which you will find at the top of the next page. We had supplementary estimates last year to bring the total authorized expenditure, \$126,000 of which we spent \$122,000. This year we estimate for \$137,000. That results from an increase in the number of passport applications coming in. The first quarter of the calendar year 1947 shows that we had something like 16,000 applications approved as compared with 11,000 for the same period in 1946.

#### By Mr. Low:

Q. How do you account for that?—A. I really am not sure, I will have to get that information for you from the passport officer; I imagine it is because travel restrictions have been lifted and more people are travelling.

Q. I was going to suggest that perhaps it was due to a relaxation of restrictions.—A. I think it is probably due to that, and a general easing of the

difficulties of travel including the securing of accommodation.

Q. Have you any figures which would give us a comparison with the years prior to the war?—A. I would have to look up those figures, sir. I haven't got those with me. I should think that now it is larger.

#### By the Chairman:

Q. What is the revenue of the department?—A. I am afraid I haven't last year's revenue. The first three months of 1947 run around \$30,000 a month which is probably somewhat larger than the average for last year because the number of passport applications were particularly heavy at that time.

Q. For the first three months?—A. For the first three months of the

calendar year.

Q. The department, then, is practically self-sustaining?—A. Yes, it is more than self-sustaining at the moment. Of course all the revenue is paid into the consolidated revenue fund, it is not added to our vote.

Mr. Kipp: I do not know whether I am speaking out of turn. I notice with respect to the last item that we have just passed that it was considerably above last year-\$1,534,000 as compared with \$767,480. Now we are passing on to passports. I would like to place myself on record as appreciating the general courtesy of the passport office. I would like to call attention to a matter which affects my own constituency. Before the war we had a United States consulate located at Kingston. That office has since been closed. I do not know what the committee can do or what the departmental practice is; but United States cut out these extra services at points like Kingston and the nearest point to which people in that area can apply for a passport or visa to go to the United States is either to Montreal, Ottawa, or Toronto. It was most convenient when the consular office was at Kingston. It served a large area. Now, these citizens have to go to Toronto, Montreal or Ottawa. The matter is one which I think should be brought forcibly to the attention of this committee, or perhaps I should have brought it to the attention of the Prime Minister on the floor of the House. By keeping places open offices of the kind to which I have referred often render a real service to the country. Like us, United States have all kinds of young men coming back from the army who are anxious to get employment. There are nearly half a million people in this area requiring service; and, as I mentioned, if any person wants to go to the United States he has to write a letter to Toronto and arrange an appointment. They get back mimeographed forms of some 20 or more pages and it takes quite a while to complete these. It used to be that they could go directly to the local office and get immediate service. The way it stands now, a person has to make application to a point like Toronto or Montreal or Ottawa, as I said: They then are required to go to, let us say, Toronto where they have to stay for two or three days. They have to write in for an appointment. They are told to be

there for nine o'clock and they find they have to sit around on a hardwood bench until eleven o'clock. Then the medical officer comes in to examine them; and very often they are told to come back again the next day. I think we should make some representation to the United States through the Department of External Affairs with a view to seeing if we cannot secure a little better service for Canadians in this area.

Mr. Low: That brings up the matter of the application of reciprocal arrangements. I do believe that our Canadian departmental officials are giving a far better service to the public than are those of the United States.

Mr. Kidd: Are you familiar with that? Do you know anything about it? Have you anything to do with it?

The WITNESS: No, sir; that is completely outside the department.

Mr. Coldwell: What became of the discussions to facilitate passage across the border that we heard about last year? Are there not supposed to be some arrangements worked out by committees of the two countries to facilitate movements across the border?

The Witness: I understand there is still some discussion continuing. The person who would be most familiar with that would be the chief of our consular division, Mr. Chance.

Mr. Kidd: We have nearly half a million people in this area, and now these citizens are required to go to Toronto or Montreal and await their turn. It would be a lot easier if they had a consulate office in the Kingston area. As it is now, as I said a moment ago, they have to go to either city and stay for 2 or 3 days and sit around in the office there waiting their turn. I know of one case of a person wanting to go to the United States. He was told to come for a medical examination at eleven o'clock. He had to wait for the doctor to come in and instead of showing up at eleven o'clock the doctor did not come in until after lunch time. Frankly, I do not think such arrangements of that kind are very desirable.

Mr. Jaques: You are referring to the American government?

Mr. Kidd: Yes. The American government used to have a consulate at Kingston prior to the war. I think they have one now in the area of the international bridge (Ivy Lea).

Mr. Leger: I thought that they had offices in all parts of Canada. I know that in New Brunswick we have only one U.S. consular office.

Mr. Kidd: Is there an office at the Ivy Lea bridge?

Mr. Cote: Yes, for certain things.

Mr. Low: Could we not call Mr. Chance?

The WITNESS: Yes, but he is on a trip at the moment and will not be back for about a month. Mr. Hebert is acting in charge while he is away.

Mr. Low: Whoever is in charge of that might come before the committee.

The Witness: It is not a matter of passports because you can go over to United States without a passport now.

Mr. Kidd: It is not a matter of passports?

The CHAIRMAN: Would that not come under the department of immigra-

The WITNESS: I think it is really a United States department responsibility.

Mr. Kide: Yes, but we want an improved American service. We had a pretty good set-up before the hard times came along in the '30's when they cut out so many offices. Now they have a lot of young men coming back from the army who need positions and my suggestion is that we invite them to open up more consulates in Canada.

Mr. Croll: They are probably trying to cut their taxes too.

The Chairman: Now, the next item is 42, "departmental administration." That stands.

Item 43, "representation abroad", we were asked to leave that aside for this meeting to be discussed at a later meeting.

Item 44, "to provide for hospitality in connection with visitors from abroad."

Carried.

Item 45, "amount required to meet loss on exchange."

Carried.

Item 46, "grant to United Nations Society in Canada."

That is the matter referred to in the letter I read at the opening of to-day's meeting.

Mr. CROLL: They want more money?

The Chairman: Apparently they do. You will recall that last year Mr. Morse appeared before us and then some of the members of our committee made the statement that we were a little stingy, that the amount was small, and they expressed the opinion that the government might give more than was provided in the estimates. The result of that was the letter I read at the beginning of this meeting. It may be in order not to discuss that for a few moments; but I will recommend that a larger amount be granted to that organization.

Mr. Croll: Had we not better know something about the work they do? First, I feel that that is a very stingy amount to give for the purpose for selling or even keeping the people of Canada informed on what the United Nations Organization does and what they are attempting to do. There is a different task to be undertaken and to be completed. Should we not know something of what they realize in revenue from their members and what expenditures they make and what they actually do before we recommend anything? A representative of that organization would be welcome before the committee, I think.

The Charman: Well, if I appreciate the attitude of Mr. Morse when he was called last year he was rather pleased by the statements made by members of our committee. I believe that what he was concerned about at that time was the thought that a request for a large amount might be an imposition to some extent. Now, apparently he has changed his mind and accepts the ideas expressed, that a more substantial vote should be made available.

Mr. Leger: I got the impression that they wanted to be independent.

Mr. MacInnis: Could we not get somebody from the United Nations body in Canada to come before us and give us information?

The CHAIRMAN: That can be arranged.

The item stands.

Item 47, "administrative expenses of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization."

Carried.

Item 48, "Canadian section of Canada-U.S. Permanent Joint Board on Defence."

Carried.

Item 49, "Canadian representation at international conferences."

By Mr. Croll:

Q. There is a tremendous increase in this item. What is the explanation of that? I see the amount asked for this year is \$400,000 and the amount last year

was \$200,000; and I notice that you only spent \$298,000 last year.—A. It is an item for which the department really could not prepare a specific estimate because one does not know a year ahead what conferences are going to be called or how large your delegations to such conferences are going to be, but you have to know that you will have enough money to meet anything that may

turn up.

Q. You must expect a considerable increase this year because you are asking for 100 per cent over last year.—A. So far this year there is a fairly large delegation to the trade conference in Geneva. Their expenses will come out of this vote. There will be a meeting of the United Nations in September and there is a special United Nations meeting that is going on now. There may be a number of conferences called which might call for very large delegations, and this merely is an attempt to get an outside figure to make sure that we will not cramp our delegations and be able to send the people we really need.

Mr. Marquis: And last year, in the supplementaries, you were voted \$324,000 on this account.

Mr. Low: But they only spent \$298,000.

Mr. Marquis: The estimates covered a very large amount.

Mr. Coldwell: And the next meeting of the assembly is in September?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Marquis: If they do not know how much they are going to need, I think all we can do is give them a vote of this kind.

Mr. Kidd: I have a question I would like to ask about the Imperial Graves Commission. I understand that our high commissioner is our representative on that commission. Does the expenditure for that come under this item?

The WITNESS: No, I think you will find that is provided for in an estimate for the Department of National Defence.

The Chairman: The officials of the Department of External Affairs made a special request that the committee should allow item 43 to stand.

The next item is 50.

Item 50, "Grant to the International Red Cross Committee".

Carried.

Mr. Low: May I just ask this; is that \$20,000 a return to the peacetime level?

The Witness: No, during peace time no grants were made at all to the International Red Cross. It is supported entirely by contributions from the Swiss, but there is still a certain portion of the wartime activities to be completed. So it was thought it would be reasonable to give them half of the amount they received during the war years to assist them in their winding-up work.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Will that be finished this year? Have you had any correspondence with

them on that point?—A. I do not think I have it here.

Q. Have you seen their budget at all?—A. They did give us some figures showing what they anticipated their expenditure would be. It is well below the war level and the department thought that it should do something so made the grant to conform more or less with the budget which is about at one-half of the wartime expenditure level. We thought that one-half of our wartime contribution would be appropriate.

Q. What I was thinking of was the voluntary contributions of Red Cross Societies in the various countries; what they contributed during the war. Even in the postwar period you have the Red Cross doing a tremendous amount of work in the occupied countries.—A. Of course, this is the International Red

Cross.

Q. Yes, I know it is the International body which looks after the prisoners of war, the internees, the mail service and so on during the war.—A. Yes. It is not a question of an assessment of a portion of their budget, it is a matter of voluntary contributions by governments.

Carried.

Item 51, "grant to the United Nations organization for 1947".

By Mr. Low:

Q. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know what that covers?—A. That is Canada's contribution to the United Nations for this year.

Q. The amount of our assessment?—A. The amount of our assessment, yes.

Mr. Coldwell: It is our part of the project?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Cote: That is the expenditure which Canada is committed to make for the work of the secretariat of the United Nations.

#### By Mr. Low:

Q. Pardon me, may I go into that; we passed an item a moment ago for

the expenses of certain delegates to international conferences?—A. Yes.

Q. Does that item, \$895,000, the grant to the United Nations, cover the total expenses of our delegation down there?—A. No, that is our contribution to the budget of the United Nations. It has nothing to do with our delegations attending the United Nations' conferences.

Mr. Coldwell: It is in connection with Canada's part of that work.

Mr. Marquis: In the report at page 127 you will notice that for 1946 Canada's contribution was \$387,000, on a basis of 3.5 per cent of the United Nations' secretariat budget.

## By Mr. Low:

Q. It is not quite clear to me. I see that we have a grant to the United Nations and at the same time we have a vote to take care of our delegations to the United Nations. Why was that done?—A. Because each country which is a member of the United Nations is assessed a certain amount of the anticipated budget of the United Nations, which includes the secretariat and all operating expenses. This \$895,000 is to permit us to pay that assessment. Each country in turn has to pay for its own delegations attending United Nations' conferences.

Q. I see now.—A. The United Nations does not pay the expenses of our delegates who are living in New York. We have to pay that, and the other

vote is for that purpose.

Mr. Cote: And this is our part in the budget?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. MacInnis: And that is for the general administrative cost of the United Nations' organization?

The WITNESS: Yes.

The Chairman: Item 52, "portion of expenditure of the Imperial Economic Committee."

Mr. Croll: What is that? I suppose that is in connection with the Imperial conference?

The Witness: Actually all these votes from here down are ones that come under the jurisdiction of the economic division and I think if there are any questions on the nature of these organizations it would be best to have the chief of that division over. I think Mr. Pierce did go into some detail last year before the committee on the same items.

The Chairman: It is now twelve o'clock, gentlemen, and we have pretty nearly reached the end of what the officials before us can answer. If you agree, this might be a good place at which to adjourn.

Mr. Low: I think it would be wise to follow up the suggestion the witness has just made and have these officials here.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, and leave that.

I am voicing the sentiment of the members of the committee, Mr. Matthews and gentlemen, in conveying our sincere thanks for your very complete answers to our questions.

Then, if it is agreeable to the committee we will adjourn until next week.

Carried.

The committee adjourned at 12 o'clock noon, to meet again at the call of the chair.

#### Appendix A

#### UNITED NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA

NATIONAL OFFICE

OTTAWA

April 8, 1947.

J. A. Bradette, Esq., Chairman, House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, House of Commons, Ottawa.

DEAR MR. BRADETTE:

## Government Grant to U.N. Society

Confirming our recent telephone conversation I attach self-explanatory correspondence with the Under Secretary of State with regard to the government grant to this Society, discussed in your committee June 18 and July 2 last.

Voluntary support from the public has not proved to be nearly adequate to carry on in Canada a proper campaign for public education in international understanding. If your committee feels as it apparently did last summer, when I appeared before it as a witness, I feel certain that it will view with dismay the Treasury Board placing this urgent question of developing an informed Canadian public opinion in support of international cooperation solely on the plane of economy.

I attach a summary of last year's activities of this Society, and should be

glad to answer any further questions that you might have.

Yours faithfully,

(E. W. MORSE)

National Secretary.

EWN:ks

### Appendix B

#### DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

OTTAWA, 28th March, 1947.

DEAR MR. MORSE,—

I have received your letter of March 24 concerning the grant for the current

year to the United Nations Society.

When submitting our Estimates, we included a figure of \$10,000 for the grant to the Society. I am sorry to have to inform you, however, that when the Departmental Estimates were reviewed a decision was reached that grants by any Department of Government to organizations within Canada should not exceed grants made in the previous year. For this reason, our Estimates, as submitted, were reduced so that the amount now provided as a grant to the United Nations Society is only \$3,000.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) L. B. PEARSON
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs

Eric W. Morse, Esq.,
National Secretary,
United Nations Society in Canada,
National Office,
Ottawa.

### Appendix C

## UNITED NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA

NATIONAL OFFICE

OTTAWA

March 24, 1947.

L. B. Pearson, Esq., Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, East Block, Ottawa.

DEAR MR. PEARSON:

## Grant to United Nations Society

In a conversation we had in January you stated, I believe, that following our correspondence on the subject, the grant to this Society had been put into the Department's estimates at \$10,000 for the coming fiscal year. The only question that was left open was the previous attitude of our Society on the subject of the acceptance of a government grant, as outlined to you in my letter of December 5, 1946, and I said I would let you know after our National Executive had met again.

At a meeting of our National Executive held in Toronto subsequent to our conversation the question was discussed and I outlined the position you had described. In the light of the urgent need for more information on U.N. among the Canadian public, the National Executive Committee wished me to make clear to you that the Society, regardless of its previous policy, would accept with gratitude the increased grant if passed in the budget.

Yours faithfully,

(E. W. MORSE)

National Secretary.

#### Appendix D

#### UNITED NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA

NATIONAL OFFICE

OTTAWA

December 5, 1946.

L. B. Pearson, Esq., Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa.

DEAR MR. PEARSON:

## Grant to United Nations Society in Canada

- 1. Background: This Society and its predecessor has been in receipt of an annual grant from your Department, of \$3,000. I have been asked by your appropriate Department officer to discuss this grant in connection with next year's appropriation, currently under review.
- 2. Society's Budget: The Society has been operating during the past year on a budget of \$15,000 for its National Office, plus whatever has been spent by Branches across the country for local activity. The following \$15,000 spent by the National Office has come from the following sources (in round numbers:—

Share of membersl				
Donations from in				
Government Gran	t	 	 	3,000
			9	

- 3. Services Provided: It has been possible on this small budget, of course, to provide only fairly limited services, which include:—
  - (a) A literature service, available to the general public, for distribution of publications, charts, etc., on U.N. and its associated agencies.
  - (b) A monthly journal, the "United Nations News" covering: a review of U.N. happenings, articles and editorials on Canadian opinion, and reviews or notices of new publications.
  - (c) Liaison and cooperation with national organizations, government departments, and provincial governments for coordinating this type of public education through radio and films as well as the printed word.
  - (d) Organizing speakers' bureaux and tours.
- 4. Additional Services Required: It is felt that the following services ought to have been provided long since, but have had to be delayed:—
  - (a) Regional field workers.
  - (b) Youth and student service.
  - (c) Production of printed material on U.N. written for and by Canadians.
  - (d) A public information service on U.N.
- 5. Policy of Society regarding Government Funds: The policy of the Society to date has been to endeavour to be as independent as feasible of government assistance—at least to seek for no increase in the \$3,000 grant. When I appeared as a witness before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs last July 2nd I explained the Society's desire for independence if possible, but stated that the work to be done in the field of public education for international cooperation was too vital to make independence of whatever

organ was used the prime consideration. The Society has felt that if insufficient response was met from the public to do adequately the tremendously important work that was needed, the situation should be recanvassed I attach Minutes of the External Affairs Committee with pertinent passages marked.

6. Present Situation: The Society feels emphatically that it is not doing as effective a job as is needed, for the reason that public support to date has not been sufficient to provide the necessary funds. At the moment, it may be necessary even to retrench and curtail educational services so far provided. What is required may possibly not be so much a change in our policy, but something in the nature of a "pump-primer" (as has been done by the Australian Government) in order to carry on a campaign on: (a) the day-to-day work of education U.N. (b) helping to convince the public of its own responsibilities in this regard.

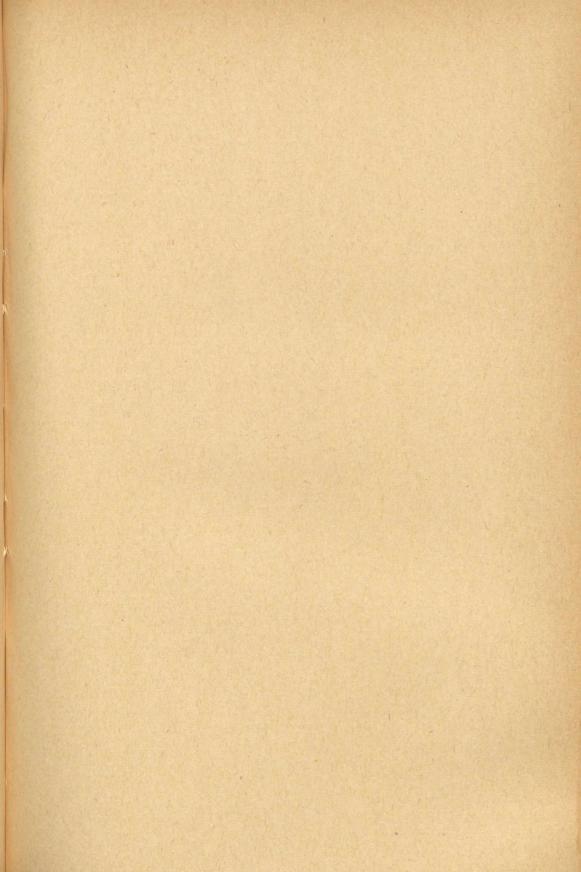
While I am personally not empowered or prepared to request an additional government grant until our National Executive has had an opportunity to reverse its previous ruling, I should much appreciate the opportunity briefly to review with you the situation on the basis of this memorandum, as a preliminary to the possible formal application for a temporarily increased government grant

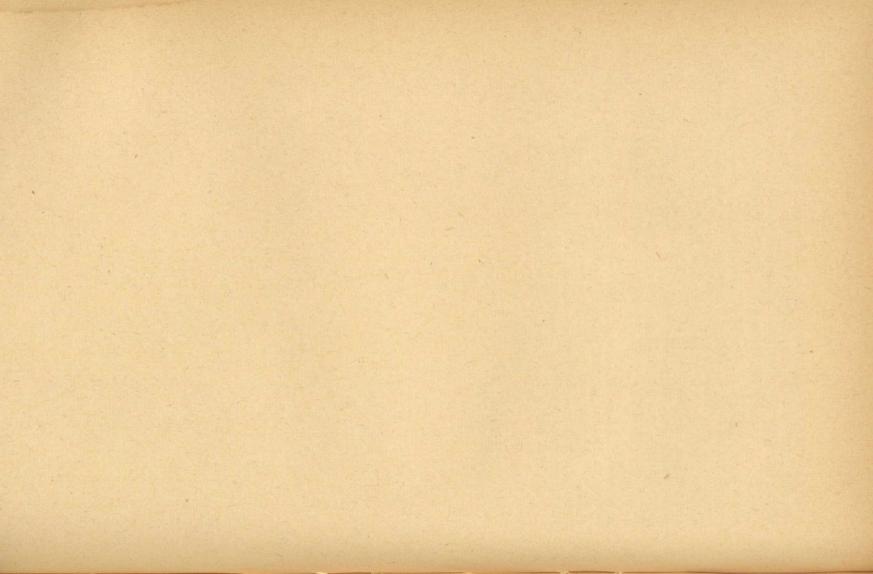
by a delegation of our National Officers waiting on you at a later date.

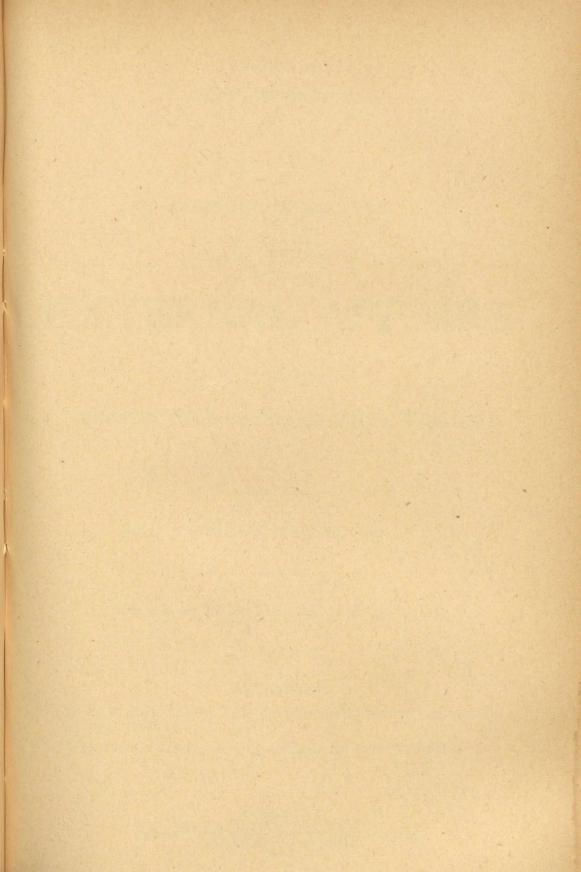
Yours faithfully,

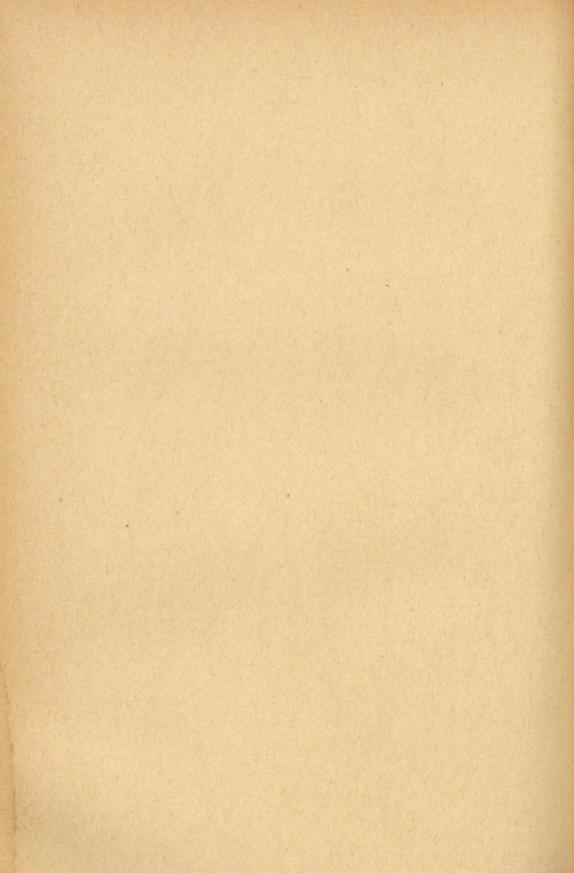
E. W. MORSE, National Secretary.

EWM:ks









## SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

#### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

## MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 5

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1947

Statement by Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent

#### WITNESSES:

Mr. R. G. Riddell, Chief of the First Political Division, Department of External Affairs:

Mr. L. D. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1947

#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, May 20, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Cote (Matapedia-Matane), Croll, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Pinard, Raymond (Beauharnois-Laprairie), St. Laurent, Winkler—(24).

In attendance: Messrs. R. G. Riddell, John K. Starnes, A. Monette, Architect, and S. D. Hemsley.

The Chairman read a letter addressed to himself dated May 19, 1947, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, The Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent, relating to the proposed early ratification of the constitution of the International Refugees Organization (I.R.O.).

The Chairman acquainted the Committee with a suggested luncheon to be held early in June when The Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent, Mr. L. D. Pearson and General A. G. MacNaughton would be guests of the Committee. In connection with this luncheon the following members were designated as a subcommittee: i.e., Messrs. Jaenicke, Côté and Fleming.

The Chairman further informed the members that he had arranged for the distribution of documentary literature he had just received from the United Nations Organization at Lake Success.

The Committee resumed its study of the constitution of the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations.

Mr. R. G. Riddell was recalled, examined and retired.

The witness was also questioned on the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees whose seat is in London, England.

It was ordered that the constitution under examination be printed as an appendix. (See Appendix "A" to this day's evidence).

At 11.35, the Committee reverted to the consideration of External Affairs Estimates, as referred.

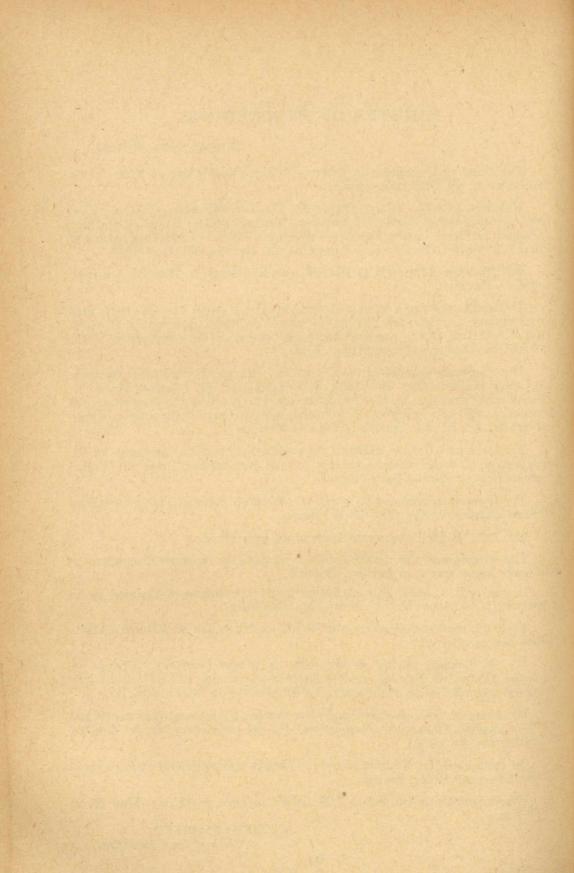
Mr. St. Laurent having arrived with the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made a statement pertaining to I.R.O., and to the proposed accommodation of the Canadian Ambassador in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Pearson was then called, and after making a statement, was questioned on the Canadian Embassy at Washington. He was assisted by Mr. A. Monette, Departmental Architect.

by the Chairman to Mr. Knowles, a vote of thanks was reiterated and conveyed the Chairman to Mr. Pearson.

10.30 The Committee adjourned at 1.05 o'clock to meet on Friday, May 23, at a.m.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, May 20, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, we have a quorum. I call the meeting to order. I thank you for coming early. Realizing the number of other committees that are sitting today I am very thankful to you indeed.

I believe it will be in order before we proceed with our resolution for me to read to the committee a letter which I received yesterday from the Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent. It reads as follows:—

Office of The Secretary of State for External Affairs
Ottawa, 19 May, 1947.

Dear Mr. Bradette,—It is my understanding that sixteen states have now signed the constitution of the International Refugee Organization. Since I tabled the I.R.O. constitution in the House, the governments of Australia, Iceland and Belgium have signed the constitution in addition to the previous thirteen states. The total contributions of these sixteen states to the operational budget of the I.R.O. would amount to 75·52 per cent thereof. Therefore, if all these sixteen states proceed to ratification, under the terms of article 18, the constitution of the I.R.O. will enter into force.

The preparatory commission of the I.R.O., now meeting in Lausanne, has recently decided to undertake executive functions beginning on July 1st of this year. In view of the end of U.N.N.R.A.'s displaced persons' activities on June 30th, it is essential that the I.R.O. should be equipped to take over this work as soon as possible after July 1st. The preparatory commission will have very limited funds, and will be able to function only on a purely temporary basis, pending the establishment of the I.R.O. For this reason it is of the utmost importance that ratifications of the I.R.O. constitution be effected as rapidly as possible, in order that the organization may come into force shortly after July 1st.

Accordingly, I would suggest that, if the Standing Committee on External Affairs decides to recommend approval of the I.R.O. constitution, the committee report back to the House on this particular item as soon as possible in order that the government may proceed with a resolution in both Houses requesting ratification of the constitution by parliament. If the committee reports favourably on the I.R.O. constitution, I shall take an early opportunity of introducing a resolution requesting such ratification

With kindest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I suppose you will be in agreement to pass this resolution as soon as we can without pressing the matter too quickly or debarring any discussion.

Mr. Fleming: I would like to ask one question now about a point which I did not understand. Article 18, subsection 2, reads:

This constitution shall come into force when at least fifteen states, whose required contributions to part I of the operational budget as set forth in Annex II of this constitution amount to not less than seventy-five per cent of the total thereof, have become parties to it.

The Charman: You will recall a part of the letter which I have read which says, "the total contributions of these sixteen states to the operational budget of the I.R.O. would amount to 75.52 per cent thereof." You will also recall that since the tabling of the I.R.O. report Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent reported that the governments of Australia, New Zealand and Belgium had signed the constitution, in addition to the previous thirteen states.

Mr. Coldwell: That is sixteen.

Mr. Fleming: We have sixteen now. There are enough as far as numbers are concerned. That is all we need. We have sixteen nations and seventy-five per cent, I believe.

# R. G. Riddell, Chief of the First Political Division, Department of External Affairs, recalled:

The Witness: If I may say a word on that, the constitution calls for sixteen signatures and ratifications of those signatures. For the constitution to come into effect ratified signatures are required.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. That is the distinction?—A. That is the distinction.

Q. It is ratification rather than signature, and a nation becomes a party not on signature but only on ratification of the signature?—A. There are really three stages. There is the signature. Then for states which sign subject to reservation there is the process of approval within those states by the states themselves. Then there is the deposit of ratifications.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. What?—A. Deposit.

Q. Money?—A. The deposit of the ratification itself which makes the signature formal and final, but until the ratifications have been deposited the signatures are not effective.

## By Mr. Marquis:

Q. It has to be ratified by each parliament of the signatory countries?

A. In the case of states which signed subject to that reservation, which Canada did. The United Kingdom signed without reservation which means they do not need to wait for ratification.

## By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is this ratification expected before September next?—A. The hope is that the International Refugee Organization will come into existence on July 1.

Q. As a temporary organization, not as a permanent one?—A. The hope originally was that the permanent organization would come into existence on July 1. Now it is optimistic to think it will come into existence by that time. There is a temporary Preparatory Commission which can carry on in the meantime, but there are difficulties about that temporary organization, and it is desirable to bring the permanent organization into existence as soon as possible.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Will UNRRA continue to be in operation until the charter is approved by the interested governments?—A. No, that is one of the difficulties. UNRRA will wind up its activities by the end of June. A good many of the UNRRA employees in Europe at the present time should be taken over by this new organization, but it is difficult for the new organization to take them over until it comes into existence.

Q. In the meantime I understand that the commission of the allies in this area will be in charge of the displaced persons and will take care of them?—A. In the occupied zones the camps are maintained by the occupying authorities, and presumably they will continue for the time being at least to provide that basic maintenance in the camps.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. I should like to have a little clarification of part 2 on page 14 of the constitution, and its application in view of what Mr. Riddell has just said about the time of expiry. Subsection 4 provides:—

Persons of German ethnic origin, whether German nationals or members of German minorities in other countries,

and so on. Does that not refer to Baltic people?—A. It would refer to Balts in the strict interpretation of that term. That is persons of German ethnic origin who live in the Baltic regions and who belonged to the German minority in that region.

Q. Would it be that 170,000 odd people?—A. No, a good many of them are Latvians, Lithuanians and Esthonians. They are people who are not of German origin.

Q. They are not considered to be of German origin?—A. No. There are a good many Latvians in the displaced persons camp for example.

The Charman: If you will permit me, there are two or three other subjects which I should like to bring to the attention of the committee before we proceed with the questioning of Mr. Riddell. Some members of the committee approached me, one of whom was Mr. Jaenicke, to ascertain whether it would be possible to have a luncheon or get-together with Mr. Pearson. If we do so, I believe we should take advantage of the occasion when Gen. MacNaughton is here on the 5th and 6th of June to have that function. All the members of the committee would attend, having as their guests, The Hon. Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Pearson and General MacNaughton. I thought, myself, it was a good idea which Mr. Jaenicke brought to my attention. After we have discussed the suggestion for a few moments, I wonder if it would be possible to appoint the following committee to deal with the matter: Messrs. Jaenicke, Cote, Fleming and our secretary, Mr. Plouffe. I should like to receive your reaction to that idea

Mr. Beaudoin: I think it is a very good idea.

Mr. Cote: It is the least we can do, I think.

Mr. MacInnis: Agreed.

The Chairman: This afternoon, you will be receiving a very large envelope containing literature pertaining to the UNO activities. The messenger will also deliver a roll such as Mr. Cote now has, which I received this morning from Lake Success. This has been given to us by some officials of the UNO. I know you will find it very instructive and very interesting. I realize it is almost impossible to read all the literature we receive, but I think you will appreciate this literature which emanates from the UN organization.

There is another matter which I should like to bring to the attention of the committee Mr. Riddell will deal with the constitution of the International

Refugee Organization until half past eleven. At half past eleven, Mr. St. Laurent will be here accompanied by Mr. Pearson. Mr. Pearson will then hold the meeting until we adjourn. We hope the discussion of this constitution will be terminated this morning, or at least next Friday, when it is our desire to implement the request of Mr. St. Laurent. I believe this should be possible. Next Friday, we will have Mr. Moran here, who is the head of the Economic Division, to deal with some of the estimates with which we have to deal. Mr. Matthews cannot be here since he has the German measles.

Is there any discussion on the suggestions I have made?

Carried.

I will ask Mr. Riddell to continue the discussion of the constitution.

· By Mr. Cote:

Q. I should like to ask Mr. Riddell what the intergovernmental committee is?—A. It is an official governmental organization which was established about the year 1938 by a conference which was summoned in Evian in Switzerland by President Roosevelt. This conference was summoned because of the refugee problem which existed in Europe at that time resulting from the revolution in Germany and other countries which had gone Fascist. There were a great many political refugees and particularly Jewish refugees who were being driven out of Germany and some neighbouring states. The conference was called at Evian to deal with the problem. It established the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.

This committee has been functioning ever since. Canada is a member. As members of this committee will know, the Canadian government is now co-operating with the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees in locating any German displaced persons who have relatives in Canada who wish those people in Germany to come and join them here. This being done under the existing immigration regulations. The Inter-Governmental committee is not a large body but it has been a very active one. It is serving a particularly useful purpose at the moment. The expectation is that it will be absorbed in the International Refugee Organization as soon as that organization comes into existence. The head office is in London and it has a small staff. The director is Sir Herbert Emerson.

Mr. Cote: We could not cope with the problem until the organization is set up.

The Witness: No, we could not cope with the whole problem until the organization is set up.

Mr. Beaudoin: What is your definition of a genuine refugee and displaced person?

The WITNESS: That question involves rather a long and complicated answer. I would refer the committee to page 11 and the following pages in the constitution which deal with the question of definitions.

The Chairman: Would it be in order for Mr. Riddell to read the page. It will give the members a chance to ask questions.

The Witness: Page 11 contains the statement of the general principles although the definitions are on page 12.

The Chairman: I think it would be easier if Mr. Riddell read that and then we can go on and ask questions.

The Witness: This is paragraph 1.

1. Subject to the provisions of sections C and D and of part II of this annex, the term "refugee" applies to a person who has left, or who is outside of, his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, and who, whether or not he had retained his nationality, belongs to one of the following categories:—

(a) victims of the nazi or fascist regimes or of regimes which took part on their side in the second world war, or of the quisling or similar regimes which assisted them against the United Nations, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;

(b) Spanish republicans and other victims of the Falangist regime in Spain, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;

- (c) persons who were considered refugees before the outbreak of the second world war, for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion.
- 2. Subject to the provisions of sections C and D and of part II of this annex regarding the exclusion of certain categories of persons, including war criminals, quislings and traitors, from the benefits of the organization, the term "refugee" also applies to a person other than a displaced person as defined in section B of this annex, who is outside of his country of nationality or former habitual residence, and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of his country of nationality or former nationality.

I might perhaps indicate the intention of these various sections. The intention of paragraph 1, section A, is to provide for persons who were refugees before the outbreak of war, of whom there were a considerable number. The intention of paragraph 2 is to provide for people who became technically refugees immediately subsequent to the end of the war because of events which took place subsequent to the end of the war.

Mr. Fleming: Does it not apply to those who became refugees subsequent to the outbreak of the war? It reads, "who is outside his country of nationality or former habitual residence, and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of his country".

The Witness: Subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, yes. That is a person who was outside his country when war broke out and who was not at that moment a refugee but who subsequently became one. I am grateful to Mr. Fleming for that correction. Section 3 reads,

3. Subject to the provisions of section D and of part II of this annex, the term "refugee" also applies to persons who, having resided in Germany or Austria, and being of Jewish origin or foreigners or stateless persons, were victims of nazi persecution and were detained in, or were obliged to flee from, and were subsequently returned to, one of those countries as a result of enemy action, or of war circumstances, and have not yet been firmly resettled therein.

This provides protection for persons who were forced back into Germany during the course of the war.

Mr. Jackman: Would the Polish army in Italy come under that clause? "Is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of his country of nationality or former nationality."

The Witness: I think so. The actual applicability of the regulations to any particular person will have to be decided in the existing circumstances but I would think that would be the case.

Section 4 reads.

4. The term "refugee" also applies to unaccompanied children who are war orphans or whose parents have disappeared, and who are outside their countries of origin. Such children, 16 years of age or under, shall be given all possible priority assistance, including, normally, assistance in repatriation in the case of those whose nationality can be determined.

This clause was the subject of a good deal of discussion since the eastern European states were of the opinion that all children should be repatriated to their countries of origin.

Section B reads:

The term "displaced person" applies to a person who, as a result of the actions of the authorities of the regimes mentioned in part I, section A, paragraph 1 (a) of this annex has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labour or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons. Displaced persons will only fall within the mandate of the organization subject to the provisions of sections C and D of part I and to the provisions of part II of this annex.

Those are the exclusions.

If the reasons for their displacement have ceased to exist, they should be repatriated as soon as possible in accordance with article 2, paragraph 1(a) of this constitution, and subject to the provision of paragraph (c), sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii) of the general assembly resolution of 12 February, 1946 regarding the problem of refugees (annex III).

These sections of the general assembly resolution acknowledge obligation to repatriate persons who are willing to accept repatriation.

Section C-Conditions under which "Refugees" and "Displaced

Persons" will become the concern of the organization.

1. In the case of all the above categories except those mentioned in section A, paragraphs 1(b) and 3 of this annex, persons will become the concern of the organization in the sense of the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council on 16 February, 1946 if they can be repatriated, and the help of the organization is required in order to provide for their repatriation, or if they have definitely, in complete freedom and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the governments of their countries of nationality or former habitual residence, expressed valid objections to returning to those countries.

(a) The following shall be considered as valid objections:

(i) persecution, or fear, based on reasonable grounds of persecution because of race, religion, nationality or political opinions, provided these opinions are not in conflict with the principles of the United Nations, as laid down in the preamble of the charter of the United Nations;

(ii) objections of a political nature judged by the organization to be "valid", as contemplated in paragraph 8 (a)1 of the report of the third committee of the general assembly as adopted by the

assembly on 12 February, 1946.

(iii) in the case of persons falling within the category mentioned in section A, paragraphs 1(a) and 1(c) compelling family reasons arising out of previous persecution, or, compelling reasons of

infirmity or illness.

(b) The following shall normally be considered "adequate information": information regarding conditions in the countries of nationality of the refugees and displaced persons concerned, communicated to them directly by representatives of the governments of these countries, who shall be given every facility for visiting camps and assembly centres of refugees and displaced persons in order to place such information before them.

2. In the case of all refugees falling within the terms of section A paragraph 1(b) of this annex, persons will become the concern of the organization in the sense of the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on 16 February, 1946, so long as the Falangist regime in Spain continues. Should that regime be replaced by a democratic regime they will have to produce valid objections against returning to Spain corresponding to those indicated in paragraph 1(a) of this section.

## By Mr. Jackman:

Q. What council or committee would decide on the matter of validity?—A. That will have to be decided by the general council of the International Refugee Organization when it comes into existence. It has not been decided yet whether there will be some sort of judicial body or an administrative body within the organization, or how the actual application of these provisions to a particular individual will be applied.

Q. In the meantime you are maintaining these D.P. camps, and the refugee camps are distinct from the D.P. camps?—A. The displaced persons camps are in the occupied zones. Refugee camps, to the extent that they exist, would be

camps in the south of France for Spanish refugees, let us say.

Q. But if one of those persons does not pass the requirements of the committee when it is set up then he can be forcibly required to go back to his country of origin; is that the idea?—A. The International Refugee Organization would have no authority to force anybody to go anywhere. All that the constitution provides is that if persons were not acceptable under this definition, the International Refugee Organization could not do anything for them. Whether they would be actually repatriated or not would be a decision for the military authorities or for some other body to make.

# By Mr. Boucher:

Q. As I understand it, the International Refugee Organization could repatriate them if they were willing to go?—A. Yes. But if they were not subject to assistance under this definition then the International Refugee Organization could do nothing for them.

# By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Have you any estimate of the number of refugees in D.P. camps at

the present time?—A. 850,000 in Europe is given as a round figure.

Q. That is of the combined classes?—A. 850,000 displaced persons in Germany. I am not certain of the figure with regard to the number of refugees outside of Germany. It may be another 200,000 or 300,000 persons. I shall try to find that figure and let the committee have it.

# By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. What is the date of those figures?—A. The figure 850,000 is a current

figure.

Q. Is there any movement of displaced persons?—A. A small one. There has been a certain amount of repatriation taking place over the last year. It is not a very large movement. There is a flow out of eastern Europe into the camps at the moment which offsets it to some extent. There has also been a small movement of resettlement, but it is not very large. The figures are really static at the moment.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. In accepting the constitution, to what extent do we undertake the obligation of taking some of the refugees and displaced persons?—A. There is no formal or contractual obligation in this constitution on any state to accept

any refugee

Q. I have been reading the preamble and in the third paragraph it says: "... find new homes elsewhere, under the conditions provided for in this constitution". What provisions does this paragraph refer to?—A. In, particularly, to the definition; the circumstances in which they come under the mandate of the organization and the rules and regulations of the organization itself. For example, the funds available for large-scale movement of resettlement are limited according to the constitution. The qualification mentioned would refer to a provision of that nature. There is in this constitution an expression of concern on the part of signatory members for the resettlement of persons who cannot be repatriated; but there is not any formal obligation on the part of a signatory to accept any.

Q. We recognize that the refugees and displaced persons should be assisted to return to their countries or to find new homes elsewhere. In other words, it means that we have to take quite a few ourselves?—A. That conclusion may be drawn from this statement; it is not stated in so many words in this

document.

The CHAIRMAN: The import is there; it is bound to be there.

### By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. Would you say that all the persons kept in UNRRA camps are genuine refugees and displaced persons?—A. There have been various processes of screening which have been carried out by UNRRA and by the military authorities for the purpose of weeding out persons who are not genuine refugees and displaced persons. That process will have to go on; and there may well be some persons in the camps at the moment who will not fall within this definition. My information, however, is that the great majority of persons who are now living in displaced persons camps are genuine refugees and dis-

placed persons.

Q. Is it within your knowledge that up to a certain while ago the UNRRA camps were under the supervision of the military police—that is, under the supervision of members of the police guard—but lately that has been changed and UNRRA camps are now under UNRRA police guard?—A. The control of UNRRA camps has always been a divided responsibility between the military authorities and UNRRA itself. The basic responsibility for the maintenance of the camps rested with the military authorities in the occupation zones. I am sorry I am not familiar with the actual division of responsibility in regard to police duties and the organization of particular camps.

# By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Permits to enter these camps have to be obtained from the military authorities which would indicate that the military authorities were in control.—A. Yes, there is no question about the basic control by the military authorities.

# By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. I asked that question because of a report I read concerning something which occurred in the zone occupied by the Americans. The report indicated that the American soldiers were permitted to make raids on UNRRA camps in order to discover articles which were involved in the black market. Lately they have not been allowed to do that. The regulation has been changed, and UNRRA police are taking care of everything. So if there is any black market

operation going on these people are permitted to operate and go back to the camp in which the military organization cannot go inside and check as to whether some articles have been bought on the black market. I think that is a very serious matter. A gentleman who was an M.P. in the American army came back from overseas about a week ago and he says that is so, in so many words.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Is the incident concerning the black market a serious matter?—A. I am sorry I have not seen the reports referred to; but the relationship between UNRRA authorities and military authorities has always been subject to negotiation and discussion, and the same will be true as regards relations between the officers of the I.R.O. and the military authorities.

Mr. Beaudoin: It is claimed that persons living inside UNRRA camps are much better off than people living outside the camps. The particular camp I am referring to is the camp at Regensburg, which is under the control of the American army.

The Witness: I shall be glad to make inquiries about the actual administrative arrangement in the camps if the members of the committee would be interested in having that information.

Mr. Jackman: Could we at this meeting or at some subsequent one have a breakdown of the 850,000 D.P.'s in Germany? Are they all in Germany? Are most of them out of the forced labour camps that Germany organized during the war? Could we have a general explanation of the problem itself as the department has it?

The WITNESS: I suggested a rough breakdown a week ago.

The CHAIRMAN: It was given on page 70 of our report.

The Witness: 345,000 are of Polish origin; 128,000 are of Jugoslav origin; 187,000 are of Baltic States origin; 156,000 others. However, these statistics are not really very illuminating. For example, the figure for people of Polish origin undoubtedly includes large numbers of Ukrainians. They are Polish in origin because they came from territory which before the war was Polish territory. Neither does it indicate the occupational skills of these people, or their status in society. Statistics in that regard are available and I shall be glad to produce them for the committee.

Mr. Jackman: If those figures have been given I shall refer to the record for them; but are these people mostly out of forced labour camps or are they voluntary displaced persons?

The Witness: I have never seen a breakdown as between persons who got into Germany by reason of the movement of forced labour organized by the Germans and persons who drifted in fleeing from persecution or conditions which they did not like.

Mr. Jackman: For instance, the forced labour taken from France has all been repatriated, has it not?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Jackman: And there are no French people in the D.P. camps now?

The WITNESS: I have never heard of any.

Mr. MacInnis: Are there figures as to political and religious status?

The Witness: I have not seen any figures on the political status; there are probably figures on religious affiliations prepared by UNRRA.

Mr. Knowles: The real battle in setting up this organization was to get the right for the organization to deal with genuine refugees, as against some of the members of the United Nations who are more concerned about getting the traitors back than they were about making a refuge possible. If that was the battle, would you care to say to what extent this constitution indicates progress?

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, that comment on the issue is a sound one. The view of the eastern European states was that the main function of the organization should be repatriation of persons who had been displaced from their homes; if those persons refused repatriation that in itself was evidence of their hostility to their countries of origin, and, therefore, they should not receive international assistance as refugees, because they were people who were hostile and treacherous. The debate on this issue went on at some length in many United Nations bodies. The view of the western countries was that there is such a thing as a genuine political refugee, a person who has valid objections to the political regimes established in his own country, and who deserves protection abroad.

The Chairman: Some Russians, Ukrainians and Poles have made a statement which I should like to see elucidated. They said that any displaced persons who were ready and willing to work did not need to worry about affiliations, but they had to go to work the minute they came back into their country. Have you any idea of the meaning of that statement? The suggestion was that the moment they went back to their respective countries they had to be willing to work and in that case there would be no fear of religious or political reaction. I thought it was a strong statement for anybody to make. The first qualification was that people had to work. They created the impression that these people were very well treated and that they were glad to remain where they were, that they did not want to be displaced. Now, there might be that angle to that question. In some cases there might be a small number involved.

The Witness: Well, Mr. Chairman, I have never been in a displaced persons' camp, but I think some members of this committee have, and they might be willing to comment on conditions in displaced person's camps as they saw them?

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Coldwell, have you seen them?

Mr. Coldwell: No.

Mr. Knowles: I was in two or three camps with Mr. Winkler, and I think Mr. Winkler will agree with me when I say that I do not think the people wanted to stay there. Their appearance was one of dejection and also of starvation. I saw, for example, in one camp of Polish people, boy and girl scouts who lined up to salute us. We went along with an interpreter afterwards to try to speak to some of the children. We talked to boys and girls of the size of my own children at home and asked their age, expecting that their age would be somewhat similar to the ages of my own children, but I was to discover that in all cases they were three or four years older. In other words, their growth was stunted from malnutrition. In addition to that we were in some of these large dormitory rooms of the camps where there were literally scores of people lying around all day, to ill to get up. It made a pretty sad picture. If it can be said, as it was said by someone at the head of the table, that conditions in those camps are better than they are among the German population—I admit that is true—it means that conditions outside of the camps are pretty bad.

Mr. Leger: Were the people well fed in the camps?

Mr. Knowles: No. They were fed better than the German civilian population, but the calory allotment per day was too low.

Mr. BEAUDOIN: How many camps did you visit?

Mr. Knowles: Three.

Mr. Beaudoin: In which zone?

Mr. Knowles: The British zone—Canadian; it was Canadian at the time. It was the Canadian part of the British zone.

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Chairman, as regards your question concerning the encouragement of people to be repatriated, if you will look at page 2, (a), you will see a paragraph there which I think to some extent deals with the problem you are dealing with. It comes under the heading of "Functions and Powers, article 2," and it reads:—

(a) To encouraging and assisting in every way possible the early return to their country of nationality, or former habitual residence, of those persons who are the concern of the organization, having regard to the principles laid down in the resolution on refguees and displaced persons adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 12th February 1946 (annex III) and to the principles set forth in the preamble, and to promoting this by all possible means, in particular by providing them with material assistance, adequate food for a period of three months, from the time of their departure from their present places of residence provided they are returning to a country suffering as a result of enemy occupation during the war, and provided such food shall be distributed under the auspices of the organization; and the necessary clothing and means of transportation:

and so on. What I am getting at is this. It was said by the eastern people that so many of these displaced persons had refused repatriation because they feared they would not be able to get sufficient food pending their finding a home and work in those countries. This was put in by the committee dealing with this matter with a view to encouraging them. But after that is done, unquestionably there are a large number of persons who, because of their fear of persecution or dislike of form of government established in the country of origin, do not wish to return to that country. I think the main care, as a matter of fact, of the committee during the two or three weeks' discussion last November was to see that these people were not forced by economic circumstances, or in any other way, to return to the countries where they feared persecution. In other words, we stood by the traditional democratic idea of granting asylum to political dissidents. That was one of the great bones of contention throughout the discussion of the committee last November. I am directing attention to that fact because it does deal with the question you asked.

The Chairman: Judging from the observation of Mr. Knowles, one can readily see that none of these persons would want to be there for the pleasure of it if there was any other way of improving their lot.

Mr. Winkler: Mr. Chairman, may I say that I did not see these conditions through the same eyes as Mr. Knowles exactly, but I did not see as many of the camps as he saw. The impression I got was slightly different. It looked to me as though the people were getting sufficient food for the moment, but from the standpoint of building up emaciated bodies it was a different thing. As Mr. Coldwell, I think, emphasized, worry seemed responsible for much illness in the camps, worry over lack of steady employment. Undernourishment was responsible for their not being able to accept employment. I was impressed by the fact that they seemed to be more worried than anything else.

Mr. Knowles: In the camp of the Baltic peoples their worries seemed to be what would happen to them if they were forced back to the countries they came from. In the Polish camp, to some surprise on my part, they all wanted to go back to Poland, but they were unable to go because of transportation difficulties and because of the weather in Poland. We were there in the midst of winter. There was also the matter of the lack of homes when they got back

to Poland which had to be considered. I would like to add this further comment, and it more or less answers the question I was putting to Mr. Riddell a moment ago. As I look over this constitution I see things in it that are restrictive. There is the whole section that Mr. Riddell has characterized as making up exclusions; and from our viewpoint it is not all that could be desired. I recall a bitter debate we had in London over this issue: and, knowing something of the debate carried on at New York, I think it is quite an achievement that at the U.N.O. level a document as good as this could be achieved. have the transcript of one of the debates that took place in London when the matter first came up when we had before us two proposals at opposite extremes. one from the United Kingdom which naturally went in the direction of providing all the refuge possible; the other was a proposal from the Jugoslav organization which did not even want the matter referred to the assembly of the Economic and Social Committee, but to leave the matter to the various governments concerned. There was a pretty hard battle at that point, with the delegates from the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and the United States pretty well taking the lead. I feel quite pleased that we have made such progress as we have.

Mr. Coldwell: I think that is true. On the other hand, of course, this constitution was adopted over the opposition of the countries that have been mentioned this morning—the eastern countries. Some of us were quite worried about the number of compromises which had been made. Take the whole matter of displaced persons where resettlement is made. Any large-scale resettlement is outside the I.R.O., as far as financial obligations are concerned. We tried to get a different view taken, but failed; and then after having made all those compromises the unfortunate thing was that at the end the nations to which I have referred—Russia, Jugoslavia, Poland, and so on—voted against the constitution as such. Of course, one of the difficulties is that all the refugees are in our zones. The Russians say that they have no refugees. However, I think it should be mentioned, since Mr. Jackman asked the question about the French, that one of the French delegates, Mr. Leon de Rosen, on one occasion asked the Soviet delegation what had become of the 30,000 or more French whose whereabouts were unknown, and no answer was given. So the inference was that while there were refugees they were being treated in a different manner on the other side of the line. This constitution deals only with refugees in our zones, the contention being that there are no refugees elsewhere.

Mr. Leger: Is that true of the American zone as well?

Mr. Coldwell: Yes, all our zones—I mean the zones of the democratic countries.

Mr. Beaudoin: I should like to get a comment from Mr. Riddell or Mr. Knowles or Mr. Coldwell on this observation: As the German armies were progressing over the Russian border a lot of people who thought that the Germans would be the winners left their country to go into Germany. Now, there are a considerable number of these displaced persons or refugees who are afraid of reprisals if they go back, because it is known that they thought they were on the winning side before they knew who was going to win.

Mr. Coldwell: I think you will find that they are covered by part II which covers any persons who in any way have given assistance. They would be considered to have given assistance to the German armies and are entirely excluded from the benefits.

Mr. Marquis: They are not refugees; they are considered as traitors.

Mr. Beaudoin: Is the organization in the position to scrutinize these displaced persons and find out, for instance, their date of departure, the reasons why they left, and why they are in Germany now?

Mr. Coldwell: I think that is the purpose of the screening.

Mr. Cote: I suppose that would also account for the many thousands of French citizens upon whom we have no report.

Mr. Coldwell: No, I do not think it would. The French would be persons who had been taken into forced labour by the Germans and who were not in the British, American or French zones when the war ended.

Mr. Marquis: So long as we have no information concerning those people, nothing can be done for them.

Mr. Jaques: How, Mr. Chairman, would it be possible to determine the assistance of which those people may be accused of having given to the Germans?

Mr. Coldwell: Well, you see, Mr. Jaques, there is a foot note in part 2 note (c). This is on page 14.

Mere continuance of normal and peaceful duties, not performed with the specific purpose of aiding the enemy against the Allies or against the civil population of territory in enemy occupation, shall not be considered to constitute "voluntary assistance." Nor shall acts of general humanity, such as care of wounded or dying, be so considered except in cases where help of this nature given to enemy nationals could equally well have been given to Allied nationals and was purposely withheld from them.

The point which Mr. Jaques raises now really brought this foot note into existence. It was a matter over which there was a prolonged discussion in the committee, as you can well understand. In the screening, the mere continuance of normal activities would not be considered to be traitorous conduct.

The CHAIRMAN: As I stated when some of the members were not present. at half past eleven we will go into the estimates. Mr. St. Laurent is going to honour our committee with his presence, as well as Mr. Pearson, who is back in

Before we proceed with that particular portion of our business, it would seem a large number of the members of the committee have lost the document containing the constitution of the displaced persons organization. Therefore, if the committee agrees, we will have this document printed as an appendix to the minutes of evidence for today.

Carried.

We have the pleasure of having with us the Minister of External Affairs. the Honourable Mr. St. Laurent, and Mr. Pearson. I know we are all glad to see Mr. Pearson back in Canada. On behalf of the committee members who enjoyed Mr. Pearson's fine hospitality during our stay in the United States, I

should like to take this opportunity of extending our thanks.

Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent: I am sorry if we are interrupting your discussion of this international refugee organization constitution because, of course, it is a matter of urgency and of great importance to the settling of world conditions. There is a matter which has come to the fore, about which I spoke to the chairman yesterday, and about which, of course, the Department of External Affairs has to take the responsibility for whatever decision is made. However, in accord with the policy of trying to make only the kind of decisions which, regardless of party affiliations, Canadians feel are the right decisions, we wish to put this matter before the committee and to have a very frank expression of the view of the committee upon it.

Some of you, no doubt, have seen the premises which were acquired a good many years ago in Washington for the Canadian Embassy. This building was acquired, I understand, at a cost of something like a half a million dollars. You could not replace it today for anything like a million and a half dollars. Our

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requirements in Washington have been growing constantly and we now have had to take over the whole of the space in that building for chancellery premises.

We have provided residential premises for our ambassador elsewhere.

Last year, there was a project for taking over the Iranian Embassy which was, I understand, a property which would have been very well suited to our requirements but which would have cost us \$325,000. For that reason, as well as other reasons and other circumstances, it was not acquired. The ambassador was able to find a place, quite comfortable, for rent up to the month of July of this year. His lease expires in July of this year and he has to get out. Unless we make other arrangements, he has to go to the hotel.

Well now, that is not a matter of life or death. He could, I think, probably find accommodation in the hotel which would do as temporary accommodation. We have been looking about and enquiring as to the possibility of acquiring premises in Washington. Feeling that though there had been, since our first acquisition in Washington, substantial increase in the values of real estate and that there were not to be decreases in the value of real estate in Washington and—well, personally, I feel as long as we are a nation and as long as the United States is a nation, Canada will have to have representation on a rather important scale in Washington. We will have to be represented there and, being represented there it would be appropriate at some time to have permanent quarters for our representation.

At the present time, there is a property which is convenient and which would suit our purposes which is available. I should like to have Mr. Pearson tell you about it and get your frank views as to whether it is sufficiently desirable to go ahead and deal for it at this time. I appreciate there are reasons against it as well as for it. Housing problems are problems all over the world. We are very much concerned about the housing we have to provide for our own people at home. We must not appear to be more concerned about housing to be provided for our representatives away from home than we are for our people here. Of course, that is not a real argument because whether we acquire the property in Washington or do not acquire the property in Washington is not going to make any difference in the number of units which are going to be provided for our own people at home.

Nevertheless, we are going to have to take into account the fact we do not want public resentment at the way in which we are carrying on our external affairs. For that reason, I will be glad if you will give Mr. Pearson an opportunity of explaining the situation to you. Then, if you will be so good as to provide me with your frank opinion as to what it is advisable, under all the

circumstances, to recommend at this time, I would be very glad.

Mr. Coldwell: Have you any option on this property? The reason I am asking is to find out whether there is any particular hurry. If there is an option on it, it makes no difference.

Right Hon. Mr. St. LAURENT: I do not know if it is in the form of an option, but it is in such form that the opportunity is not going to get away from us for a few days. The price we have to pay is not going to be changed within a few days. We have a few days during which we can say yes or no to the acquisition of a specific property at a specific price.

Mr. Croll: Do you think it would help us or help you a great deal if we all went down and looked at it?

Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent: That suggestion was made, that it would be easier to form an opinion having viewed the premises than without having seen them. I have had to form my own opinion without having seen the premises. It is, of course, easier to talk about viewing premises in Washington, than it would be talking about viewing premises in other parts of the world. As far as

other parts of the world are concerned, we will have to be content with the information we get without sight. Perhaps we will have to come to a conclusion

regarding these premises without actually seeing them.

I think that is, perhaps, not the most vital factor which comes up for consideration at this time. There are two things. I think, really, the longer we wait the more it is going to cost us to get a permanent location in Washington.

Mr. Marquis: What is the present cost of rent, now?

Mr. Pearson: About \$10,000 a year.

Right Hon. Mr. St. LAURENT: On the other hand, I know there are a lot of people looking for houses for themselves in Canada. We do not want those people to feel we are not concerned about them. It is this problem with which we have to deal. Really, I think, it is a matter of timing.

Mr. Croll: I hope, sir, you did not take me too seriously.

Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent: We did seriously consider whether it would be advisable to ask the committee to appoint a subcommittee to view the premises. We realized that could not be done as a rule, and, in view of the fact it cannot be done as a rule, it is perhaps inadvisable to do it as an exceptional

thing for Washington.

We did consider it because, as long as I am minister, I do not mind taking the responsibility for matters which I really consider vital, but when it comes to matters which are not really vital, I should not like to have a controversy over the manner in which we are conducting the external affairs. Small controversies can have disastrous effects on the larger issues. Therefore, we want to avoid. as much as possible, having any small controversies and reserve our position so that when we do have a dispute, it will be about something which is really vital or looked upon as vital by those who are taking the responsibility.

I thank you for the attention you have given me.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. St. Laurent. Before we hear from Mr. Pearson, I believe we will have the unanimous consent of the committee to revert back to the estimates?

Carried.

### Lester B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, called:

The WITNESS: There is not very much left, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for me to say on this particular point. Mr. St. Laurent has covered the ground thoroughly, but I should be glad to answer any questions and

Perhaps I could add one or two details.

Possibly I should point out that I was in Washington when the decision was made to convert the embassy, as some of you know, into a chancery, that is, into an office building. That decision, I gather, was made because of two or three considerations; one, the embassy building as a residence was becoming less and less desirable. The district was becoming more and more a business district. Two, as the embassy staff had grown, they had extended into the residence part until the ambassador found himself sandwiched between offices above and offices below. The embassy residence had two floors. There were two office floors above and one office floor below. This was not a particularly desirable way of life for an ambassador and his family, nor was it a particularly efficient way of conducting business; mixing domestic life and official life.

Furthermore, as Canadian official activities in Washington grew, we had to expand from the embassy which, at one time, housed all the officials, and move the trade and commerce representatives, the Service attaché and others

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into a rented building—the annex. This building was behind the embassy and it was sold, in 1946, by the owners. Therefore, we had to vacate that building and to make a decision whether to rent another office building or to move all the offices into the embassy and find a new embassy residence. The government decided in favour of concentrating all the offices in the old embassy and looking around for a new place for the ambassador to live in.

It will give you some idea of rentals in Washington when I tell you the government had to pay for this embassy annex, which was not a very impressive building either in size or facilities, something over \$16,000 per year. This would be equivalent to a capitalization of more than \$300,000. With rental like that, we felt it would be good business to move all our offices into the old embassy and try to find a residence. Also the fact that now, all the official Canadian personnel in Washington, with the exception of the Services Mission, are under one roof. That makes for efficiency.

The ambassador had to live for some time in a hotel, and during the last six months or so in a rented house. It is not a suitable house for an embassy, though a very nice one for a private residence. It is not suitable in the sense it does not lend itself to the official entertainment required of the Canadian ambassador in Washington. For this moderate sized house he pays a rental of approximately \$9,000 a year. This will give you some idea of values and also emphasizes the fact, I think, that in the long run it is probably good business

to buy a house, if we can get one at a reasonable price.

For many months we have been looking around Washington for an embassy. We thought, as Mr. St. Laurent said, we had secured a suitable one in the house occupied now by the Iranian ambassador. It was on Massachusetts Avenue. It was not quite large enough for the Iranians, but we thought it would be suitable for Canada. We offered them a certain amount for this building, but they raised their price to, I think, \$375,000, so we dropped out. Since that time we have searched Washington very thoroughly for a suitable place, and Mr. Monette, our departmental architect, has been down there more than once. The only building we have found, which was available and satisfactory is the one which is now up for purchase known as the Davidge house. If we secured it. I think it would solve our embassy housing problems in Washington over a long period of years.

It is a large red brick Georgian house. It does not look too pretentious. It is not extravagant. It is large enough for all official purposes. It fronts on Rock Creek Park which is a very desirable location. When we approached the owners of the house, we got a valuation. We were told by the valuator that it might cost \$355,000, I think that was the figure given, to build it today. However, we have been negotiating with the agent of the owners and have made an offer of \$300,000. We can get this place now for \$300,000, if we make up our minds by the end of the week. Otherwise it will be disposed of to somebody else. It is for this reason the minister ventured to interrupt your deliberations

on other matters to discuss this particular question.

# By Mr. Croll:

Q. Do you recommend it, Mr. Pearson?—A. Yes, I would. Mr. Cote: Go ahead.

# By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How large is this house Mr. Pearson?—A. Mr. Monette has just gone to get some photographs of the house which will give you some idea of what it is like. The house has a basement which includes a fireproof boiler room, fuel storage and two storage rooms. It has entrance halls with small cloakrooms; drawing room 30 by 23; dining room 29 by 23; loggia 14 by 21; library 25 by 16;

a large kitchen and serving pantry; servant's halls and separate entrance; a suite of two bedrooms and two bathrooms; a sun terrace, three bedrooms with bathroom each; sewing and linen room, servants' quarters consisting of five bedrooms and two bathrooms and one servant's room. There are just two floors.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. What grounds are with it?—A. There is a fine garden behind the house

which fronts on Rock Creek Park.

Q. What repairs would have to be made before this house could be taken over?—A. I am informed by Mr. Monette, who is in a better position to answer technical questions than I am, that practically no repairs would be required. It would be possible for the ambassador to move in almost at once.

Q. You mentioned the size of the drawing room. It is not large?—A. It

would be large enough to entertain 26 people or so at an official dinner.

Q. It is not large by any means?—A. We think it would be large enough for our purposes in Washington.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. When was this house built?—A. It was built ten or fifteen years ago.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. How much land is there with the house?—A. I am going to ask Mr. Monette to answer the details of the property. He has all the plans with

him. He will be back in a few moments.

I can say I know this building and I know most of the embassy buildings in Washington, having lived there. This particular residence would not be as large as some of the others, but would be large enough, I think. It would be about the same size as the Australian, Bolivian, Chilean, Greek, New Zealand and Norwegian embassies for instance. It would not be as large as the embassies of Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, Spain, Turkey or some others.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. In those cases, have they two buildings?—A. Apart from some of the small countries, the embassies in Washington have separate chanceries.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. There would be no taxes to pay on this building?—A. No taxes.

Q. What is the estimated cost of the upkeep on this place? Have you any idea of that? You said there would be no repairs or very few?—A. The cost of the upkeep of the old embassy—

Mr. Jackman: Are you speaking of the building upkeep or the entertain-

ment upkeep?

Mr. Croll: The entertainment upkeep is different.

Mr. Coldwell: You would have the entertainment upkeep anyway.

Mr. Fraser: I suppose it would be difficult to say.

The WITNESS: I wonder if I could have Mr. Monette join me at the table.

The Chairman: Yes, but would you give us your opinion as to the long term policy with regard to an embassy building. Canada is a growing country and is a neighbour of the United States. I should like very much to have your opinion on that point because I know your opinion would be highly regarded.

The Witness: I would say that, on the assumption we wish to be represented in Washington with dignity, though without extravagance, and that Canadian interests in Washington are important, and will remain so, I would

say that this house would fulfill our requirement within the foreseeable future. It is not as expensive or as large as the embassies of some other countries, but would I think be quite adequate for the Canadian ambassador for the next 15 or 20 years.

Mr. Jaques: Could Mr. Pearson tell us of a comparable building in Ottawa so we could get some idea of the size of the building?

The CHAIRMAN: We will have the pictures of the house in a moment.

Mr. Knowles: Is it more like the French Embassy or the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa?

The Witness: The Davidge house about which I am talking is not like the French Embassy or the Soviet Embassy. I cannot think, off-hand, of any house in Ottawa with which to compare it.

### By Mr. Cote:

Q. How about the American Embassy here, I mean the ambassador's house? —A. The Davidge house is a more modern house than that, and, in some respects, would lend itself more effectively to entertaining. It has not as much ground, but it is a comparable house. The Davidge house, I would say, compares with the Belgian or Brazilian embassies in Ottawa.

Mr. Cote: If it is suitable for the American government, representing 120,000,000 people, to have a house in Ottawa which compares with the Canadian house we are about to have in Washngton, I suggest we should entirely rely upon the opinion of the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. He knows the subject about which he is talking. I submit we should lose no time in endorsing the proposal.

# By Mr. Croll:

Q. Did I understand you to say we are paying about \$9,000 a year rent? —A. Yes.

Q. If we capitalize that rental, we are within the scope of what you suggest we should pay?

The Chairman: I believe the members of the committee would like to see the plans and have an explanation from the architect. Then, the committee will have more arguments to use because we may meet some opposition, individually, if not collectively, in this case.

Mr. Jaques: I understood the minister to say he wished us to assume some of the responsibility. He did not want to assume it all himself.

Mr. Beaudoin: It is an expression of opinion you want from the committee.

# By Mr. Jackman:

Q. May I ask a few questions? Do most of the embassies in Washington have chancelries separate from the ambassador's living quarters?—A. The great majority of them have now. It is so in most cases except in those of the small countries.

Q. The official entertainment is usually carried on at the residence rather than at the chancelry, is it?—A. All the entertainment is carried on in the residence.

Q. How large is the staff in Washington now, do you know?—A. I think that the diplomatic staff, that is the secretaries of the embassy, including the commercial staff and the Service attachés would number about 22. There is the ambassador, the minister, a counsellor, a commercial counsellor, a financial counsellor, three Service attachés, a commercial secretary, a first secretary, an

information officer, an assistant military attaché, two second secretaries, four third secretaries, three assistant commercial secretaries and an administrative officer

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. This total would not include the clerical staff?—A. Not at all. That is just the professional staff.

Bu Mr. Fraser:

Q. You mentioned an information officer. Is the Canadian Information Service housed in the same building?—A. The information officer is now from the Department of External Affairs.

Bu Mr. Jackman:

Q. How does this house compare with that house which is sometimes described as the "Little White House", the one used by the United States for less distinguished visitors?—A. Blair house has an historical background. It is a sort of a museum period piece right in the middle of Washington.

Q. It has a nice garden?—A. Blair house has a very small garden and

this house has a large garden.

### By Mr. Knowles:

Q. In how many cases, roughly, do we have both a chancelry and an embassy? Do we have two buildings in more capitals than we have one building?—A. I should think—I speak subject to correction because I am not familiar with all the details of all the properties—that possibly two-thirds of our properties now have embassies separate from the offices.

Mr. Boucher: As a member of the committee, I do not feel we, as a committee, should be led into the approval or disapproval of this proposition. It does not seem to me we are at all competent to express any views on the matter. Personally, I should not like to either approve or disapprove. I think it is entirely up to the minister himself. I am afraid my recommendation would be that the committee decline to comment upon it.

Mr. Beaudoin: We can express views on the broad general subject. We have Mr. Pearson here who can submit to us detailed information. We also have the chief architect, Mr. Monette. If some members of our committee do not want to approve or disapprove the project, I suppose they have to do so. However, they can certainly express their views.

Mr. Marquis: This matter would come under the estimates, I think.

Mr. Coldwell: We are not asked to approve or disapprove. All we are asked to do is to hear the proposition and to make up our own minds, either now or subsequently, as to whether we consider this is a good business deal on the part of Canada. In considering that, I think we have to be guided by the rental we are now paying as well as the necessity of a proper place for the ambassador. I think no one will have to take the responsibility for whatever is done, but, on the other hand, I think it is wise we should get the information we are now getting. Personally, I think Mr. Pearson is probably in the best position, since he lived in Washington, to know whether this is a reasonable proposition. I understand he says it is.

Mr. MacInnis: I think the position of the Minister for External Affairs, with which I am in complete agreement, is that this has, in perhaps a small way, some political implications. There is a great housing shortage in Canada and what the minister has in mind is that we need an embassy in Washington. We have to have one, either by rent or by purchase within a short period of time. What he desires, I think, is if the government goes ahead and purchases this

property, when matters of housing come up in the Chainber, we should not say, "You were able to put up the money to buy a house in Washington for the ambassador but you cannot get houses for our own people in Canada." I think we have a responsibility here of either approving or disapproving, to the extent

this committee has responsibility in these matters.

I suggest that if we approve, and we should either approve or disapprove, that when the matter of housing comes up in the Chamber, we will not make political use of this in the House. I think the position of the minister is absolutely sound and absolutely correct in this matter at this particular time. I am no judge of the kind of house which would be required for the ambassador. In fact, I am no judge of the kind of house I should buy for myself. I bought one last year and I know I paid too much for it. I imagine anyone else would be in just about the same position. I think after we hear from the architect, we should give an expression of opinion.

Mr. Jaques: It seems to me that we, as a committee, will be competent to express an opinion as to policy, whether the Canadian government should buy a house or whether the ambassador should continue to live in an hotel, but I do not think we are competent to give an opinion as to the suitability of any particular house without personal knowledge of Washington.

The Chairman: My own reaction, as chairman of the committee, is this; I am very glad indeed that this matter, an important one, has been referred to our committee, not for final decision, but for a recommendation. After all, we are a part and parcel of the parliamentary system and our report will be dealt with by the whole House of Commons. I believe that is one way of building up our importance which has been built up gradually. I think this is a step in the right direction.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think the minister asked us to approve or disapprove of this. I think I agree with Mr. MacInnis completely. I think we have to be guided to some extent by our knowledge of what Canadian embassies usually do.

My observation is this, both in visiting Washington and other places and attending international conferences, that the Canadian delegations and the Canadian External Affairs department delegations are most modest compared with other countries. I would be prepared to view this proposition, this recommendation from the minister and from the Under Secretary of State in that light. My observation has been that the Canadian government delegations are much more modest in what they do, entertainment and all the rest of it, than almost any other delegation.

Mr. Marquis: Mr. Chairman, I understand we are not in a position to judge the property because we have not seen the property. However, we are here to receive evidence and information from Mr. Pearson and the architect. If we have this information, I think we will be in a position to make a recommendation. I understand the minister desires the committee to gather information and make an appropriate recommendation as to the policy to adopt. That is, whether we should continue renting a house or whether we should buy one.

Mr. Low: Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to get more information. I would not be afraid to take part of the responsibility for making a decision on policy. Would you mind telling us Mr. Pearson, or perhaps Mr. Monette could tell me, whether the figure of \$9,000 odd a year rental which you paid for the house you did have included the cost of maintenance, that is, repairs and replacements?

The WITNESS: No, I think that figure is just the rental figure.

Mr. Monette: That is the rental figure. It was rented as a temporary measure.

Mr. Low: You had to take care of the maintenance costs yourself over and above that?

Mr. Monette: Yes, and it is a smaller house.

Mr. Marquis: Will the amount you have to pay for rent increase if you rent another place?

The Witness: If we rent an embassy in Washington, we will not get one for \$9,000. The house which we have now is not an embassy, it is a small house; not small according to your standard or mine, but small according to the Washington official standard of embassadorial use. It is important to remember that if we do not buy this house, it would cost us from \$16,000 to \$20,000 a year to rent an embassy.

Mr. Low: That is what I was trying to establish, whether or not the actual rental value of this house which you propose to buy would be within the range of the rent you are now paying.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, we felt we were very fortunate in securing an opportunity to purchase this Davidge house for \$300,000. Large as this sum may seem, we expected to have to pay more. At \$300,000 with 3 per cent interest and 2 per cent depreciation, which is a half a per cent more than the depreciation usually allowed in Washington, and with a cost for maintenance, painting and minor repairs estimated at \$1,000, the rental equivalent to the cost of the Davidge house would be around \$16,000. Therefore, if we paid anything more than \$16,000 rental for an embassy, we would be losing money. I do not think we would get an embassy in Washington on a rental basis for less than \$16,000 a year.

# By Mr. Marquis:

Q. A building of that kind would cost how much?—A. We were told that this building would cost \$353,000 to build now.

Q. To rent it, I mean?—A. If we could rent it, which we could not, we would I think, have to pay at least \$18,000 or \$20,000 a year.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. How much is it going to cost to furnish this place?—A. It will cost very little because we have furniture in Washington. When we transformed the old embassy into an office, we kept the furniture. Practically all of the furniture can be used for the new embassy. The cost for furniture will be very little.

Q. You will need a great deal more furniture to furnish this house?—A. I do not think so. I think the furniture we had in the other house will be just about

enough.

# By Mr. Knowles:

Q. What do you mean by, "very little"?

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. The point I am getting at is the layout might be different. You will need more rugs, for instance. I understand when new embassies are taken over, the old furniture is discarded?—A. In this case, Mr. Chairman, we have gone into this side of the question rather carefully. Practically all of the furniture of the embassy, which was very good furniture, and the rugs, can be used in the new building. I believe I am right in saying that little will be required. What "very little" means in the way of dollars I am not quite sure.

Mr. Marquis: If you rent another place, perhaps you will have to buy some new furniture, too.

The Chairman: Are you ready to proceed with the evidence of Mr. Monette now?

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. May I ask how much of the \$350,000 replacement value would be in the land itself? Is it a very valuable section of the city?—A. \$50,000 is for the lot, I think.

Mr. Low: What is the size of the lot, Mr. Monette? I am acquainted with the old house, but how far and in what direction is the Davidge house from that?

The Witness: If you know Massachusetts Avenue, going up from the old Canadian Embassy towards the British Embassy, you cross the bridge over Rock Creek Park and, about 200 yards further, you turn right and go down a drive which leads into the park. That is where the house is.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. As to the size of the house, I am wondering whether it is large enough. How many people can you entertain?—A. I hazarded a guess that you could entertain from 26 to 30 at a dinner in the dining room. From my experience in Washington, that ought to be enough at any dinner party.

Mr. Knowles: On the so-called political question to which Mr. MacInnis referred, I do not think it should be assumed that approval by this committee necessarily ties the hands of the members in so far as mentioning it at any time in the future is concerned. Actually, there is no action, in the sense that if we spend this money it is going to stop the building of houses in Canada; is not that so?

The CHAIRMAN: I would not think so.

Mr. Knowles: If it did, I do not think the minister would bring it here and recommend it to us.

Mr. Croll: That is right.

Mr. Knowes: However, that does not mean that the members of the committee should not say, in the future, "If we found the money to buy this embassy, why can't we find the money to build houses in Canada?"

Mr. Croll: That is exactly what the minister said; the possibility of people attempting to turn this thing into a political issue is considerable and it is the thing we are trying to avoid. Mr. MacInnis caught the nail on the head. We have always avoided political coontroversy in these matters. Expenditures for ambassadorial purposes are considerable. I have never heard it mentioned, but this is an urgent matter. We spent \$6,000,000 here at one stage on the recommendation of these gentlemen in the department. I take my responsibility and everybody else takes his responsibility. I think, on the same basis, I have the same confidence in him with regard to spending this money. It is needed and the requirements are known by this man. It is economic and I am prepared to take my responsibility. I feel the same way about the House of Commons as does my friend Mr. Knowles and the other members of the House. I would be tempted to twit the government a bit about this same matter, but this is not the sort of thing we can do. It is not the sort of issue upon which anyone is gagged, but I think there is an understanding that this matter is sort of forgotten.

Mr. Graydon: I arrived somewhat late and perhaps these matters have been discussed, but I should like to know how old this Davidge house is, Mr. Pearson.

The Witness: I said about fifteen years old, but I will ask Mr. Monette now, because he will give an exact answer to that question.

Mr. Fraser: It is marked here, on the plans, as 1930. It is likely the house was built later than that, though.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Has there been any transfer of that property since the house was built?—A. No, the owner has lived in that house ever since.

Q. What was the cost price of the building when it was built?

The CHAIRMAN: The valuation of the building was given.

Mr. Boucher: I think Mr. Pearson told us the amount it would cost to build it today was \$350,000.

The WITNESS: \$352,000.

Mr. Boucher: That does not give us the value of it when it was built.

Mr. Graydon: It strikes me the one important thing about this which we will have to watch is that anyone who is buying property today is, of course buying at the highest peak price in the history of real property in this country or the United States of America Now, I suppose this point has been carefully considered and the urgency would have to be reasonably great to force one to walk into the real estate market today and pay the highest prices we have ever had to pay in the history of real estate in these countries. There is our problem and it is one which will have to be very carefully considered, I think.

Mr. Cote: The minister explained to us that we either purchase this house this week, or the ambassador has to go to a hotel because there is no other available housing.

Mr. Beaudoin: Either that, or we have to pay a rental which is also at its peak.

Mr. Boucher: Bearing in mind the yardstick which is ordinarily used, the rental of a house to be economic at all, must be about 10 per cent of the cost of a house. Some people say it should be 12 per cent and I guess, under present conditions, it would even exceed 12 per cent. That being the case, the deputy minister has stated he feels 5 per cent of \$300,000 would be \$15,000 and with carrying charges, irrespective of rent, your investment would be \$16,000. Upon reflection, it would seem we would be better to pay rent at \$20,000 or \$25,000 than to purchase this house at this time. I am speaking from a purely economic viewpoint. The question is, could we rent premises to get us over the hiatus of inflated prices, right now, on a scarce market. Could we acquire accommodation which will be satisfactory at a rental of under \$20,000 or \$25,000? If so, I would recommend we secure that rather than purchase this house, from what information I have. As I say, I do not like to commit myself one way or the other, because I do not think from an economic viewpoint, we have sufficient Particulars to decide the matter.

Mr. Graydon: Have you had any good business man who knows something about real estate on the job? Many of us have been in real estate at different times and know it is hopeless for a committee to sit around like this considering a little bit of evidence here and a little bit of evidence there and put through a deal or give sound advice. A deal of this type is a straight question of good business. I think it has to be put on that basis from the standpoint of the taxpayers in the Dominion of Canada. What has been done in respect to that angle, to make sure it is the best move we could make.

Mr. Leger: Mr. Monette was there and he is the architect.

Mr. Graydon: We need more than an architect, and that is no reflection on Mr. Monette, for whom I have a very high regard, nor architects generally. What you really need is someone who knows business conditions and can tell whether or not this is an advisable move to make. If you were going to buy a

house, yourself, you would not leave the decision as to what you were going to do up to some committee of members of parliament in Ottawa, especially if you were buying property in Washington. You are going to get the best advice you can from people who know not only the cost of the structure, but what the possibilities are of prices declining sufficiently in the next five years so that you might only have to put up \$200,000 for that place. Even Mr. Boucher's suggestion as to renting would have to be considered in the same manner, in order to see what the saving to the taxpayers would be.

The Witness: The department consulted, I think, the best real estate adviser we could get in Washington, Mr. Flather, who had been recommended to us for the purpose. It was largely on his advice that we thought this was a good business proposition, quite apart from the fact we had Mr. Monette with us. It is true values are inflated in Washington as they are in every other place. It is also true that when the government was contemplating the purchase of the Iranian Embassy last year, it was for that reason that they did not purchase it. The price was too high. We feel this particular house, in practically every respect, is a better embassy than the Iranian property for which they eventually asked \$375,000. When we were told we could get this house for \$300,000, we thought we were very fortunate. The department then ventured, at the request of the minister, to bring the matter before the committee at once because we only have two or three days in which to make up our minds.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Has there been any dickering over this price or are you just taking the price which the owner asks?—A. Yes, there has been some deal. The original price asked was higher.

Mr. MacInnis: Negotiation, not "dickering".

Mr. Graydon: I just used the word "dicker" so you would understand.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Does the government carry insurance on the properties which it has

outside of Canada?—A. I do not think they are insured.

Q. I know the government does not do so in Canada but I wondered if a different policy was followed outside of Canada?—A. I am informed we have no insurance.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. The question of renting a place has been mentioned. You were in Washington and can tell what the possibility of renting a suitable place would be?—A. We have, for nearly a year, been trying to find a place suitable for purchase or rent. We have even contemplated buying a lot and building an embassy; or, rather, putting that proposition forward. We have not found any property, suitable for an embassy, for rent in Washington. We have been able to find a house temporarily in which the ambassador can live very comfortably, but where he cannot do his job adequately as ambassador. Furthermore he has to vacate that house after July of this year.

The Chairman: The argument of Mr. Graydon is quite a sound one, but when it is considered you cannot get any accommodation at all, it becomes more than just a business problem.

Mr. Graydon: This government is now in much the same position as the returned soldier who is coming back to Canada and cannot find a home.

Mr. Cote: As I said before, Mr. Chairman, we are a committee and are not, I think, on the same level to judge this proposition as is the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. I submit we should shoulder our

responsibility and endorse the proposal which has been made. This is an urgent matter because a decision has to be made this week. I, for one, am willing to endorse the decision which is arrived at by the Department of External Affairs for the purchase of that property. I propose the committee subscribe to that proposal now.

The CHAIRMAN: Before we deal with that, if you are in agreement, I believe we should sit until one o'clock in an attempt to clear this matter up.

Mr. Graydon: May I make a suggestion with respect to that? I, for one, am not prepared to endorse or reject a proposal for the purchase of a \$350,000 property in Washington with only an hour or two of discussion, or, even a day of discussion. Actually, it amounts to this, that the responsibility for this rests entirely upon the government and not on this committee. I think the committee must, in all fairness, discuss the question so the government will then have the various points of view which are brought out. In this way the government may, possibly, arrive at a more sensible, more appropriate decision. I do not think it is up to the committee. I do not think we should set a precedent by means of which a committee will decide matters of such a technical, detailed nature as this. Such things are really within the province of the government rather than of parliament.

I think this committee's discussion will be very helpful to the government in arriving at its decision because we want to have all the points brought out so the government will be able to make the best bargain possible. Personally, I do not think I am ready to vote on a matter so important as this on the evidence which I have. I suppose I am more cautious than others would be because I have been in real estate deals before. I know something about them.

I do not think they are ever decided in this particular informal manner.

The CHAIRMAN: I did not finish my statement, I intended to say, if it was agreeable to the members, we would sit until one o'clock and then reconvene tomorrow to consider this question. This would give the members 24 hours to consider the matter.

Mr. Coldwell: There is a radio committee tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN: So far as I am concerned I am in the hands of the committee on the matter.

Mr. Cote: Why don't we come to a conclusion right away? After all, this report will go to the House and those who do not seem to be prepared to endorse the proposal will have an opportunity to discuss the matter on the floor of the House. I, for one, will defend it and I am quite sure the majority of the members of this committee are able and willing to take that stand. I do not think we can definitely settle the matter here. If there is any member of the committee who still wishes to discuss the matter, he can discuss the matter on the floor of the House. We may just as well finish with it and report on it.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not a matter of being pro or con, so far as we are concerned, it is a matter of securing more information to satisfy ourselves that We fully grasp the situation,

Mr. Cote: I think all the members of this committee should be satisfied by now. We have heard the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs in whom we have confidence, and the minister in whom we have confidence. What more do we need in order to make up our minds?

Mr. Graydon: The reason the minister and deputy minister are here is because their minds are not made up. It is for this reason they have thrown the problem on the shoulders of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: The minds of these gentlemen are made up, but they desire to have the opinion of the members of the committee and of the House. Mr. Coldwell: It seems to me the only thing which the government can ask this committee to do is to approve the policy. The responsibility for buying the property must be on the government.

Mr. Jaques: The responsibility for buying that particular property or any property.

Mr. Coldwell: Yes.

Mr. Jaques: That is my view, too.

Mr. Coldwell: I think the discussion we have had is valuable. I know had this been placed before me in the House I might have wanted to ask a lot of questions there and it is much more difficult there than it is around this table. Around this table, one can get the feeling. I know my own feeling at the moment is that we should approve the policy and, it seems to me the recommendation of the department is one which seems reasonable. After the department has considered all the matters in connection with it, I would be guided by that when the matter came to the House.

The CHAIRMAN: Then, we will proceed until one o'clock.

Mr. Marquis: I think it is important the members have all the information they want to have.

Mr. Knowles: Will this matter come before the House in the form of a supplementary estimate or how?

The Witness: In the supplementary estimates last year, there was included an item of \$325,000 for the purchase of an embassy building in Washington. I believe the government had hoped they would get the Iranian embassy for that amount. This was impossible. I presume the government will have to put another item in the supplementary estimates this year if it is decided to purchase this building.

I think perhaps I should have made it clear at the beginning and I did not, that so far as the department is concerned, we hope that the policy will be to purchase embassy buildings in all countries where we are represented, rather than pay rent. We think it is better, from more than one point of view, to own our buildings in the foreign countries, unless they are countries in which we are not likely to be permanently represented.

Mr. Low: But you do admit the timing of the purchase?

The Witness: I do, indeed. It is a very important consideration. It would be a very bad business to purchase buildings in some countries when you might be able to get them much more cheaply two years from now. In Washington, if it had been possible to rent a suitable building for three or four years, I think it would have been good business to have rented it. Then, at the end of that time, we could either have purchased a building at a lower figure or possibly built our own Canadian embassy, of Canadian design and with Canadian furnishings. We have been unable to carry out that policy in Washington because we have not been able to secure a suitable building for rental.

Unless the ambassador is to live in a hotel, where he will be very comfortable, or continues to live in his present house or some house like it where he will also be very comfortable but where he will not be able to do the job he should do, then we are confronted with the necessity of purchasing this building.

The Chairman: Some members seem to fear that we will try to shift the government's responsibility. This is not the point. We can only advise on the policy of the government in securing proper accommodation for the Canadian ambassador. We can go no farther than that.

Mr. Knowles: Will we be making a recommendation in the form of a report to the House of Commons? Are we not just discussing it so the department will know the opinion of the committee?

The Chairman: I should like to see the committee make a report on the matter.

Mr. Knowles: The last time we made a recommendation to the House for the expenditure of money, it was thrown out.

The CHAIRMAN: This would be different.

Mr. Knowles: That is what might happen again; we might be told to buy this house ourselves.

Mr. Graydon: It seems to me when the delegation from this committee was down at Lake Success, if they really wanted to do a good job, they should have gone to Washington to see this building.

The Chairman: I think some members would gladly pay their own expenses to go down there again to see this building.

Mr. Graydon: May I say this; I think there is a very special issue involved here. I do not think we can create a precedent by means of which the government, whenever it is in a difficult position with respect to anything in connection with exercising judgment on a detailed matter such as this, would be able to come to the external affairs committee and say, "Now, you people either reject or endorse this proposal."

Mr. Coldwell: You should have been here when Mr. St. Laurent was here. I do not think that was his proposal.

Mr. Graydon: I do not want to go on a wrong premise, if this is the case. In any event, what has transpired since I came in here would indicate we are to make a report to the House.

Mr. COLDWELL: No.

The CHAIRMAN: Personally, I am strongly in favour of it.

Mr. Graydon: I do not think we should.

The CHAIRMAN: Of course, I will be guided by the majority of the committee.

Mr. Coldwell: We will be getting a supplementary estimate in connection with this item and that is the time we should approve or disapprove of it.

The CHAIRMAN: We are on the estimates now.

Mr. Graydon: But this estimate has not been tabled.

The Charman: Personally, I would be strongly in favour of making a recommendation. All our standing committees have that power. In many instances, these recommendations to the House are ignored, but they give a guidance to the discussion. The fact there is a recommendation does not necessarily imply there will be concurrence in that recommendation. However, there is something before the House.

Mr. Graydon: If the government feels there should be a discussion in parliament—

The CHAIRMAN: They cannot stop discussion.

Mr. Graydon: If the government asks concurrence in such a report, there will be discussion.

Mr. Coldwell: I would not think there should be a recommendation. I want to say this quite frankly, so far as I can see right now, the government proposal is a good one. I do not think the committee should make this proposal to the House. I think all the minister asked us to do was to consider this matter and discuss it. Out of the discussion, he would get the concensus of opinion, or you would get the concensus of opinion, and the government would understand the position.

The CHAIRMAN: I am in the hands of the committee in the matter, but I should like the committee to take more decisive action in connection with anything which is placed before us.

Mr. Knowles: When any proposal for the expenditure of money is placed before the House, it has to be accompanied by a statement that His Excellency the Governor General has been made aware of it and recommends it to the

The CHAIRMAN: Not a departmental item.

Mr. Knowles: Any supplementary estimate which is brought in, the Governor General has to have seen it and signed it in his own hand.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think so, but you may be right.

Mr. Graydon: We are doing something, Mr. Chairman, which is entirely different to what is called for by the rules. Here is a supplementary estimate which is not before the House as yet, and yet the committee has already approved of it. We would be approving of it before it came before the House or before it was even before the committee. I do not think we can do that. We

always have to have the estimate before us.

After all, the reference to this committee as sent to us by the House of Commons, does not permit us to do what the chairman suggests. I would submit all our power as a committee rests entirely on the terms of reference from the House of Commons. The reference to this committee is simply a reference on the departmental estimates, numbers so and so, and so and so. This estimate has not yet been approved by the government nor submitted to the House for reference to this committee.

Mr. Cote: Mr. Chairman, if we do not report to the House, would you consider printing the minutes of today's meeting containing all the suggestions and proposals made this morning?

Mr. Low: As a matter of general policy, I think the government ought to have its own embassy in Washington.' Now, if the committee were to agree on a proposition of that kind, that is about as far as it can go.

Mr. MacInnis: Mr. Chairman, I do not think the committee is obliged to approve or disapprove this proposal in so many words. We have heard the Minister for External Affairs and we have heard Mr. Pearson. I think if we do not make an adverse recommendation on this item, then it goes through in the same way as the other items in the estimates or the other matters which have been brought before us. The questions which we have to put in our report are questions which we want to go to the government or to the House of Commons. Our expression of opinion on this matter of government routine business could be given by suggesting the government provide accommodation for the ambassador in the best possible way. This will meet the situation. I did not believe it was a recommendation from us the minister had in mind when he brought this matter to the committee. He did have in mind the matter of the circumstances which I mentioned before and we should keep that in our mind.

The CHAIRMAN: From the discussion I have heard I am satisfied there will be no report. I am always in the hands of the majority of the committee. What I had in mind was this, that we are building up this committee to be one of the most important committees in the House of Commons. It is becoming more and more important from year to year. We can notice that if we look back to 1945. I believe the members of the committee are right, it is not a matter for recommendation, it is a matter for discussion in order to satisfy the members' minds on the point. In order to do this, we may have to sit again this afternoon. We want to have all the details we can possibly have. We are receiving publicity in connection with this matter.

Would the members of the committee care to hear from Mr. Monette now? I believe he has some information to give us.

Mr. Jackman: Is there a third storey to this house?

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. Monette: I have visited many houses in Washington, I would say about 15 or 20 of them. So far as suitability is concerned, I think this house is the most suitable I have seen. It is perfectly suitable for an embassy. The residence is very well planned. On the second floor, there are five large bedrooms. The plan is not too complicated. The outside appearance is good. It is located on a street in front of which there is park land. As a matter of fact, there are no neighbours in front. It is located on a corner lot, which means the service entrance is on the side and the garage and that sort of thing are directly on the side street. The neighbourhood is very good. All the houses around it are dignified, but not too dignified. It is just a few hundred feet from Massachusetts Avenue. It is not on the main thoroughfare, it is a secondary street but a very dignified street. The house is very well built and has been very well kept. There are practically no repairs to be made, so there is no heavy expenditure to be met.

Mr. Graydon: Will there not have to be some alterations made to make it useful as an embassy?

Mr. Monette: Very few; perhaps a cloakroom could be added, but there are not many alterations.

Mr. Fraser: You mentioned the fact there are few repairs. I notice the roof is a slate roof with a tin deck.

Mr. Monette: I have been on the roof myself, but I think it has a copper deck.

Mr. Fraser: The doors and windows are copper covered but I see there is a tin deck on the roof.

Mr. Monette: You mean the eave troughs?

Mr. Fraser: No, on the roof proper, there are tin decks. I just wondered if they would not have to be repaired.

Mr. Monette: I have not been on the roof deck, but I have been around the troughs. They are all in good condition and that tin deck is in good condition.

Mr. Fraser: This house has been up for some 17 years and I know in 17 years' time galvanized iron would rust if it were not painted.

Mr. Coldwell: I think we could continue the discussion in this way for a long time. It seems to me if we approve the policy that we must have an embassy, we cannot rent one, we have to buy one, then, the government must take the responsibility for buying any particular property.

Mr. Leger: I think we should approve or disapprove of the acquiring of an embassy in Washington. The government will decide the matter after that. I move we approve the acquiring of an embassy.

Mr. Graydon: That would get us into exactly the position in which we do not want to be placed. Actually, there is no other building, apparently, which the officials have in mind except this one. If that is the case it means, Mr. Leger, with deference to you, we are getting exactly into the position in which we did not want to be.

The Charman: I think the discussion has been very instructive and very helpful. It has enabled the government and the members of the department to secure the opinion of the members of the committee.

Mr. Jaques: There is just one question which I should like to ask the architect. How much of this \$300,000 would be represented by the building itself and how much for the site?

Mr. Croll: \$50,000 for the land.

Mr. Jackman: Would there be about an acre of land in this site?

Mr. Monette: No, I would not say an acre. It is about 130 or 140 feet in length and about 75 or 80 feet in depth. The over-all dimensions are not shown on this plan.

The Chairman: Are you satisfied that we have discussed the question from all angles? There is one question I will ask Mr. Pearson before the committee adjourns.

The WITNESS: I think it would be valuable for the department, to get an expression of opinion from the members of the committee on the general policy which the department desires to adopt in connection with its buildings abroad. We believe we should own our property rather than rent it, where business considerations make ownership desirable. It is this plan to which we should like to work over the years ahead.

Mr. Jackman: When you rent a property in the United States or a foreign country, does the owner of that property have to pay taxes in as much as the property is being used by the embassy? It would make a big difference in the rental?

The Witness: I think the taxes are included in the rent. The owner of the property has to pay taxes. That is another reason why it is desirable to own property which we get tax free.

Mr. Coldwell: It seems to me the proper thing to own property, but it just depends upon building and property conditions when you acquire the property, you know. I do not think this committee is competent to direct the department in that regard.

Mr. Croll: I agree.

Mr. Knowles: I think we should adopt a motion of thanks to the department for bringing this matter before us. I would move such a motion.

Mr. Croll: Agreed.

The Chairman: I wish to thank you, Mr. Pearson, and Mr. Monette, for being here and for making these representations. I assume it is the desire of the members of the committee to carry out the wish of the minister for External Affairs, if it is possible, and have our report on the refugee organization ready as soon as possible. We will take up this matter at our next sitting on Friday. In the meantime, I should like every member of the committee to help in the wording of our report. It is a very delicate problem.

The committee adjourned at 12.50 p.m. to meet again on Friday, May 23, 1947, at 10.30 a.m.

## Appendix A

## CONSTITUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

#### PREAMBLE

The Government accepting this Constitution, Recognizing:

that genuine refugees and displaced persons constitute an urgent problem which is international in scope and character;

that as regards displaced persons, the main task to be performed is to encourage and assist in every way possible their early return to their country of origin;

that genuine refugees and displaced persons should be assisted by international action, either to return to their countries of nationality or former habitual residence, or to find new homes elesewhere, under the conditions provided for in this Constitution; or in the case of Spanish Republicans, to establish themselves temporarily in order to enable them to return to Spain when the present Falangist regime is succeeded by a demorcatic regime;

that re-settlement and re-establishment of refugees and displaced persons be contemplated only in cases indicated clearly in the Constitution;

that genuine refugees and displaced persons, until such time as their repatriation or re-settlement and re-establishment is effectively completed, should be protected in their rights and legitimate interests, should receive care and assistance and, as far as possible, should be put to useful employment in order to avoid the evil and anti-social consequences of continued idleness;

and

that the expenses of repatriation to the extent practicable should be charged to Germany and Japan for persons displaced by those Powers from countries occupied by them:

Have Agreed:

for the accomplishment of the foregoing purposes in the shortest possible time, to establish and do hereby establish, a non-permanent organization to be called the International Refugee Organization, a specialized agency to be brought into relationship with the United Nations, and accordingly

Have Accepted the Following Articles:

#### ARTICLE 1

#### Mandate

The mandate of the Organization shall extend to refugees and displaced persons in accordance with the principles, definitions and conditions set forth in Annex 1, which is attached to and made an integral part of this Constitution.

#### ARTICLE 2

#### Functions and Powers

1. The functions of the Organization to be carried out in accordance with the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, shall be: the repatriation; the identification, registration and classification; the care and

assistance; the legal and political protection; the transport; and the re-settlement and re-establishment, in countries able and willing to receive them, of persons who are the concern of the Organization under the provisions of Annex 1. Such functions shall be exercised with a view:

(a) to encouraging and assisting in every way possible the early return to their country of nationality, or former habitual residence, of those persons who are the concern of the Organization, having regard to the principles laid down in the resolution on refugees and displaced persons adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 12th February 1946 (Annex III) and to the principles set forth in the Preamble, and to promoting this by all possible means, in particular by providing them with material assistance, adequate food for a period of three months, from the time of their departure from their present places of residence provided they are returning to a country suffering as a result of enemy occupation during the war, and provided such food shall be distributed under the auspices of the organization; and the necessary clothing and means of transportation; and

(b) with respect to persons for whom repatriation does not take place under

paragraph 1 (a) of this article to facilitating:

(i) their re-establishment in countries of temporary residence;

(ii) the emigration to, re-settlement and re-establishment in other

countries of individuals or family units; and

- (iii) as may be necessary and practicable, within available resources and subject to the relevant financial regulations, the investigation, promotion or execution of projects of group re-settlement or largescale re-settlement.
- (c) with respect to Spanish Republicans to assisting them to establish themselves temporarily until the time when a democratic regime in Spain is established.
- 2. For the Purpose of carrying out its functions, the organization may engage in all appropriate activities, and to this end, shall have power:

(a) to receive and disburse private and public funds;

(b) as necessary to acquire land and buildings by lease, gift, or in exceptional circumstances only, by purchase; and to hold such land and buildings or to dispose of them by lease, sale or otherwise;

(c) to acquire, hold and convey other necessary property;

(d) to enter into contracts, and undertake obligations; including contracts with governments or with occupation or control authorities, whereby such authorities would continue, or undertake, in part or in whole, the care and maintenance of refugees and displaced persons in territories under their authority, under the supervision of the organization;

(e) to conduct negotiations and conclude agreements with governments;

- (f) to consult and co-operate with public and private organizations whenever it is deemed advisable, in so far as such organizations share the purpose of the organization and observe the principles of the United Nations;
- (g) to promote the conclusion of bilateral arrangements for mutual assistance in the repatriation of displaced persons, having regard to the principles laid down in paragraph (c) (ii) of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 12 February 1946 regarding the problem of refugees (Annex III);

(h) to appoint staff, subject to the provisions of Article 9 of this Consti-

tution;

(i) to undertake any project appropriate to the accomplishment of the purposes of this Organization;

(j) to conclude agreements with countries able and willing to receive refugees and displaced persons for the purpose of ensuring the protection of their legitimate rights and interests in so far as this may be necessary; and

(k) in general, to perform any other legal act appropriate to its purposes.

#### ARTICLE 3

# Relationship to the United Nations

The relationship between the Organization and the United Nations shall be established in an agreement between the Organization and the United Nations as provided in Article 57 and 63 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### ARTICLE 4

## Membership

- 1. Membership in the Organization is open to Members of the United Nations, membership is also open to any other peace-loving States, not members of the United Nations, upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, by a two-thirds majority vote of members of the General Council present and voting, subject to the conditions of the agreement between the Organization and the United Nations approved pursuant to article 3 of this Constitution.
- 2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, the members of the Organization shall be those States whose duly authorized representatives sign this Constitution without reservation as to subsequent acceptance, and those States which deposit with the Secretary General of the United Nations their instruments of acceptance after their duly authorized representatives have signed this Constitution with such reservation.
- 3. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, those States, whose representatives have not signed the Constitution referred to in the previous paragraph, or which, having signed it, have not deposited the relevant instrument of acceptance within the following six months, may, however, be admitted as members of the Organization in the following cases:—

(a) if they undertake to liquidate any outstanding contributions in accord-

ance with the relevant scale; or

- (b) if they submit to the Organization a plan for the admission to their territory, as immigrants, refugees or displaced persons in such numbers, and on such settlement conditions as shall, in the opinion of the Organization, require from the applicant State an expenditure or investment equivalent, or approximately equivalent, to the contribution that they would be called upon, in accordance with the relevant scale, to make to the budget of the Organization.
- 4. Those States which, on signing the Constitution, express their intention to avial themselves of clause (b) of paragraph 3 of this article may submit the plan referred to in that paragraph within the following three months, without prejudice to the presentation within six months of the relevant instrument of acceptance.
- 5. Members of the Organization which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of Membership of the United Nations shall, upon request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organization.
- 6. Members of the Organization which are expelled from the United Nations automatically cease to be members of this Organization.

- 7. With the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations, members of the Organization which are not members of the United Nations, and which have persistently violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations may be suspended from the rights and privileges of the Organization, or expelled from its membership by the General Council.
- 8. A member of the Organization which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Constitution, may be suspended from the rights and privileges of the Organization by the General Council, and with the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations, may be expelled from the Organization.
- 9. A member of the Organization undertakes to afford its general support to the work of the Organization.
- 10. Any member may at any time give written notice of withdrawal to the Chairman of the Executive Committee. Such notice shall take effect one year after the date of its receipt by the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

#### ARTICLE 5

### Organs

There are established as the principal organs of the Organization: a General Council, an Executive Committee and a Secretariat.

#### ARTICLE 6

#### The General Council

- 1. The ultimate policy making body of the Organization shall be the General Council in which each member shall have one representative and such alternates and advisers as may be necessary. Each member shall have one vote in the General Council.
- 2. The General Council shall be convened in regular session not less than once a year by the Executive Committee provided, however, that for three years after the Organization comes into being the General Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year. It may be convened in special session whenever the Executive Committee shall deem necessary; and it shall be convened in special session by the Director-General within thirty days after a request for such a special session is received by the Director-General from one-third of the members of the Council.
- 3. At the opening meeting of each session of the General Council, the Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside until the General Council has elected one of its members as Chairman for the session.
- 4. The General Council shall thereupon proceed to elect from among its members a first Vice-Chairman and a second Vice-Chairman, and such other officers as it may deem necessary.

### ARTICLE 7

#### Executive Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall perform such functions as may be necessary to give effect to the policies of the General Council, and may make, between sessions of the General Council, policy decisions of an emergency nature which it shall pass on to the Director-General, who shall be guided thereby, and shall report to the Executive Committee on the action which he has taken thereon. These decisions shall be subject to reconsideration by the General Council.

- 2. The Executive Committee of the General Council shall consist of the representatives of nine members of the Organization. Each member of the Executive Committee shall be elected for a two-year term by the General Council at a regular session of the Council. A member may continue to hold office on the Executive Committee during any such period as may intervene between the conclusion of its term of office and the first succeeding meeting of the General Council at which an election takes place. A member shall be at all times eligible for re-election to the Executive Committee. If a vacancy occurs in the membership of the Executive Committee between two sessions of the General Council, the Executive Committee may fill the vacancy by itself appointing another member to hold office until the next meeting of the Council.
- 3. The Executive Committee shall elect a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman from among its members, the terms of office to be determined by the General Council.
  - 4. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be convened:—

(a) at the call of the Chairman, normally twice a month;

(b) whenever any representative of a member of the Executive Committee shall request the convening of a meeting, by a letter addressed to the Director-General, in which case the meeting shall be convened within seven days of the date of the receipt of the request;

(c) in the case of a vacancy occurring in the Chairmanship, the Director-General shall convene a meeting at which the first item on the agenda

shall be the election of a Chairman.

- 5. The Executive Committee may, in order to investigate the situation in the field, either as a body or through a delegation of its members, visit camps, hostels or assembly points within the control of the Organization, and may give instructions to the Director-General in consequence of the reports of such visits.
- 6. The Executive Committee shall receive the reports of the Director-General as provided in paragraph 6 of article 8 of this Constitution, and, after consideration thereof, shall request the Director-General to transmit these reports to the General Council with such comments as the Executive Committee may consider appropriate. These reports and such comments shall be transmitted to all members of the General Council before its next regular session and shall be published. The Executive Committee may request the Director-General to submit such further reports as may be deemed necessary.

#### ARTICLE 8

#### Administration

- 1. The chief administrative officer of the Organization shall be the Director-General. He shall be responsible to the General Council and the Executive Committee and shall carry out the administrative and executive functions of the Organization in accordance with the decisions of the General Council and the Executive Committee, and shall report on the action taken thereon.
- 2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Committee and appointed by the General Council. If no person acceptable to the General Council is nominated by the Executive Committee, the General Council may proceed to appoint a person who has not been nominated by the Committee. When a vacancy occurs in the office of the Director-General the Executive Committee may appoint an Acting Director-General to assume all the duties and functions of the office until a Director-General can be appointed by the General Council.

- 3. The Director-General shall serve under a contract which shall be signed on behalf of the Organization by the Chairman of the Executive Committee and it shall be a clause of such contract that six months' notice of termination can be given on either side. In exceptional circumstances, the Executive Committee, subject to subsequent confirmation by the General Council, has the power to relieve the Director-General of his duties by a two-thirds majority vote of the members if, in the Committee's opinion, his conduct is such as to warrant such action.
- 4. The staff of the Organization shall be appointed by the Director-General under regulations to be established by the General Council.
- 5. The Director-General shall be present, or be represented by one of his subordinate officers, at all meetings of the General Council, or the Executive Committee and of all other committees and subcommittees. He or his representatives may participate in any such meeting but shall have no vote.
- 6. (a) The Director-General shall prepare at the end of each half-year period a report on the work of the Organization. The report prepared at the end of each alternate period of six months shall relate to the work of the Organization during the preceding year and shall give a full account of the activities of the Organization during that period. These reports shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for consideration, and thereafter shall be transmitted to the General Council together with any comments of the Executive Committee thereon, as provided by paragraph 6 of article 7 of this Constitution.
- (b) At every special session of the General Council the Director-General shall present a statement of the work of the Organization since the last meeting.

#### ARTICLE 9

### Staff

- 1. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. A further consideration in the employment of the staff shall be adherence to the principles laid down in the present Constitution. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting staff on an appropriate geographical basis, and of employing an adequate number of persons from the countries of origin of the displaced persons.
- 2. No person shall be employed by the Organization who is excluded under Part II, other than paragraph 5, of, Annex 1 to this Constitution, from becoming the concern of the Organization.
- 3. In the performance of their duties, the Director-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization. Each member of the Organization undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

#### ARTICLE 10

#### Finance

1. The Director-General shall submit, through the Executive Committee, to the General Council an annual budget, covering the necessary administrative, operational and large-scale re-settlement expenditures of the Organization, and

from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required. The executive Committee shall transmit the budget to the General Council with any remarks it may deem appropriate. Upon final approval of a budget by the General Council, the total under each of these three headings—to wit, "administrative", "operational" and "large-scale re-settlement"—shall be allocated to the members in proportions for each heading to be determined from time to time by a two-thirds majority vote of the members of the General Council present and voting.

- 2. Contributions shall be payable, as a result of negotiations undertaken at the request of members between the Organization and such members, in kind or in such currency as may be provided for in a decision by the General Council, having regard to currencies in which the anticipated expenditure of the Organization will be effected from time to time, regardless of the currency in which the budget is expressed.
- 3. Each member undertakes to contribute to the Organization its share of the administrative expenses as determined and allocated under paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article.
- 4. Each member shall contribute to the operational expenditures—except for large-scale re-settlement expenditures—as determined and allocated under paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, subject to the requirements of the constitutional procedure of such members. The members undertake to contribute to the large-scale re-settlement expenditures on a voluntary basis and subject to the requirements of their constitutional procedure.
- 5. A member of the Organization, which, after the expiration of a period of three months following the date of the coming into force of this Constitution, has not paid its financial contribution to the Organizatin for the first financial Year, shall have no vote in the General Council or the Executive Committee until such contribution has been paid.
- 6. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 5 of this article, a member of the Organization which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Council or the Executive Committee if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding one full year.
- 7. The General Council may, nevertheless, permit such members to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of such members.
- 8. The administrative budget of the Organization shall be submitted annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations for such review and recommendation as the General Assembly may deem appropriate. The agreement under which the Organization shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations under article 3 of this Constitution may provide, inter alia, for the approval of the administrative budget of the Organization by the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- 9. Without prejudice to the provisions concerning supplementary budgets in paragraph 1 of this article, the following exceptional arrangements shall apply in respect of the financial year in which this Constitution comes into force:—

(a) the budget shall be the provisional budget set forth in Annex II to this Constitution; and

(b) the amounts to be contributed by the members shall be in the proportions set forth in Annex II to this Constitution.

#### ARTICLE 11

## Headquarters and Other Offices

- 1. The Organization shall establish its headquarters at Paris or at Geneva, as the General Council shall decide, and all meetings of the General Council and the Executive Committee shall be held at this headquarters, unless a majority of the members of the General Council or the Executive Committee have agreed, at a previous meeting or by correspondence with the Director-General to meet elsewhere.
- 2. The Executive Committee may establish such regional and other offices and representations as may be necessary.
- 3. All offices and representations shall be established only with the consent of the Government in authority in the place of establishment.

#### ARTICLE 12

#### Procedure

- 1. The General Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, following in general, the rules of procedure of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, wherever appropriate, and with such modifications as the General Council shall deem desirable. The Executive Committee shall regulate its own procedure subject to any decisions of the General Council in respect thereto.
- 2. Unless otherwise provided in the Constitution or by action of the General Council, motions shall be carried by simple majority of the members present and voting in the General Council and the Executive Committee.

#### ARTICLE 13

# Status, Immunities and Privileges

- 1. The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its objectives.
- 2. (a) The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such privileges and immunities as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its objectives.
- (b) Representatives of members, officials and administrative personnel of the organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the organization.
- 3. Such legal status, privileges and immunities shall be defined in an agreement to be prepared by the organization after consultation with the secretary-general of the united nations. The agreement shall be open to accession by all members and shall continue in force as between the organization and every member which accedes to the agreement.

#### ARTICLE 14

# Relations With Other Organizations

1. Subject to the provisions of the agreement to be negotiated with the united nations, pursuant to article 3 of this constitution, the organization may establish such effective relationships as may be desirable with other international organizations.

2. The organization may assume all or part of the functions, and acquire all or part of the resources, assets and liabilities of any inter-governmental

organization or agency, the purposes and functions of which lie within the scope of the organization. Such action may be taken either through mutually acceptable arrangements with the competent authorities of such organizations or agencies, or pursuant to authority conferred upon the organization by international convention or agreement.

#### ARTICLE 15

## Relationship With Authorities of Countries of Location of Refugees and Displaced Persons

The relationship of the organization with the governments or administrations of countries in which displaced persons or refugees are located, and the conditions under which it will operate in such countries, shall be determined by agreements to be negotiated by it with such governments or administrations in accordance with the terms of this constitution.

#### ARTICLE 16

## Amendment of Constitution

Texts of proposed amendments to this constitution shall be communicated by the director-general to members at least three months in advance of their consideration by the general council. Amendments shall come into effect when adopted by a two-thirds majority of the members of the general council present and voting and accepted by two-thirds of the members in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, provided, however, that amendments involving new obligations for members shall come into force in respect of each member only on acceptance by it.

### ARTICLE 17

# Interpretation

- 1. The Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authentic.
- 2. Subject to article 96 of the charter of the united nations and of chapter II of the statute of the international court of justice, any question or dispute concerning the interpretation or application of this constitution shall be referred to the international court of justice, unless the general council or the parties to such dispute agree to another mode of settlement.

#### ARTICLE 18

# Entry Into Force

1. (a) States may become parties to this constitution by:—

(i) signature without reservation as to approval;

(ii) signature subject to approval followed by acceptance;

(iii) acceptance.

(b) acceptance shall be effected by the deposit of a formal instrument with the secretary-general of the united nations.

2. This constitution shall come into force when at least fifteen states, whose required contributions to part I of the operational budget as set forth in annex II of this constitution amount to not less than seventy-five per cent of the total hereof, have become parties to it.

3. In accordance with article 102 of the charter of the united nations, the secretary-general of the united nations will register this constitution, when it has been signed, without reservation as to approval, on behalf of one state

or upon deposit of the first instrument of acceptance.

4. The secretary-general of the united nations will inform states parties to this constitution, of the date when it has come into force; he will also inform them of the dates when other states have become parties to this constitution.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized for that purpose, have

signed this constitution.

Done at Flushing Meadow, New York, this fifteenth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six, in a single copy in the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages. The original texts shall be deposited in the archives of the united nations. The secretary-general of the united nations will send certified copies of the texts to each of the signatory governments and, upon the coming into force of the constitution and the election of a directorgeneral, to the director-general of the organization.

### ANNEX I

#### DEFINITIONS

## General Principles

1. The following general principles constitute an integral part of the definitions as laid down in Parts I and II of this Annex.

(a) The main object of the organization will be to bring about a rapid and positive solution of the problem of bona fide refugees and displaced

persons, which shall be just and equitable to all concerned.

(b) The main task concerning displaced persons is to encourage and assist in every way possible their early return to their countries of origin, having regard to the principles laid down in paragraph (c) (ii) of the resolution adopted by the general assembly of the united nations on 12 February 1946 regarding the problem of refugees (Annex III).

(c) As laid down in the resolution adopted by the economic and social council on 16 February 1946, no international assistance should be given to traitors, quislings and war criminals, and nothing should be

done to prevent in any way their surrender and punishment.

(d) It should be the concern of the organization to ensure that its assistance is not exploited in order to encourage subversive or hostile activities

directed against the government of any of the united nations.

(e) It should be the concern of the organization to ensure that its assistance is not exploited by persons in the case of whom it is clear that they are unwilling to return to their countries of origin because they prefer idleness to facing the hardships of helping in the reconstruction of their countries, or by persons who intend to settle in other countries for purely economic reasons, thus qualifying as emigrants.

(f) On the other hand it should equally be the concern of the organization to ensure that no bona fide and deserving refugee or displaced person is

deprived of such assistance as it may be in a position to offer.

(g) The organization should endeavour to carry out its functions in such a way as to avoid disturbing friendly relations between nations. In the pursuit of this objective, the organization should exercise special care in cases in which the re-establishment or re-settlement of refugees or displaced persons might be contemplated, either in countries contiguous to their respective countries of origin or in non-self-governing countries. The organization should give due weight, among other factors, to any evidence of genuine apprehension and concern felt in regard to such plans, in the former case, by the country of origin of the persons involved, or, in the latter case, by the indigenous population of the non-self-governing country in question.

2. To ensure the impartial and equitable application of the above principles and of the terms of the definition which follows, some special system of semijudicial machinery should be created, with appropriate constitution, procedure and terms of reference.

#### PART I

Refugees and displaced persons within the meaning of the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on 16 February 1946

#### SECTION A

## Definition of Refugees

- 1. Subject to the provisions of sections C and D and of Part II of this Annex, the term "refugee" applies to a person who has left, or who is outside of, his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, and who, whether or not he had retained his nationality, belongs to one of the following categories:—
  - (a) Victims of the nazi or fascist regimes or of regimes which took part on their side in the second world war, or of the quisling or similar regimes which assisted them against the united nations, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;

(b) Spanish republicans and other victims of the Falangist regime in Spain, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;

- (c) Persons who were considered refugees before the outbreak of the second world war, for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion.
- 2. Subject to the provisions of sections C and D and of Part II of this Annex regarding the exclusion of certain categories of persons, including war criminals, quislings and traitors, from the benefits of the organization, the term "(refugee" also applies to a person other than a displaced person as defined in section B of this Annex, who is outside of his country of nationality or former habitual residence, and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of his country of nationality or former nationality.
- 3. Subject to the provisions of section D and of Part II of this Annex, the term "refugee" also applies to persons who, having resided in Germany or Austria, and being of Jewish origin or foreigners or stateless persons, were victims of nazi persecution and were detained in, or were obliged to flee from, and were subsequently returned to, one of those countries as a result of enemy action, or of war circumstances, and have not yet been firmly resettled therein.
- 4. The term "refugee" also applies to unaccompanied children who are war orphans or whose parents have disappeared, and who are outside their countries of origin. Such children, 16 years of age or under, shall be given all possible priority assistance, including, normally, assistance in repatriation in the case of those whose nationality can be determined.

#### SECTION B

# Definition of Displaced Persons

The term "displaced person" applies to a person who, as a result of the actions of the authorities of the regimes mentioned in Part I, section A, paragraph 1 (a) of this Annex has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labour or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons. Displaced persons will only fall within the

mandate of the organization subject to the provisions of sections C and D of Part I and to the provisions of Part II of this Annex. If the reasons for their displacement have ceased to exist, they should be repatriated as soon as possible in accordance with article 2, paragraph 1 (a) of this constitution, and subject to the provision of paragraph (c), sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii) of the general assembly resolution of 12 February 1946 regarding the problem of refugees (Annex III).

#### SECTION C

Conditions Under Which "Refugees" and "Displaced Persons" Will Become the Concern of the Organization

- 1. In the case of all the above categories except those mentioned in section A, paragraphs 1 (b) and 3 of this Annex, persons will become the concern of the Organization in the sense of the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council on .16th February, 1946, if they can be repatriated, and the help of the Organization is required in order to provide for their repatriation, or if they have definitely, in complete freedom and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the Governments of their countries of nationality or former habitual residence, expressed valid objections to returning to those countries.
  - (a) The following shall be considered as valid objections:—
    - (i) persecution, or fear, based on reasonable grounds of persecution because of race, religion, nationality or political opinions, provided these opinions are not in conflict with the principles of the United Nations, as laid down in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations;
    - (ii) objections of a political nature judged by the Organization to be "valid", as contemplated in paragraph 8 (a) <sup>1</sup> of the report of the Third Committee of the General Assembly as adopted by the Assembly on 12th February, 1946.
    - (iii) in the case of persons falling within the category mentioned in section A, paragraphs 1 (a) and 1 (c) compelling family reasons arising out of previous persecution, or, compelling reasons of infirmity or illness.
  - (b) The following shall normally be considered "adequate information": information regarding conditions in the countries of nationality of the refugees and displaced persons concerned, communicated to them directly by representatives of the Governments of these countries, who shall be given every facility for visiting camps and assembly centres of refugees and displaced persons in order to place such information before them.
- 2. In the case of all refugees falling within the terms of Section A, paragraph 1 (b) of this Annex, persons will become the concern of the Organization in the sense of the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on 16th February, 1946, so long as the Falangist regime in Spain continues. Should that regime be replaced by a democratic regime they will have to produce valid objections against returning to Spain corresponding to those indicated in paragraph 1 (a) of this section.

<sup>1</sup>Paragraph 8 (a)
"In answering the representative of Belgium, the Chairman stated that it was implied that the international body would judge what were, or what were not, "valid objections"; and that such objections clearly might be of a political nature."

#### SECTION D

Circumstances in Which Refugees and Displaced Persons Will Cease to be the Concern of the Organization

Refugees or displaced persons will cease to be the concern of the Organization:—

(a) when they have returned to the countries of their nationality in United Nations territory, unless their former habitual residence to which they wish to return is outside their country of nationality; or

(b) when they have acquired a new nationality; or

(c) when they have, in the determination of the Organization become otherwise firmly established; or

(d) when they have unreasonably refused to accept the proposals of the

Organization for their re-settlement or repatriation; or

(e) when they are making no substantial effort towards earning their living when it is possible for them to do so, or when they are exploiting the assistance of the Organization.

#### PART II

Persons Who Will Not Be the Concern of the Organization

1. War criminals, quislings and traitors.

2. Any other persons who can be shown:-

(a) to have assisted the enemy in persecuting civil populations of countries, Members of the United Nations; or

(b) to have voluntarily assisted the enemy forces since the outbreak of the second world war in their operations against the United Nations.<sup>1</sup>

- 3. Ordinary criminals who are extraditable by treaty.
- 4. Persons of German ethnic origin, whether German nationals or members of German minorities in other countries, who;—
  - (a) have been or may be transferred to Germany from other countries;
  - (b) have been, during the second world war, evacuated from Germany to other countries.
  - (c) have fled from, or into, Germany, or from their places of residence into countries other than Germany in order to avoid falling into the hands of Allied armies.
- 5. Persons who are in receipt of financial support and protection from their country of nationality, unless their country of nationality requests international assistance for them.
  - 6. Persons who, since the end of hostilities in the second world war:—
  - (a) have participated in any organization having as one of its purposes the overthrow by armed force of the government of their country of origin, being a Member of the United Nations; or the overthrow by armed force of the government of any other Member of the United Nations, or have participated in any terrorist organization;

(b) have become leaders of movements hostile to the government of their country of origin being a Member of the United Nations or sponsors of movements encouraging refugees not to return to their country of origin;

(c) at the time of application for assistance, are in the military or civil service of a foreign state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Mere continuance of normal and peaceful duties, not performed with the specific purpose of aiding the enemy against the Allies or against the civil population of territory in enemy occupation, shall not be considered to constitute "voluntary assistance". Nor shall acts of general humanity, such as care of wounded or dying, be so considered except in cases where help of this nature given to enemy nationals could equally well have been given to Allied nationals and was purposely withheld from them.

#### ANNEX II

#### BUDGET AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE FIRST FINANCIAL YEAR

- 1. The provisional budget for the first financial year shall be the sum of 4,800,000 United States dollars for administrative expenses, and a sum of 151,060,500 United States dollars for operational expenses (except for large-scale re-settlement expenses), and a sum of 5,000,000 United States dollars for large-scale re-settlement expenses. Any unspent balance under these headings shall be carried over to the corresponding heading as a credit in the budget of the next financial year.
- 2. These sums, (except for large-scale re-settlement expenses), shall be contributed by the members in the following proportions:—

#### A—FOR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

Country	Percentage
Afghanistan	0.05
Argentina	1.85
Australia	1.97
Belgium	1.35
Bolivia	0.08
Brazil	1.85
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.22
Canada	3.20
Chile	0.45
China	6.00
Colombia	0.37
Costa Rica	0.04
Cuba	0.29
Czechoslovakia	0.90
Denmark	0.79
Dominican Republic	0.05
Ecuador	0.05.
Egypt	0.79
El Salvador	0.05
Ethiopia	0.08
France	6.00
Greece	0.17
Guatemala	0.05
Haiti	0.04
Honduras	0.04
Iceland	0.04
India	3.95
Iran	0.45
Iraq	0.17
Lebanon	0.06
Liberia	0.04
Luxembourg	0.05
Mexico	0.63
Netherlands	1.40
New Zealand	0.50
Nicaragua	0.04
Norway	0.50
Panama	0.05
Paraguay	0.04
Peru	0.20
Philippine Republic	0.29
Poland	0.95
Saudi Arabia	0.08
Sweden	2.35
Syria	0.12
Turkey	0.91
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.84
Union of South Africa	1.12
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	6.34
United Kingdom	11.48

A—FOR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES—Con.	
Country	Percentage
United States of America	39.89
Uruguay	0.18
Venezuela	0.27
Yugoslavia	0.33

# B—FOR OPERATIONAL EXPENSES (EXCEPT FOR LARGE-SCALE RESETTLEMENT)

RESETTLEMENT)	COLLEGE
Country	Percentage
Afghanistan	0.03
Argentina	1.50
Australia	1.76
Belgium	1.00
Bolivia	0.07
Brazil	1.50
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.16
Canada	3.50
Chile	0.39
China	2.50
Colombia	0.32
Costa Rica	0.02
Cuba	0.24
Czechoslovakia	0.80
Dominican Republic	0.04
Ecuador	0.04
Egypt	0.68
El Salvador	0.03
Ethiopia	0.07
France	4.10
Greece	0.15
Guatemala	0.04
Haiti	0.02
Honduras	0.02
Iceland	0.02
India	3.66
Iran	0.39
Iraq	0.15
Lebannon	0.05
Liberia	0.02
Luxembourg	0.04
Mexico	0.54
Netherlands	0.90
New Zealand	0.44
Nicaragua	0.02
Norway	0.44
Panama	0.04
Paraguay	0.02
Peru	0.17
Philippines	0.24
Poland	0.61
Saudi Arabia	0.07
Sweden	2.20
Syria	0.10
Turkey	0.88
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.62
Union of South Africa	1.00
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	4.69
United Kingdom	14.75
United States of America	45.75
Uruguay	0.15
Venezuela	0.23
Yugoslavia	0.23
New Members	1.92
以 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	100.00

100.00

the Provisions of article 10, paragraph 4 of this Constitution.

#### ANNEX III

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 12TH FEBRUARY, 1946 (document A/45)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Recognizing that the problem of refugees and displaced persons of all categories is one of immediate urgency and recognizing the necessity of clearly distinguishing between genuine refugees and displaced persons on the one hand, and the war criminals, quislings and traitors referred to in paragraph (d) below, on the other:

- (a) Decides to refer this problem to the Economic and Social Council for thorough examination in all its aspects under item 10 of the agenda for the first session of the Council and for report to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly;
- (b) Recommends to the Economic and Social Council that it establish a special committee for the purpose of carrying out promptly the examination and preparation of the report referred to in paragraph (a); and
- (c) Recommends to the Economic and Social Council that it take into consideration in this matter the following principles:
  - (i) this problem is international in scope and nature;
  - (ii) no refugees or displaced persons who have finally and definitely in complete freedom and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin, expressed valid objections to returning to their countries of origin and who do not come within the provisions of paragraph (d) below, shall be compelled to return to their country of origin. The future of such refugees or displaced persons shall become the concern of whatever international body may be recognized or established as a result of the report referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) above, except in cases where the government of the country where they are established has made an arrangement with this body to assume the complete cost of their maintenance and the responsibility for their protection;
  - (iii) the main task concerning displaced persons is to encourage and assist in every way possible their early return to their countries of origin. Such assistance may take the form of promoting the conclusion of bilateral arrangements for mutual assistance in the repatriation of such persons, having regard to the principles laid down in paragraph (c) (ii) above;
- (d) Considers that no action taken as a result of this resolution shall be of such a character as to interfere in any way with the surrender and punishment of war criminals, quislings and traitors, in conformity with present or future international arrangements or agreements;
- (e) Considers that Germans being transferred to Germany from other States or who fled to other States from allied troops, do not fall under the action of this declaration in so far as their situation may be decided by allied forces of occupation in Germany, in agreement with the governments of the respective countries.

Agreement on Interim Measures to be Taken in Respect of Refugees and Displaced Persons

The governments which have signed the constitution of the international refugee organization,

having determined that they will take all measures possible to accomplish expeditiously the entry into effective operation of that organization, and to provide for an orderly transfer to it of the functions and assets of existing organizations;

having decided that, pending the entry into force of the constitution of the organization, a preparatory commission for the international refugee organization should be established for the performance of certain functions and duties;

Agree to the following measures:—

- 1. There is hereby established a preparatory commission for the international refugee organization, which shall consist of one representative from each government signatory to the constitution. The director of the intergovernmental committee on refugees, the director-general of UNRRA and the director of the international labour organization, or their representatives, shall be invited to sit with the commission in a consultative capacity.
  - 2. The commission shall:-
  - (a) take all necessary and practicable measures for the purpose of bringing the organization into effective operation as soon as possible;
  - (b) arrange for the convening of the general council in its first session at the earliest practicable date following the entry into force of the constitution of the organization;
  - (c) prepare the provisional agenda for this first session as well as documents and recommendations relating thereto;
  - (d) suggest plans, in consultation with existing organizations and the control authorities, for the programme for the first year of the organization;
  - (e) prepare draft financial and staff regulations, and draft rules of procedure for the general council and the executive committee.
- 3. The commission may, in its discretion and after agreement with existing organizations dealing with refugees and displaced persons, take over any of the functions, activities, assets and personnel of such organizations, provided that the commission is satisfied that this is essential in order to accomplish the orderly transfer to the international refugee organization of such functions or activities
- 4. The commission shall be governed by the rules of procedure of the economic and social council of the united nations so far as these are applicable.
- 5. The commission shall appoint an executive secretary, who shall serve the commission in that capacity and perform such duties as the commission may determine. He shall be responsible for the appointment and direction of such staff as may be required for the work of the commission.
- 6. The expenses of the commission may be met by advances from such governments as choose to make advance contributions, which shall be deductible from their first contributions to the organization; and from such funds and assets as may be transferred from existing organizations to meet the cases provided for in paragraph 3 of this agreement.

- 7. The first meeting of the commission shall be convened as soon as practicable by the secretary-general of the united nations.
- 8. The commission shall cease to exist upon the election of the directorgeneral of the organization, at which time its property, assets and records shall be transferred to the organization.
- 9. This agreement shall come into force as soon as it has been signed by the representatives of eight governments signatories to the constitution of the international refugee organization, and shall remain open for signature by members of the united nations which sign the constitution of the international refugee organization until the commission is dissolved in accordance with paragraph 8 of this agreement.

In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives, having been duly authorized for that purpose, sign this agreement in the Chinese, English, French,

Russian and Spanish languages, all five texts being equally authentic.

Done at Flushing Meadow, New York, this fifteenth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six.

# SESSION 1947 HOUSE OF COMMONS

### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

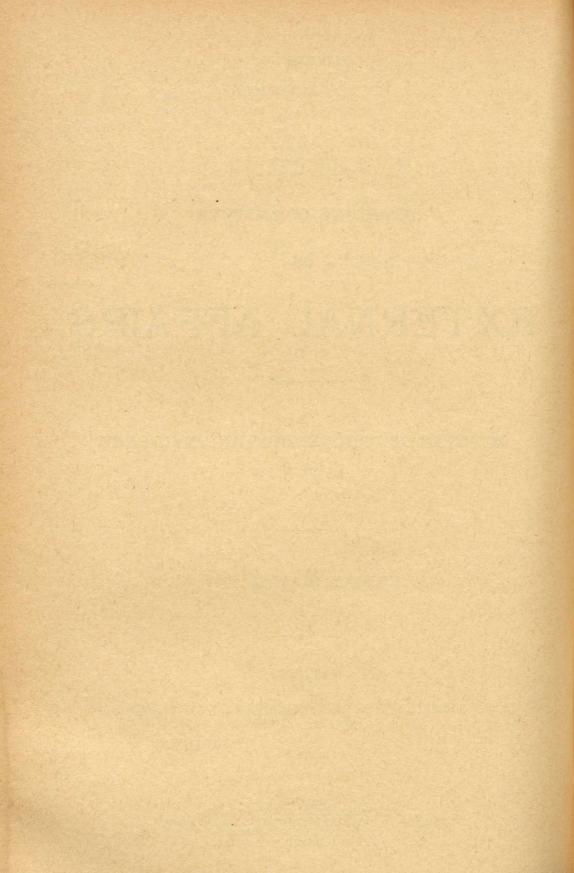
MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 6

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1947

#### WITNESS:

Mr. R. G. Riddell, Chief of the First Political Division, Department of External Affairs

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1947



#### REPORT TO HOUSE

FRIDAY, May 23, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs has the honour to present the following as its

#### THIRD REPORT

In accordance with an order of the House issued on April 30, 1947, your Committee has given consideration to the Constitution of the proposed International Refugee Organization of the United Nations and related documents done and signed at Flushing Meadow, New York, on December 15, 1946.

The main object of the proposed Organization is to facilitate a rapid and positive solution of the problem of genuine refugees and displaced persons in a just and equitable manner to all concerned.

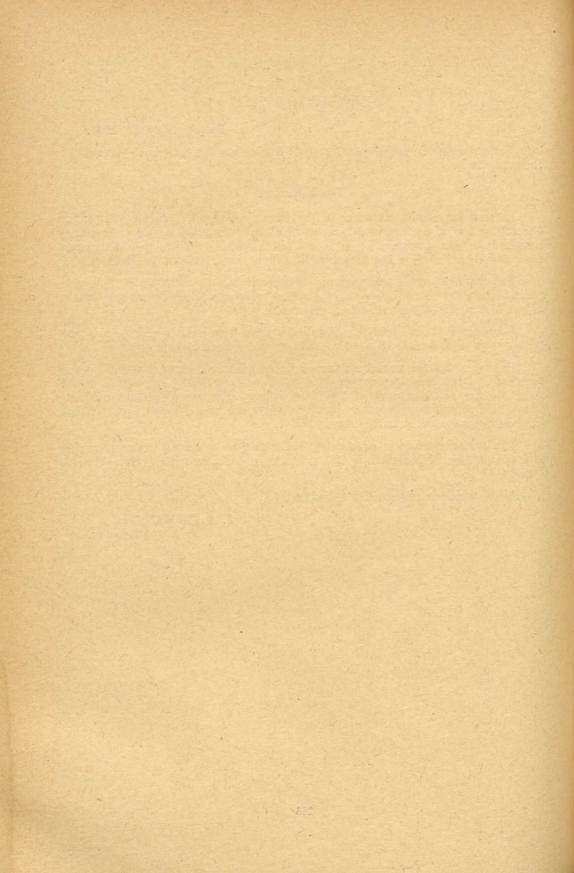
When the ratification of this Constitution has been completed in accordance with the terms of Article 18, the Constitution will come into force.

Having noted the urgent nature of the problem of refugees and displaced persons, and recognizing that approval by Canada of this Constitution would facilitate the establishment of the International Refugee Organization, your Committee recommends that the House approve the said Constitution and that Canada become a party to the Organization.

The evidence taken in relation to this matter in contained in the appended printed minutes of proceedings and evidence of the Committee, viz:—Nos. 3, 5 and 6.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE, Chairman.



#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, May 23, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Isnor, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, McLean, Marquis, Winkler. (21)

In attendance: Mr. L. B. Pearson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. John K. Starnes.

Mr. R. G. Riddell was recalled and further examined on the proposed International Refugee Organization and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. He gave further statistics relating to refugees and was retired.

At 12.00 o'clock the Committee proceeded in camera to consider a draft report emanating from the Steering Committee.

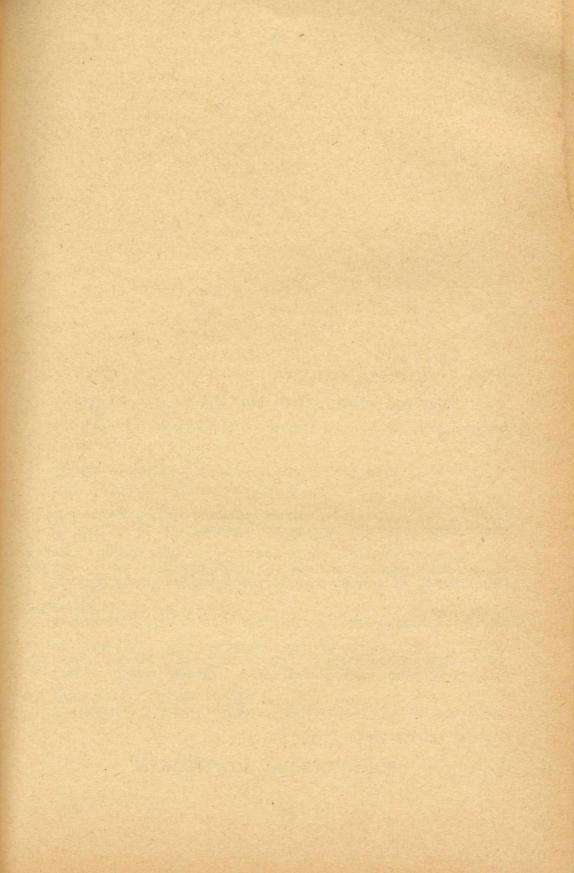
After discussion, and on motion of Mr. Boucher,—
Resolved,—That the draft report, as amended, be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Knowles,—

Resolved,—That the Chairman present the report, as amended, to the House.

At 12.25 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, May 27, 1947.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, May 23, 1947

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: I should like to thank the members, particularly Mr. Isnor and Mr. Diefenbaker, who are such busy men, for being here for this meeting. I wish that Mr. Fleming had been here. This is his forty-second birthday. I know we all wish him many happy returns of the day. I am also very glad to see our fried, Mr. Leger, here. He has been under the wheather for a while. He seems to be recuperating very nicely. We are all happy that he is his old self again.

I believe it would be in order to carry on with Mr. Riddell. I hope we will be able to complete the discussion on the matter of displaced persons and then work in camera on our report. I shall report later as to the meeting of the steering committee which was held in my office yesterday. I will now call

upon Mr. Riddell.

# R. G. Riddell, Chief of the First Political Division, Department of External Affairs, recalled.

The Witness: At the last meeting of the committee Mr. Jackman asked if we could provide a breakdown of the numbers of refugees and displaced persons according to political and religious affiliations. I have not been able to find those figures. We have, however, a breakdown of the 345,000 employable persons in the displaced persons' camps as to their occupations. I only have one copy of this, but perhaps I could show it to Mr. Jackman.

Mr. Jackman: I think somebody asked about the religious and political affiliations. I asked about the total number and perhaps the nationality. It was somebody else's question although I think we are all interested in it.

The Witness: I beg your pardon. Mr. Jackman: It is all right.

By the Chairman:

Q. Is it a very long statement?—A. The Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, using UNRRA figures, take an estimated number of 345,000 employable persons in the camps and analyse that figure. It shows roughly 36,000 trained in administration, 3,000 in mining processing, 17,000 in construction, 81,000 in agriculture, 10,000 in health and sanitation, 25,000 in transport, 88,000 in special services, 28,000 professional and arts, 6,000 metal trades, 14,000 miscellaneous processing, 32,000 others. Those are round figures I am giving. Then these figures are broken down into nationalities showing the numbers within each of these groups who are Baltic, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian and Jugoslav.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:
Q. What do you mean by special services, 88,000?—A. I am sorry. I do not know.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. Mr. Riddell, does that include people of German ethnic origin who were removed from the countries that were taken over by Russia and Poland, and so on?—A. No.
- Q. There is some confusion about that in the public mind. I thought it well to ask that question. Do you know how many people there are in addition of that type who are being looked after by various organizations in the occupied areas? Have you any estimate of that?—A. No, I am sorry, I cannot give any numbers in that regard. Any people who are strictly speaking Volksdeutsche, would not be the care of any international organization that I know of at the moment, nor of the Inter-Governmental Committee.
- Q. How are they being looked after now?—A. Some of them are being cared for by voluntary organizations in Germany, by individuals, within Germany itself, by voluntary organizations outside Germany which contribute to their support, or by their own resources. There would really be two figures. One would be the figure for Volksdeutsche who were removed from their place of origin before the war by the Germans. Then there would be another figure for Volksdeutsche who were removed after the war.
- Q. It is the second figure.—A. I have no idea about that figure. There is no international care for those people.

Q. Are any of those people removed from the Baltic states in the displaced persons' camps who were of German ethnic origin?—A. Not to my knowledge,

if they are of German ethnic origin.

Q. I understood there were some who were not Fascists by any means. As a matter of fact, there were Fascist regimes in their countries of origin, and they were removed because they were of German ethnic origin. I thought some of them were in the classification of Balts. In fact, I understand that.—A. Some would no doubt qualify for care as persons who had actively resisted Fascists regimes before the war.

# By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Would the Sudeten Germans be regarded as persons of German origin?—A. Yes.

Mr. Jaenicke: What about the Germans in Poland?—A. They would be regarded in the same way.

Q. Although they are Polish citizens?—A. Yes.

Q. And they have been expelled?—A. Large numbers of them, yes.

# By Mr. Beaudoin:

- Q. Can you tell us the proportion of those people who are of Jewish faith?—A. You mean the proportion of refugees?
- Q. Yes.—A. I have seen a figure of 100,000 for refugees of Jewish origin who are now in the occupied zones of Germany either in displaced persons' camps or outside them, but I am not sure how accurate that figure is.

Mr. Coldwell: I have seen a larger figure than that, 150,000 on one occasion, and on another occasion as high as 200,000. I do not know what the figure is. I do not suppose that any one really does as to those within and without the displaced persons' camps who want to move away.

The WITNESS: It is difficult to get an accurate figure.

# By Mr. Knowles:

Q. That is out of the 850,000?--A. Yes.

By the Chairman:

Q. Among these Jewish displaced persons would there be any of them who came from Russia?—A. A considerable number will have come from Russia or territory which is now administered by the Soviet union.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. The D.P. problem is often referred to in the newspapers and elsewhere as being almost exclusively a Jewish problem. I remember a declaration which was made in Montreal by Mrs. Roosevelt at a press conference when she said it was not a Jewish problem because there were only 20 per cent of the total number of displaced persons who were of Jewish faith.—A. That would make it about 200,000. It is difficult to know what the total figure is because sometimes persons register themselves indicating their country of origin as their nationality, and we are not quite sure whether or not they are of Jewish faith. A man who puts himself down as a Pole may be a Polish Jew, or he may not be of the Jewish race.

Q. It would tend to give a wrong impression. They consist of only a small proportion of the total number and in all fairness it should not be said it is

a Jewish problem.—A. That is quite true.

The Chairman: Are there any further questions or any other matters you want to bring before Mr. Riddell on this resolution? Is there any further statement you want to make, Mr. Riddell?

The WITNESS: No.

By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. As to the unemployables would they all be dependents or relatives of the employable group?—A. I would think so. This survey probably does not include all displaced persons in all camps in Germany, but nevertheless I would think the remainder would be largely children, wives, and dependent members of families.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Can you tell us if during the last few months there has been any movement out of the displaced persons' camps for repatriation to the countries

of orign? Do you know that?—A. A small one.

Q. So that the amount of the economic aid to persons moving from displaced persons' camps to their country of origin is not very large? There is not a very large flow of persons from displaced persons' camps?—A. Not a very large one.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Has that movement been entirely voluntary?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I think everything is done to safeguard that it will be a voluntary movement?—A. Yes.

The Chairman: Are there any further questions or information that the members desire to get from Mr. Riddell?

Mr. Coldwell: We might take a look at the definitions in the constitution. Members might be interested in the definition of people who are not the care of the organization so that we will have a clear view of it. It is on page 14 of the constitution

The Witness: Page 14, part 2, of the constitution defines persons who will not be the concern of the organization. Is it your wish that this be read?

- Mr. Coldwell: I think it would be wise to put it on the record.

The CHAIRMAN: The committee will want it to be read.

Mr. Fraser: If you would comment on it at the same time I think it would help.

The WITNESS:

War criminals, quislings and traitors.
 Any other persons who can be shown:

(a) to have assisted the enemy in persecuting civil populations of

countries, members of the united nations; or

(b) to have voluntarily assisted the enemy forces since the outbreak of the second world war in their operations against the united nations.

Then there is a footnote there.

Mere continuance of normal and peaceful duties, not performed with the specific purpose of aiding the enemy against the allies or against the civil population of territory in enemy occupation, shall not be considered to constitute 'voluntary assistance'. Nor shall acts of general humanity, such as care of wounded or dying, be so considered except in cases where help of this nature given to enemy nationals could equally well have been given to allied nationals and was purposely withheld from them.

That clause was the subject of a very great deal of discussion, as some members of the committee know. It was felt that in many cases persons with medical training would be in a position where the only thing they could do would be to minister to the needs of enemy soldiers, and that person who in the normal course of the exercise of this professional duties performed such functions should not thereafter be penalized as somebody who had acted treacherously against his own country.

Mr. Boucher: That could very well include scientists and engineers as well.

Mr. Coldwell: Which?

Mr. Boucher: That could also include engineers and technical men as well.

Mr. Coldwell: It was not meant to do so. The discussion hinged around doctors, Red Cross workers, nurses, and so on. The contention was made that anyone who helped to fix up a wounded Nazi soldier so that he could under any circumstances return to the battlefield should be regarded as a traitor. This footnote was put in to make it quite clear that a person would not be regarded as a traitor because he, in the course of his professional duties, had rendered humanitarian aid to somebody who needed it.

Mr. Boucher: I think that is quite correct but I think the wording of the clause could stand a much wider interpretation than that.

The Witness: I would think it would be difficult for a scientist who had cooperated in scientific activities with the enemy during the war to have himself included under this clause. There will, however, be the task of interpretation to be carried out in individual cases when the constitution comes into operation.

Mr. BOUCHER: There does not seem to be anything in that clause to restrict it to medical or humanitarian assistance.

The WITNESS: That is quite true, but it was with persons who rendered that kind of aid in mind that the clause was written in. It might conceivably apply to other persons.

Mr. Coldwell: There was also a class of municipal officials that was discussed, people who had in the interests of the local community found it

necessary to cooperate with the invading troops. This was put in to more or less bring them at least under consideration so that out of hand they would not be declared quislings or traitors. There is that class of person, the minor official.

Mr. Boucher: It seems to me that unless there was an overt act or omission on behalf of anybody they could qualify under that section.

Mr. Knowles: An engineer building a bridge to help an army is in a different class from a doctor or nurse relieving human suffering.

Mr. BOUCHER: We could go into technical objections. I raised that point to show that it can be interpreted to go beyond medical assistance or even social assistance.

#### By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Who is to be the judge of people like that? Who is to decide this?—A. One of the first responsibilities of the International Refugee Organization will be to provide procedures by which decisions of that nature in regard to specific individuals may be made.

Q. I presume it is under article 12—no, that would not be it.—A. I think articles 7, 8 and 9 make provision for the executive functions of the organization. One of those executive functions will have to be to provide the means of making decisions of this nature.

#### By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Do you know if there is any appreciable number of persons who will come under this definition in part 2, persons who will not be the concern of the organization?—A. I should not think there are many now in the displaced persons' camps who would come under part 2. The constitution, however, does not restrict the activities of the organization to persons who are in displaced persons' camps. There may be considerable numbers of people who will turn up on the doorstep of the International Refugee Organization asking for assistance, but who will be excluded because of the provisions of part 2.

Q. It is a very difficult problem that arises here. There are a great many people who could be considered as coming under this definition in part 2. It might include people who have always been taking orders and consequently are not ordinarily free agents in determining what they shall do. I think from our democratic point of view it would have to be interpreted in a liberal way.

# By Mr. Jaenicke:

# Q. Under section 3 of part 2 it says:

"Ordinary criminals who are extraditable by treaty." I know that refers to treaties of extradition, but take the case of Russia. What treaty would apply there? If there was a criminal in the British zone would it be the treaty of extradition between Russia and Germany or the treaty between Russia and Great Britain?—A. I am not a legal authority, but I would think that only such extradition agreements as the occupying authorities themselves recognize would be applicable under this clause. It is conceivable the occupying authorities might be willing to permit extradition under some German law which for their own purposes they recognized. I should not think, however, that German law would have any effect in this regard.

Mr. Coldwell: There is one thing that should be borne in mind by the committee, and that is that the whole constitution represents a very considerable compromise. For example, one delegation wanted to wipe out all this and simply say that no person should be assisted by the organization unless by reason of infirmity, illness, or some valid reason of that description they could not be returned to their country of origin. Their proposal was: "Persons who are

unable to return to their country in view of insurmountable obstacles of a family nature, or insurmountable obstacles arising out of infirmity or illness." In other words, everybody else should be forced to return to their country of origin which, of course, does not meet with the democratic viewpoint that persons who are political dissidents should be protected. I remember very well pointing out to the delegation that had their point of view prevailed in the earlier days the Russian revolution, would not have come about because Lenin, Marx and Trotsky would have been returned to their country of origin and would have been dealt with according to Russian Law. This does represent all the way through a series of compromises, and very real compromises in many instances.

The CHAIRMAN: Reasonable compromises, too.

Mr. Coldwell: Yes, I think in the main they are reasonable compromises.

The Witness: I might add that at the moment there are certainly a good many people drifting about Europe who in one way or another cooperated with the Germans during the period when the Germans were in control of most of Europe, who cooperated by enlisting voluntarily in subsidiary military organizations under German control, or by giving civilian assistance to the Germans. For example, there was an active Jugoslav group known as the Ustachi, a military formation, which assisted the Germans in the control of Jugoslav territory. There was a Russian army organized in Germany under a Russian emigre general, a man called Vlassov. It is the intention of this section of the constitution to make certain that none of these people will receive assistance from this international organization. It is obviously difficult to write a definition that is going to meet every conceivable case that may turn up but broadly speaking the intention is to exclude people who voluntarily cooperated with the Germans and for that reason are now refugees.

#### By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Is it not correct that different Jugoslav groups have cooperated with the Germans at different times during the process of the war?—A. There will obviously be a very difficult task of definition.

Mr. Coldwell: There is another very difficult task, too, which received a great deal of attention. I refer to people who were forced into the German army when their territories were occupied. For example, you have a number of French nationals. Some Alsatians were conscripted by the Germans against their will in many instances. Yet they were in the German army in German uniforms. They constitute the real problems of the organization. I think what Mr. Riddell says is true. There has been a considerable amount of screening and, so far as camps are concerned, the intention was that practically all of them would be returned to the countries of origin to be dealt with.

Mr. Benidickson: Their Canadian relatives claim the same thing, that they were conscripted.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. When was this constitution drawn up?—A. The constitution was drawn

up in a number of international meetings throughout 1946.

Q. That was after February 12 when this matter was referred to the Economic and Social Council, then?—A. That is correct. The first drafting was done by a special committee at meetings in London in April and May of 1946.

Q. Has there been any meeting of that committee this year?—A. No, that committee met, prepared the draft constitution and was not summoned again. It was called for the special purpose of drafting this constitution.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. It was instructed to do so by the first portion of the first General Assembly?—A. Yes. It was created by the Economic and Social Council,

reported back to the Economic and Social Council which, in turn, reported back to the second part of the first session of the assembly.

#### By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Have not conditions changed so that there should really be another meeting on this question?—A. Well, the question has been considered at subsequent United Nations gatherings, meetings of the Economic and Social Council as well as the General Assembly. A Preparatory Commission was established for the International Refugee Organization. It has met twice within the last two months and it will meet again in early June to make plans for bringing this constitution into effect.

Q. To bring it up to date and put it into effect?—A. That is right.

Q. It is that which I was trying to get.

The Witness: Clause 4, in part 2 of the definition, refers to persons of German ethnic origin who,

(a) Have been or may be transferred to Germany from other countries.

Mr. Coldwell: It is provided there, whether German nationals or German minorities of other countries.

The WITNESS: Yes, perhaps I had better read it exactly as it is.

Persons of German ethnic origin, whether German nationals or members of German minorities in other countries, who:—

- (a) Have been or may be transferred to Germany from other countries;
- (b) Have been, during the second world war, evacuated from Germany to other countries;
- (c) Have fled from, or into, Germany, or from their places of residence to countries other than Germany in order to avoid falling into the hands of Allied armies.

Mr. Benidickson: Is that underlining of the words, "falling into" deliberate? Mr. Knowles: No, it just separates it from the foot note.

The WITNESS:

Persons who are in receipt of financial support and protection from their country of nationality, unless their country of nationality requests international assistance for them.

This is to avoid persons receiving assistance from two sources.

Clause 6 reads as follows:-

Persons who, since the end of hostilities of the second world war:

(a) Have participated in any organization having as one of its purposes the overthrow by armed force of the government of their country of origin, being a member of the United Nations; or the overthrow by armed force by the government of any other member of the United Nations, or have participated in any terrorist organization;

(b) Have become leaders of movements hostile to the government of their country of origin being a member of the United Nations or sponsors of movements encouraging refugees not to return to their

country of origin;

(c) At the time of application for assistance, are in the military or civil service of a foreign state.

Paragraph 6 also represents one of those very difficult compromises which was the result of so much discussion. The broad intention was to make certain that the International Refugee Organization will not be the means of supporting emigré revolutionary organizations which are sponsoring movements actively hostile to their countries of origin.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Provided those countries are members of the United Nations?—A. Provided those countries are members of the United Nations. On the other hand, it was important not to word clause 6 so that a person who was outside his country of origin and did not like the government in his country of origin, would be prevented from saying so in a reasonable manner if he wanted to express his opinion.

Mr. Jaques: How is it possible to determine such a point as that. There are those people who are known as enemies of the country yet, to the best of their judgment and ability, they are defending the freedoms of their country. Here is another lot of people who claim they are doing the same thing, defending the freedom of the country. They are proceeding on exactly opposite lines. Who is to say who is the enemy and who is not, that is what I should like to know. May I illustrate the point by saying that I, myself, according to the C.B.C. am a menace to Canada. Now, that is a fact; and, no doubt, if I was in the position of a displayed person, such as some of these people, undoubtedly, I should be denounced as an enemy of my country.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, the committee which prepared the constitution constantly faced the difficulty of trying to express a general intention in the rather precise wording of a constitution. The general intention here was to make certain that the fund provided internationally to the International Refugee Organization should not be used to subsidize active revolutionary movements throughout the world. My own feeling is it would be indefensible for an international organization to serve that purpose. On the other hand, it was the general intention that a person who is a genuine refugee and who secured the assistance of the International Refugee Organization should not therefore be prevented from expressing his honest opinion on the political conditions in his own country or anywhere else. There is, obviously, a difficult line to be drawn between a person who is an agent organizing a counter revolutionary movement on the one hand, and a person who is simply expressing his political opinion on the other. The general intention is to make certain that the fund provided for this organization should not be used to subsidize revolutionary movements.

Mr. Jaques: Take Poland, for instance. There are two divisions of thought in so far as Poland is concerned. One side believes absolutely in the old government of Poland going back to General Sikorsky. Others consider he was a Fascist and a reactionary and they stand for the present Soviet Republic government. Now, who is to be considered the enemy and the revolutionary? It would seem to me to be utterly impossible to draw a line with any degree of justice whatever.

Mr. Knowles: If the first man Mr. Jaques named does not participate in an organization having as one of its purposes the armed overthrow of the present government, he is not debarred. He is a refugee according to this clause.

Mr. Boucher: I think Mr. Jaques has presented a serious problem. You could take the case of General Sikorsky to illustrate that point. I think it was necessary to have the generality of the wording used, but you cannot avoid the difficulty of interpretation. What may appear to one person to be revolutionary and against the government might appear to another person to be the actions of a true patriot for the welfare of his people. Consequently, I do not think we can gain very much by criticizing the wording because the interpretation must be left to the administration.

Mr. Knowles: I should like to say a further word, not following the point Mr. Jaques has raised, but concerning the whole situation. I will be quite frank, even at the risk of being misunderstood, in one respect at any rate.

It seemed to me when I was involved in this fight in London, that we were faced with two opposite extremes in approaching this problem. For the purpose

of making this point clear, I will put those opposite extremes bluntly. On the one hand, we had the British attitude, I will call it British because the British are the fathers of freedom in this sphere. The British attitude was rather to run the risk of letting 99 traitors escape—

Mr. Jaques: What do you call a traitor?

Mr. Knowles: Just a minute, please. The British would rather run the risk of letting 99 traitors escape than make the mistake of punishing one innocent person. Fundamentally, that is the British attitude.

The Soviet attitude was the very opposite. If there is one guilty man in the hundred, the Soviet would rather punish the whole hundred than permit the one guilty man to escape. These were the two opposite irreconcilable extremes. The work of the whole committee was to find some sort of workable compromise in this crazy world in which you have two such opposite extremes. I did not like the Soviet attitude.

Mr. Boucher: You do not imply that you did not like the British attitude when you call them, "crazy extremes".

Mr. Knowles: I did not call them "crazy extremes", I called it a crazy world in which these extremes existed. However, we had to take a position, and I took my position. We had to compromise on this and this is the best, workable agreement we could get from a world which had these view so wide apart.

Mr. Coldwell: I happen to have some of the resolutions which were moved in connection with this paragraph 6 (b). 6 (b) consists of these few lines. It was based on the Yugoslav proposal. It was an amendment which amends this paragraph. 6 (b) read as follows:—

And have been, or are, leaders of movements hostile to the government of their country of origin being a member of the United Nations, or sponsors of movements encouraging refugees or displaced persons not to return to their country of origin and their active assistance, that is to say:

(i) persons who transmit orders of the leaders in order to assist them to gain new supporters,

(ii) persons who act in permanent contact and concert with leaders of such movements,

(iii) persons who assist leaders and sponsors of such movements in order to exert pressure on their compatriots with the aim of influencing them,

(iv) persons engaged in propaganda representing the regime in their country of origin in such a manner as to incite opposition among their compatriots against that regime.

(v) persons who in general take the initiative in the manner described

You can see how very wide that is and includes, as Mr. Knowles says, about everyone.

Let me say, on behalf of Canada, because I do not think this should be misunderstood, the Canadian delegation irrespective of the parties to which we belonged, stood solidly for the British position. As Mr. Knowles has stated, it is better to let 99 people go than to persecute or destroy one person who is innocent.

Mr. Jaques: My point is this, and it is a fundamental point to me. Mr. Knowles says we are in a crazy world and I think that is true. Why is it true? Because people are condemned or otherwise without any proper definition of what amounts to a political crime. One man is condemned as a traitor or as a quisling. By what standard is he judged? If I kill a man or if I steal his goods, that is a simple problem.

Let me give you a concrete case. What about General Mihailovich? Suppose he had been a displaced person, would he have been judged as a traitor or as a patriot? There is a concrete case. I say it is impossible to divide people into two classes, patriots and traitors. The situation could just as easily be reversed and call these people traitors and these patriots. It depends upon who is doing the judging.

Mr. Knowles: That is perfectly true, but if we want to have a world organization which will give some refugees a chance of escaping, we have to reach some kind of a compromise. It is either this or no international

organization dealing with refugees.

Mr. Boucher: It cannot be too specific.

Mr. Knowles: In fact, even this plan does not have unanimous agreement. The Chairman: It is no doubt this plan would be much better than having

nothing.

Mr. Jaques: What about the political zionists? Are they peaceful or are they guilty of stirring up trouble in their native country? What about the statements of Ben Hecht? In the United States, they are actually collecting money to finance a war against the old country.

Mr. Coldwell: They are all wrong.

Mr. Jaques: That is the British government's statement, not mine.

Mr. Coldwell: On the other hand, we are dealing with this particular refugee question.

Mr. Jaques: I will bet you that no political zionist was ever turned back as an undesirable person. Not one; they have always had the benefit of the doubt.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think that statement will stand up.

Mr. Jaques: It is true, and let me say this, no one will ever accuse me of appearing on a platform in the United States and speaking on behalf of any political zionists who are now financing and stirring up a war against a friendly country, our own mother country. I have been called a quisling and other things, but I have not been guilty of that. As a matter of fact, these are the people who have been doing the smearing.

Mr. Knowles: You are not a refugee, so you are not covered by this paragraph.

Mr. Jaques: Thank God, I am not.

Mr. Knowles: I am concerned with the people who are refugees. I want to see this organization functioning.

Mr. Jaques: Thank God, I am not a refugee. I would not want to be at the mercy of those people.

Mr. MacInnis: This discussion could be endless. This point has been made a good many times, but may I repeat it and put an end to this discussion. If Germany had won the war, we would have a different class of traitor or people who would be punished or liquidated. The Allies won the war. The Allies were not all of the same political or ideological point of view. Consequently, we have a compromise statement as to who is a traitor and who should be subject to the help the United Nations can extend. I imagine the compromise is as good a compromise as could be made, otherwise we would not have it. Therefore, I think we should just let it drop there.

Mr. Low: I wonder if I could ask for information on this point? What is the relationship between the I.R.O. and the I.G.C.R.?

The Witness: The Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees is a body which was brought into existence in 1938 to deal with a refugee problem which existed at that time. It has continued in existence throughout the war. Recently,

its mandate was somewhat extended so it could assist in the work of handling the present refugee problem in Europe. The intention is that the I.G.C.R. will be absorbed into the International Refugee Organization when the latter comes into existence.

#### By Mr. Low:

Q. Does the mandate, then, of the I.G.C.R. pass to the I.R.O. with the adoption of this constitution?—A. That is the intention.

Q. The mandate of the I.G.C.R. covered, did it not, immigration activities

and so on?—A. Resettlement.

Q. Now, I note from what we have just been discussing that all German nationals do not come within the purview of this organization. Does that mean that presently, and perhaps for some time to come, the relatives of Canadians who are of German origin, even although they may be immediate relatives, will not be allowed to participate in any immigration policy we might have?—A. Whether they participate or not in an immigration policy would be a decision for the Canadian government to make.

Q. No, I disagree with you. I think that this I.R.O. constitution together with the mandate of the I.G.C.R. places those people completely beyond the

reach of the Canadian government.

Mr. Coldwell: It is international assistance from which they are barred.

Mr. Low: I differ with you on that point. I think if you investigate the matter in the Department of Immigration, the department will tell you that the mandate of the I.G.C.R. places German nationals beyond their reach and, it is quite possible, are placed beyond their reach for some time to come.

Mr. Coldwell: That is, within the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees they are beyond reach in so far as Canada is concerned, but we can

choose our own immigrants. Is that not right?

The Witness: That is my understanding of the situation. There is, at the present time, a scheme in operation by which the Canadian authorities cooperate with the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees to bring relatives out of Germany. Now, under its mandate, the Inter-governmental Committee—

Mr. Benidickson: That is within the ordinary immigration channels operated by Canada?

The WITNESS: Under the ordinary immigration regulations. Displaced persons in Germany, who are admissable to Canada, are assisted by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. The Inter-governmental Committee can, of course, only give assistance to such persons as come within its mandate. This would not prevent the authorities of any government from making their own arrangements for dealing with people who did not come under the mandate of the Inter-governmental Committee.

Mr. Low: The immigration officials will tell you to-day that the German nationals are now, and will be for some time to come, beyond their reach because

of the mandate given the I.G.C.R.

Mr. MacInnis: That is an alibi; there is no international law or organization which prevents this government from allowing whoever it wishes to come into this country.

Mr. Low: It is this point I was trying to clear up. I was wondering if there is some understanding between the Allied powers that, for the time being, they would leave the German nationals alone because of the fact these people are still considered to be enemy aliens and will be so considered until the peace treaty is signed.

Mr. Boucher: Did I understand you correctly? Did you say it is your contention that the nations have entered into a negative agreement binding

themselves not to permit immigration into the country which is not sanctioned by either the I.R.O. or the I.G.C.R.? I did not understand that to be the case.

Mr. Low: No, I should not like to contend that, but I would say this: there would appear to be something of the kind because of the replies one gets when he tries to deal with an immigration problem involving German nationals. I was down at the immigration office a week ago Saturday and I had quite a number of such problems with which to deal for constituents of mine. The answer I received in every case involving a German national was, "These people are beyond our reach because the mandate of the I.G.C.R. places them beyond our reach."

The Witness: This is really a problem that the director of Immigration should discuss. However, we had something to do with establishing the arrangements with I.G.C.R. The immigration regulations by which additional groups of near relatives could be admitted to Canada were introduced about a year ago. Those relations could be effected, of course, in places where immigration inspection could take place. We found that so far as anybody in Germany is concerned those regulations were really inoperative because there were no immigration facilities in Germany. Also, because of the occupation, it was difficult for people to move about Germany to present themselves for inspection. Now, that was overcome, as far as refugees and displaced persons were concerned, by this arrangement with the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees; and as has been pointed out, this arrangement did not apply to German nationals. As far as persons who do not come within the mandate of the I.G.C.R. are concerned, all the difficulties which existed in Germany a year ago continue to exist: the difficulties about securing examination and the absence of facilities which would make emigration from Germany possible. Those difficulties are largely difficulties of inspection, of movement within Germany and of securing transportation. There are a whole series of difficulties which a person leaving Germany must surmount.

# By Mr. Low:

Q. Would you say that there is nothing in any inter-government understanding or agreement or even in the mandate of the I.G.C.R. under the constitution of the I.R.O. which would prohibit the government of Canada from dealing with immigration in any way that we see fit within their own policy?—A. I know of nothing. Our own immigration regulations.—

Q. You see, this is open.—A. There might also be administrative arrangements which would have to be made with the occupying authorities in Germany to make the movement of persons possible, but I know of no overriding

prohibition.

Mr. Beaudoin: Canada has an inspection mission in Germany now, has it not?

The Witness: Yes, for the purpose of carrying out this arrangement which has been made by the Inter-governmental Committee.

Mr. Boucher: In that connection the question arises in my mind as to whether there is anything with regard to the matter that has an effect on the failure or refusal of Canada to allow to remain in Canada German prisoners of war. In other words, we have actually declined to permit any German prisoners of war to remain here regardless of what their nature was or who wanted to retain them. Our government refused to allow them to remain in Canada. When Mr. Low asked that question it occurred to me that there may be something in this on account of which the government did so refuse.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, I am not familiar with the arrangements in that respect. I would not think there was anything in the arrangement concerning refugees which would have affected that decision.

Mr. BOUCHER: You stressed the point that we had no board in Germany to examine Germans who wanted to immigrate to Canada. That argument did not hold as against German prisoners of war who were in Canada and wanted to remain in Canada. Many Canadians wanted them to remain in Canada; but they were not allowed to remain.

Mr. Coldwell: Is not there a convention which covers that point?

The Chairman: I believe the core of Mr. Low's argument is that he fears there will be some part of that resolution that may interfere with Canadian parliamentary activities.

Mr. Low: I wanted to be assured that there is not.

The Chairman: That cannot be so, as far as I can see, because parliament is supreme, as Mr. MacInnis has said; and no international regulations or agreements could interfere with the activities of the Canadian parliament. Such interference would never be acceptable to us.

Mr. Fraser: That matter was mentioned when the new Immigration Act was placed before the House; it was mentioned by the minister that we had our own rules and regulations.

Mr. Low: Here is a specific case which will show you where our anxiety rests: an old German couple, who lived in the Peace River country, adopted their niece and nephew when they became orphans years ago. Those children were brought out to this country and lived here for quite a number of years. In 1938 they went back to Germany for a trip and were caught there at the outbreak of the war and the boy was forced into the German army and was later taken prisoner and finally was interned in England for some years. Now, at the close of the war those children were sent back to Germany, and they have made repeated efforts to rejoin their foster parents in Canada but the officials say: "They are beyond our reach; there is nothing whatever that we can do because I.G.C.R. and this mandate places them beyond our reach."

Mr. Fraser: Are they over eighteen years of age?

Mr. Low: Yes.

Mr. Fraser: If they are over eighteen years of age that has a bearing on the matter.

Mr. Coldwell: If the department said that these people were not the concern of the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees that is definitely correct.

Mr. Low: I can say that is true according to this situation.

Mr. Benidickson: Does Mr. Low know the ages of those people at the time they went to Germany?

Mr. Low: One of them was eighteen—the boy.

Mr. Fraser: They are adults now?

Mr. Low: Yes.

Mr. Coldwell: They were Germans in 1938 if they were sympathetic to the Nazi viewpoint.

Mr. Fraser: If they were under eighteen years of age I imagine they would be allowed into Canada at the present time.

Mr. Low: Investigations in this case have not established that the trip was taken for that purpose. I think, as a matter of fact, the foster mother went back with the children and remained for a few months, and these youngsters were visiting with their relatives and happened to get caught.

Mr. Coldwell: No doubt there were some innocent people placed in that position.

Mr. Graydon: May I ask a question based on section 10 on page 4 which gives the right to any nation to withdraw from the I.R.O.? Why is there a distinction there with respect to notice for withdrawal when in the United Nations charter any nation can withdraw at will without notice? What would happen if one of the members of the United Nations, who is also a member of the I.R.O., withdrew from membership in the main body? Could it not also withdraw from this body automatically?

The Witness: I would think the obligation in the International Refugee Organization to continue membership for a year after it had given notice of withdrawal would remain. The intention of this paragraph is to make it possible for the administrative authorities and the organization in order to make plans in advance to count on a certain membership. If, of course, a nation were determined to resign and refused to co-operate for the period that is provided in this clause, I do not believe there would be any way of making that nation co-operate.

Mr. Coldwell: Is not this rather to affect nations which retained their membership in the United Nations but wish to withdraw from this organization?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Graydon: It may be an attempt, but it is not so spelled out.

Mr. Fleming: Paragraph 10 relates to all nations—nations who are not members of the United Nations. Some may have ceased to be members of the United Nations. Article 10 applies to all of them regardless of their status in the United Nations, as I read it.

Mr. Coldwell: And for the reason Mr. Riddell gave.

Mr. Jaques: At the present time in Canada, with all sovereign countries, we do control our own immigration. That is correct, is it not?

The CHAIRMAN: It should be correct.

Mr. Jaques: I want to know whether it is, because irrespective of any decisions of this international organization we can pick and choose our own immigrants; that is correct, is it not? Then, the question I would ask is this: Is it not a fact that it is no doubt intended that each country will surrender part of its sovereign rights and is it not a fact that included in these sovereign rights which are to be surrendered is specifically mentioned the control over immigration?

Mr. KNOWLES: Where?

Mr. Coldwell: Where is that mentioned?

Mr. Jaques: I will go back three years when I brought up this very question in the House of Commons, and it was proposed by the then League of Nations. It has never been contradicted since that there would have to be a surrender of sovereignty on the part of Canada and other countries. One of the sovereign controls mentioned was immigration. I brought that matter up in the House and I wanted to know whether that was not at that time true; and for that I have been abused ever since.

Mr. Boucher: Are you not thinking of the laws in the United Nations organization that there shall be no discrimination against race, colour or creed, and to that extent our sovereignty is limited? No doubt that does limit our sovereignty.

Mr. Knowles: Only to the extent of interpreting it.

Mr. Jaques: That is the point. If you limit it to any discrimination as regards race, colour or creed, if you bar certain men and certain people because they are objecting to our ideas, then immediately you can be accused, if they

happen to be of certain religions or races or colour, of racial discrimination; and that is the whole purpose of it. It will make it impossible to have any real control over the immigration policies of the country.

Mr. MacInnis: I think the Prime Minister made it quite clear in his statement to the house some little time ago that although we agreed to that condition in the United Nations charter it did not compel Canada to take immigrants from whatever country they came and in whatever numbers they came, that we had complete control over the people who come into this country. I think that is something we will have to control.

Mr. Jaques: That may be at the present time. I take it that is true at the present time but I ask the question what about the future? The Deputy Minister of External Affairs was reported in the press just this last week as saying that we would have to surrender a part of our sovereignty.

Mr. MacInnis: I think we should have the Minister of External Affairs here to answer that question.

Mr. Coldwell: Is not that part of the charter intended to apply to discrimination within the borders of a country, that within the country we agree we will not discriminate against persons on account of their race, creed or colour? It does not mean the surrender of the right to control our immigration. I do not think any country would give up that right no matter what colour that country was.

Mr. Boucher: While it would not imply surrender it might imply a limitation of our civil rights.

Mr. Coldwell: According to the level of intelligence and the ideas of morality that a country has. Where you have a low level of course you have discrimination.

Mr. MacInnis: There is a limitation on our sovereignty whether or not we are members of the United Nations. If we are outside of the United Nations there is equal limitation on our sovereignty and one to which we do not agree. The limitations to which we agree in the United Nations are those we agree to voluntarily.

Mr. Boucher: I think we are talking a lot of theory.

The Chairman: I have allowed the discussion to go on for a while. Before we proceed I want to give Mr. Fleming a message that I delivered earlier in our hearing today. All the members of our committee present to you their very best wishes for many many happy returns on your forty-second birthday.

Mr. Fleming: Thank you for your very kind remembrances.

# By Mr. Kidd:

Q. May I ask a question arising out of previous questions? Has the government of the day any understanding with the inter-governmental committee on refugees as to accepting any quota at the present time?—A. No.

Q. I was referring to the Poles, Polish women or Polish men. There is

no understanding that we must take 2,000, 4,000 or 5,000?—A. No.

#### By Mr. Fraser:

Q. There was that understanding about the 4,000 last year?—A. That is an arrangement with the United Kingdom government, not with the intergovernmental committee on refugees. Perhaps I could refer for a moment to the earlier discussion. There is not in this constitution any contractual obligation on the part of the Canadian government to admit to this country any refugee or displaced person. No such contractual obligation has been entered into by the Canadian government either with the preparatory commission of the international refugee organization or with any other refugee organization.

Mr. Kidd: With the 2,000 Polish women coming to Canada—

The CHAIRMAN: 200.

Mr. Kidd: There are more than that. I sat in on a committee that was arranging to bring women out here as domestics. I was called in on a committee at Kingston. This came from the Minister of Labour.

Mr. Coldwell: The Minister of Labour?

Mr. Kidd: Yes, and it came over the CBC.

Mr. Benidickson: My understanding is these were local committees to find out the need. The policy has not yet been established. I understand the purpose was to find out in each committee whether there was a desire for it, and how many were required, and so on.

Mr. Kidder it was handled through the Minister of Labour and the labour organizations across Canada. I know as far as Kingston was concerned I sat in on a committee having to do with the hospitals. They wanted to know how many of these women could be absorbed. A more or less favourable report, flavoured to suit the Minister of Labour, came over the CBC that 26 organizations across Canada had signified their willingness to accept these women. I think negotiations are under way now to bring a couple of thousand Polish women to Canada. There has been very little said about it. I should like to know who makes the selection of the 2,000 Polish women, and do they come under this inter-governmental committee on refugees?

The Witness: That is a question which would have to be answered by the Director of Immigration. All I can say is that, as to any policy which the government might adopt in regard to migration to Canada of refugees and displaced persons I feel quite sure the inter-governmental committee on refugees would be glad to co-operate.

Mr. Kidd: I wanted to be clear on that point. I do not know whether under the inter-governmental committee Canada is obliged to take 2,000, 4,000, or 6,000.

The WITNESS: There is no such obligation.

Mr. Coldwell: What radio station was it you heard it on?

Mr. Kidd: The CBC, and I sat on the committee.

Mr. Coldwell: Recently?

Mr. Kidd. Yes, about two weeks ago last Monday morning. It was more or less flavoured, more or less anxious that we should co-operate. You cannot bring these women in the same way as you can men. When you bring in 2,000 or a couple of hundred Polish men you can put them in army camps, but when you bring women in there is no place to put them when they arrive. There are a lot of details to work out.

Mr. Knowles: There was one large meeting in regard to these people in the railway committee room.

Mr. MacInnis: At our next meeting should we not have the director of immigration here?

The Chairman: We may. I believe it would be more relevant to that department than to the resolution we are discussing at the present time.

Mr. Boucher: It would seem that we should have the Minister of Labour also, or someone from his department, because the action was taken by his department.

Mr. Kidd: I wanted to be clear as to where they were coming from. I did not know whether they were refugees or from camps or whether they were picking them up in Poland or where they were coming from.

Mr. Knowles: I should like to say a further word about the compromise nature of this document in defence of those on our side of the argument who may

appear to have done the compromising. I stated earlier what I felt to be the two extreme views which had to be ironed out when this constitution was formulated. It might appear perhaps from the way I said it as though those on our side went too far in the direction of appearement and letting down on a high principle which is mighty sacred, and without which our world just does not go on.

I want to say that they were faced by the argument from the Soviet side to which they had to give consideration. The Soviet argument was they did not feel it was right to ask them to contribute money to an organization part of which would be used to replace and rehabilitate in some other part of the world persons who might carry on anti-Soviet activities. If the opposite were the case we would object, too, if we were being asked to give money to an organization that was going to set up anti-democratic beliefs in some part of the world.

I do not intend to go into the argument in detail. This is not a defence of the Soviet viewpoint. I am rather defending those representing Canada and other democratic nations for the action that they took. Their compromise was not a case of appearament. It was a case of recognizing in a practical world certain defensible arguments and also the desire to really achieve a document that would mean something practical to some of the refugees who need asylum.

Mr. Jacques: My point—and it is fundamental—is that it is impossible to define guilt in this sense. That is my whole argument. If you look in the Encyclopedia Britannica for the definition of fascism what do you see? "Anticommunism." Therefore, if any man is against communism automatically he is a fascist and then he is condemned. To me it is fundamental. I mentioned Mihailovich. Would Mihailovich have been judged as guilty or innocent before this international tribunal? That is a fair question.

The Chairman: I believe we have had a fine, interesting and illuminating discussion. If it is possible I should like us to deal with our report at this time. The government would very much like it to be brought before parliament. We also have Mr. Pearson here this morning. I am afraid we will not be able to hear him. I am very sorry for that because I know he is a busy man. If it is your pleasure we will sit in camera and discuss the report. If there are no more questions I will ask the officials to retire.

Mr. Benidickson: Does that mean we are disposing of the consideration of the refugee problem?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, referring it back to the House of Commons.

Mr. Benidickson: The only comment I should like to make is that anything we have been discussing is fairly academic. As I said at an earlier meeting I thought the key to any concrete knowledge of what we were likely to receive in numbers and the time of their arrival, and so on, was to be found in the transportation question. Is it proposed to have some information as to what the prospects are?

The Chairman: I believe Mr. Riddell answered that at a previous meeting. There is nothing concrete now as to the numbers. That is going to be decided by the organization itself.

The Witness: If I may make one comment, there are really two questions. One is the establishment of this international organization to provide for the care and maintenance of refugees and their resettlement where that is possible. There is then a supplementary question of whether or not this country receives any of those refugees, and what arrangements may be made for moving them from Europe. That second question is one which really should be dealt with by the Director of Immigration.

Mr. Knowles: The second question does not arise until the organization is functioning.

The Witness: It is possible for them to move in the meantime but their care and maintenance by some international organization is necessary.

Mr. Coldwell: The really urgent thing is to set it up in order that we may assist in the care and resettlement of persons who need to be cared for and resettled.

Mr. Benidickson: I raised the point because it is assumed we will be taking a share of these refugees.

Mr. Coldwell: It is a pressing problem.

Mr. Benidickson: Yes, and I think we can also assume that the amount of shipping that is used for the transportation of refugees will be affected very materially by the numbers who will come over in the ordinary way on applications of relatives, and so on. I think it is of some interest to this committee.

Mr. Beaudoin: Can anyone here tell us as to the attitude of the other nations with regard to taking in some of these refugees? It is going to cost us over \$5,000,000 a year. They provide for a budget for the first year, and the sooner the nations which subscribe to this take in the refugees the sooner this organization will go out of existence.

Mr. Benidickson: In the meantime they are contributing for services in another country and we are paying for their upkeep. There may be need for that for the reconstruction of our own country.

Mr. Beaudoin: Do you not think that we can clear the matter up in a year?

Mr. Coldwell: During the discussions in the committee, particularly in the final stages, it seemed that some countries were very anxious to receive quite large numbers of refugees. I remember the Brazilian delegate specifically was prepared to take 100,000 of them, and the Argentine delegate said very much the same thing. The difficulty with those countries was they wanted this resettlement partly paid for out of the organization. Of course, that is not provided for. They wanted the actual resettlement to be paid for out of the funds of the organization.

Mr. Beaudoin: Is there not some reference to a large scale resettlement organization budget of \$5,000,000?

Mr. Coldwell: That is supervision, administration, and so on.

Mr. Beaudoin: There is a different item for that.

Mr. Fleming: I did not understand it extended to providing means of transportation and settlement.

Mr. Coldwell: No.

Mr. Benidickson: Is there any answer as to whether or not there has been any immigration of these people from these camps since they were set up?

The Witness: Very small numbers so far.

Mr. Knowles: The matter of resettlement is referred to on page 7.

By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. Just a small number?—A. So far.

Q. We have heard in the House and elsewhere there has been some large movement of Europeans to other countries, and the suggestion is made that we are eventually going to be taking some of these people but that other countries are making their selection in advance of ours. I was wondering if there is anything to that.—A. It is quite true, as Mr. Coldwell has said, that other countries have expressed considerable interest in the movement of some of these people. It may be that a selection is being made at the present time by some of them, but it is not possible to move any considerable number of people yet.

Mr. Fleming: I think we ought to go back to the point Mr. Beaudoin raised a moment ago. If you look at article 10, subsection 1, in relation to finance, you will see that it says:—

—covering the necessary administrative, operational and large scale resettlement expenditures of the organization.

I had assumed that the budget was not to cover any actual expenses of resettlement, that the budget was intended to cover administration expenses using that term very broadly.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Does that understanding jibe with the words of article 10, subsection 1? I am not sure they do.—A. Well, Mr. Chairman, the functions of the organization are defined in—

Mr. Knowles: The proportion for large scale resettlement is subject to clause 4.

The WITNESS: —article 2, clause 1(b).

(b) with respect to persons for whom repatriation does not take place under paragraph 1 (a) of this article to facilitating:—

(1) Their re-establishment in countries of temporary residence;

(2) The emigration to, resettlement and re-establishment in other countries of individuals or family units; and

(3) As may be necessary and practicable within available resources and subject to the relevant financial regulations, the investigation, promotion or execution of projects of group resettlement or large scale resettlement.

It was the intention that as to persons who could not be repatriated arrangements for resettlement should be made. If, however, those arrangements were contemplated in the form of very large scale group settlements, it was thought that arrangements of that nature should not be proceeded with by the organization except after special consideration has been given and under special financial arrangements. In other words, the ordinary budget of the organization should not be used for the purpose of settling, let us say, 10,000 people in the interior of some South American country, or something of that nature, without special consideration being given.

Mr. Coldwell: You have here article 10, subsection 4, which also deals with it.

Each member shall contribute— that is mandatory—

—to the operational expenditures—except for large scale resettlement expenditures—as determined and allocated under paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, subject to the requirements of the constitutional procedure of such members. The members undertake to contribute to the large scale resettlement expenditures on a voluntary basis and subject to the requirements of their constitutional procedure.

In our case that would mean if we were going to make a contribution for large scale resettlement there would have to be an estimate in our own parliament which would have to be discussed and approved by our parliament.

Mr. Low: I wonder why they have made it so vague.

Mr. COLDWELL: Well, that is what it is.

Mr. Low: Yes, I can understand that.

The Witness: The possibility might arise of settling a block of 50,000 people in some country provided financial resources could be found for that movement, but the settlement of 50,000 people is a costly undertaking if you

think in terms of going into a new country and establishing those people there. It was thought if that were contemplated the organization should be in a position to consider it. On the other hand, it should not be in a position to use its available resources for a very large commitment of that nature without getting the specific consent of the member organizations through voluntary contribution to that particular project.

Mr. Winkler: I believe the movement of Mennonites to Paraguay cost about \$500 per person. There were 2,000 and at \$500 each that would be

\$100,000. They were moved by the Mennonite church.

Mr. Fleming: That included the cost of transportation as well as resettlement?

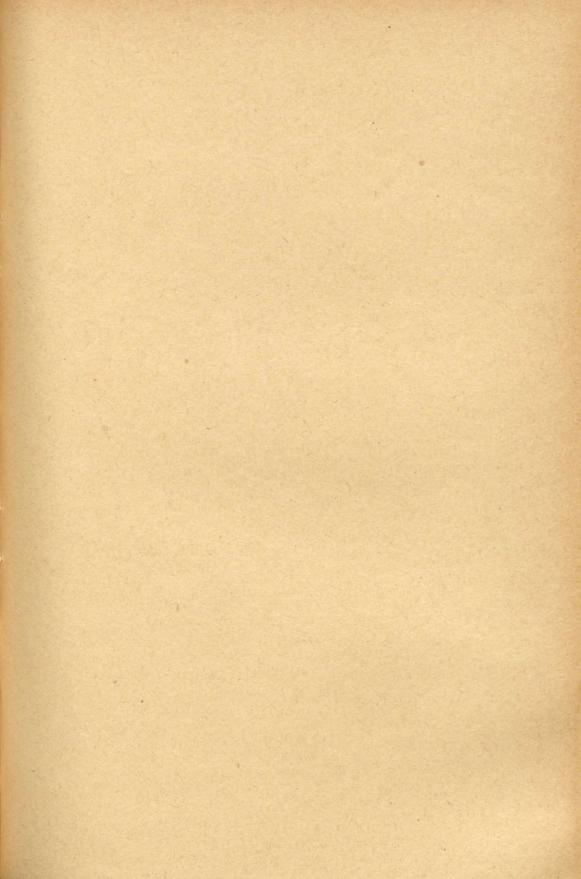
Mr. WINKLER: No, transportation alone.

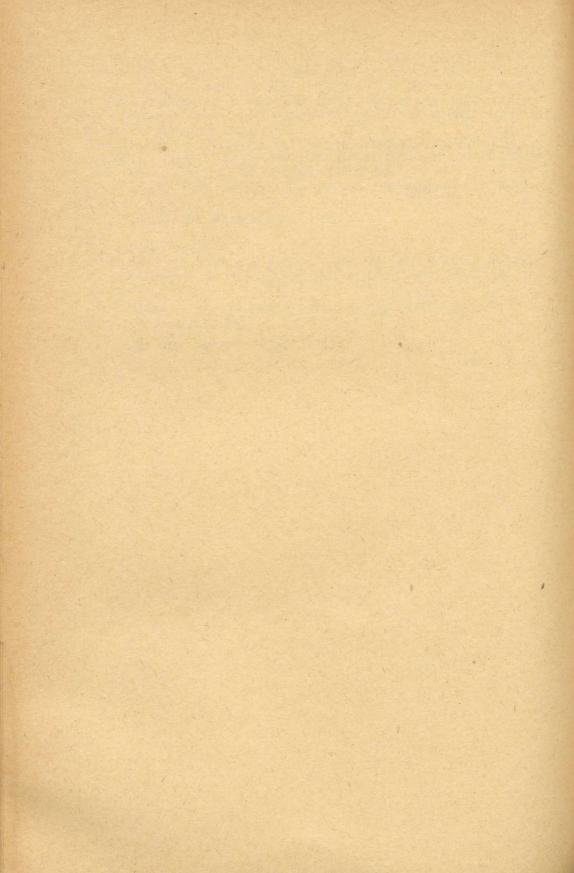
By Mr. Beaudoin:

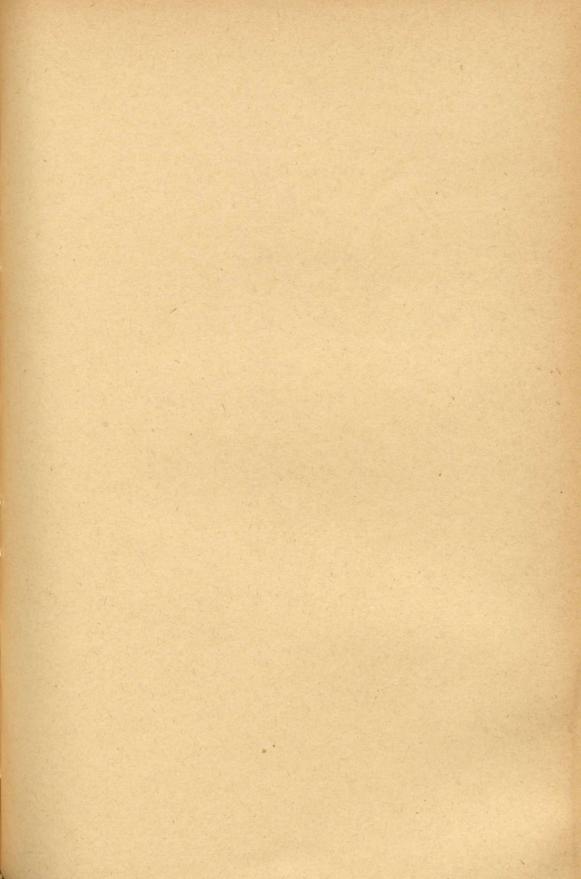
Q. Did you obtain any information about the point I raised the other day as to policing in the UNRRA camps?—A. I am sorry, but I have not received that.

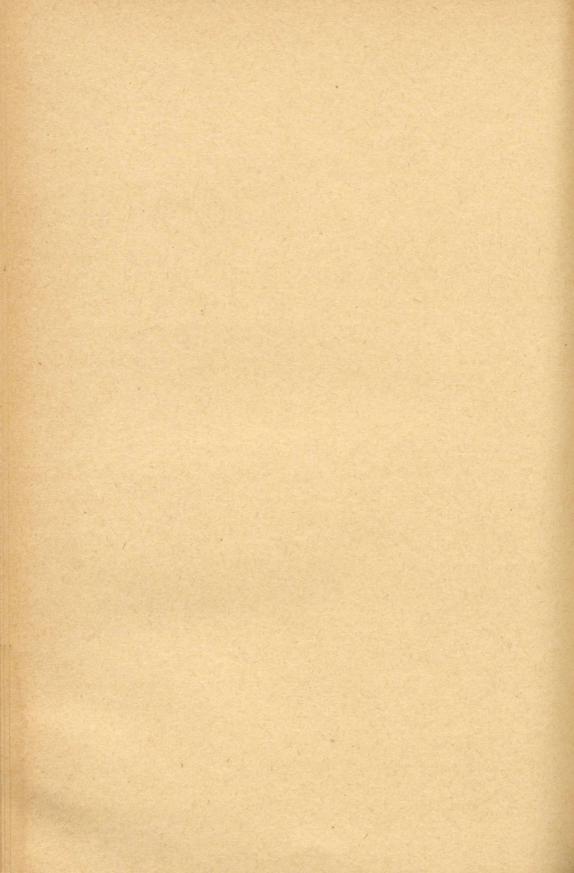
The Charman: Are you ready for the discussion of the report now? Some hon, Members: Yes.

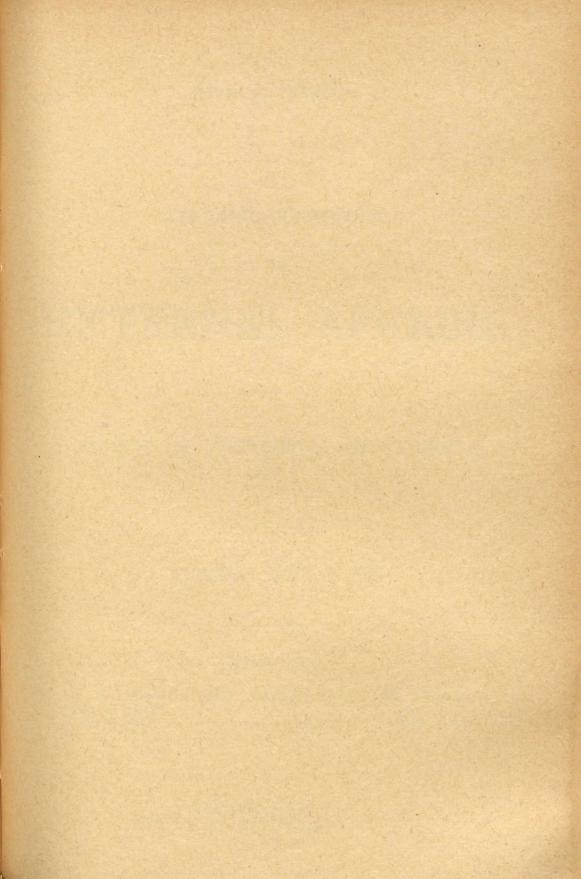
Committee then went into camera.

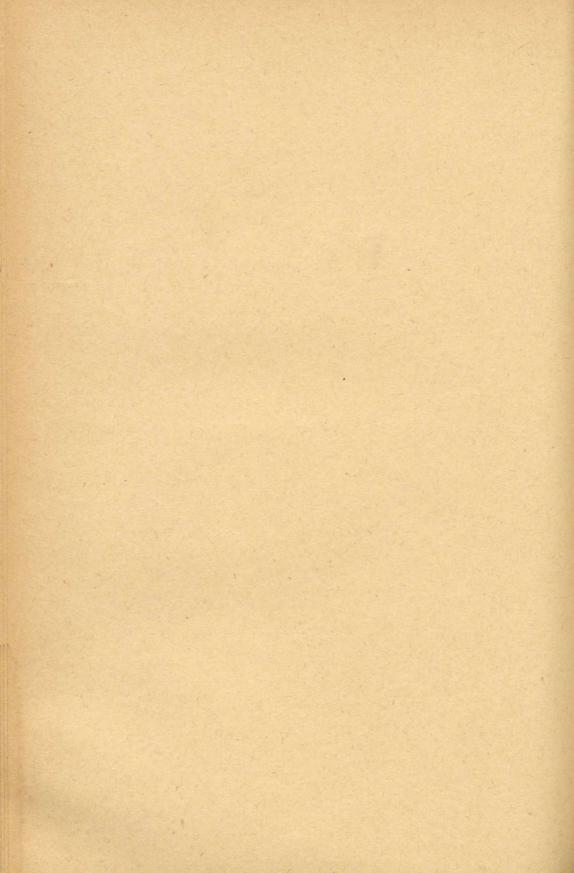












#### SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

#### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

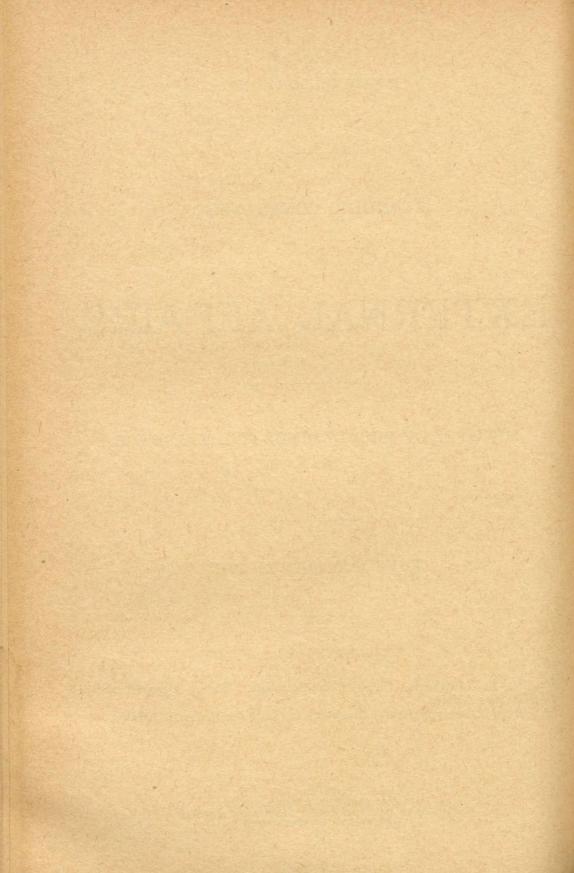
# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 7

TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1947

#### WITNESSES:

Mr. W. D. Matthews, Chief Administrative Officer, Department of External Affairs.
Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1947



#### ORDER OF REFERENCE

Monday, May 26, 1947.

Ordered,—That the following Bill be referred to the said Committee:—
Bill No. 132 (Letter F of the Senate), intituled: "An Act respecting Article Forty-one of the Charter of the United Nations".

R. T. GRAHAM, Deputy Clerk of the House.

#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, May 27, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Breithaupt, Coldwell, Cote (Matap.-Matane), Croll, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Leger, MacInnis, MacLean, Mutch, Winkler—22.

In attendance: Mr. Ross (Hamilton East) M.P.; Mr. John K. Starnes, Mr. H. F. Clark.

The Committee resumed consideration of the estimates referred.

The Chairman read a letter from Mr. John K. Starnes forwarding copies of an address by Mr. George Ignatieff to the United Nations Society in Canada which were distributed.

Mr. W. D. Matthews, chief administrative officer, Department of External Affairs, was recalled and examined on item 43 of the estimates, representation abroad. He was asked to bring forward information and retired.

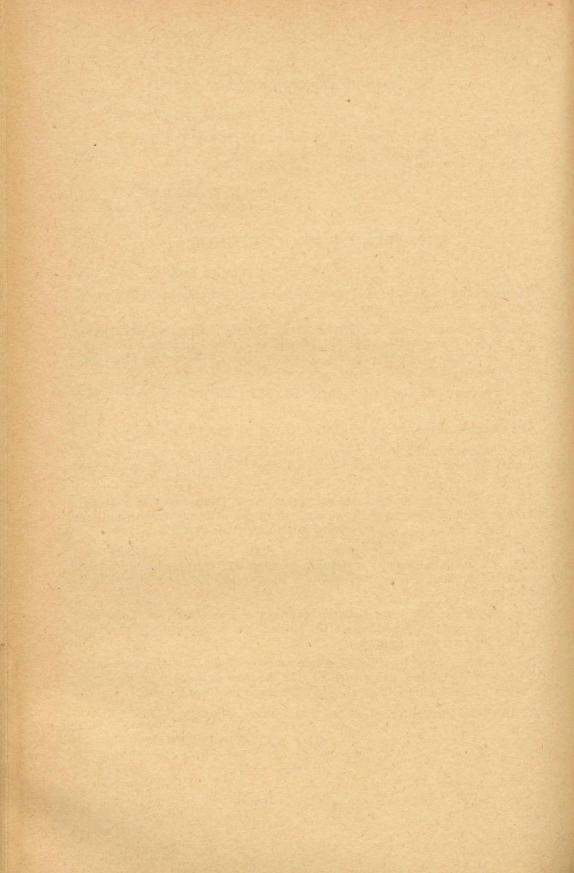
Mr. L. B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs was recalled. He made a general statement on item 41, was examined on the Canadian Information Service, and retired. He was assisted by Messrs. Clark and Matthews.

Reverend Kwan Sik Kim, General Secretary of the Presbyterian General Assembly in Korea, briefly addressed the Committee on the friendly relations which exist between his country and Canada.

Before adjournment, the Chairman informed the Committee of a new order of reference of the House, being Bill No. 132, An Act respecting Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations. (See this day's evidence.)

At 12.55 the Committee adjourned until Friday, May 30, 1947.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons May 27, 1947

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m.

The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call the meeting to order. Gentlemen, you deserve to be praised for being on time. If you will allow me, I will read

a letter I have received from Mr. Starnes, Ottawa, May 26, 1947.

Dear Mr. Bradette,—Mr. St. Laurent has asked me to send you forty copies of an address made by Mr. George Ignatieff to the United Nations Society in Ottawa on Wednesday, April the 23rd, 1947. As you are aware, Mr. Ignatieff is General McNaughton's principal adviser on the Canadian delegation to the Atomic Energy Commission and Mr. St. Laurent thought that the members of the Standing Committee on External Affairs would be interested in reading this summary of the problem of international control of atomic energy, as it may be useful at the time the committee has the first report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council under consideration.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd) JOHN STARNES.

I will ask the secretary to distribute to the members copies of this speech. The members of the committee who are not present will receive their copies by mail

This morning we have Mr. Matthews, who will take up item 43. He will preface his remark on that item by answering some questions which were placed before him at a previous meeting.

# W. D. Matthews, Chief Administrative Officer, recalled:

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, at the last meeting at which I was present I was unable to give the actual figures for the male appointments in the last year, breaking them down between those who had overseas service and those who had not. I have those figures with me now and I should like to give them, if I may. When Mr. Wrong was giving evidence before the committee last year, he pointed out that in the six months from November 1, 1945 to May 1, 1946 there had been 74 male appointments, 73 of whom had overseas service. The one exception was a young lad who was too young to be overseas. Mr. Wrong also pointed out it was doubtful if the very high proportion could continue.

also pointed out it was doubtful if the very high proportion could continue.

During the year May 1, 1946, to May 1, 1947, there have been 93 male appointments in the Department of External Affairs, 68 of whom had overseas service. Of the remaining 25, 10 were under 19 at the end of the war, 3 were over age for war service, 6 had been in the army but had not been posted overseas by the end of the war, 2 have obvious physical defects and there are only 4 for whom we do not know the reason why they were not in the army. We do not like to ask such personal questions when a person is assigned to us. While our record is not quite of the outstanding order of the year before, I

think it is still satisfactory.

I have some figures which are more recent on the breakdown of the expenditures of the various missions abroad during the past fiscal year. If these copies could be distributed to the members, I think it might help in our discussion on vote 43. Mr. Chairman, the figures in this statement are very nearly what the final figures will be. However, there are four or five offices abroad from which the March statements have not been received. Therefore, these figures

are still subject to a certain amount of adjustment.

In going over these figures you will see the variations between the estimated and the actual expenditures are probably greater than they are for the ordinary appropriations in Ottawa. There are various reasons for that. In the first place, the estimates are prepared in November. By that time, the details of only four or five months of the current year's expenditures, have been received in Ottawa. Therefore, when you build up your estimate based on past expenditures, you have not got a very large sample of the current year on which to base the estimate. There are two items which are quite impossible to anticipate. One is the fluctuation in exchange rates. Last November we had to anticipate what the exchange rates would be a year from the following March in preparing the current year's estimates. Obviously those are going to fluctuate quite substantially.

Another factor that is of very great significance at the moment is the fluctuation in the cost of living in the individual countries. A substantial proportion of your expenditures will be made in the countries and your allowance expenditures for your officers will have to vary as the cost of living varies in those countries. For those reasons your estimates may be out of very substantial amount. The most marked case we had of that was some years ago in the estimates for China. We were paying over 6 cents for a Chinese dollar at the time we prepared our estimates, and we were getting several hundred Chinese dollars per Canadian dollar by the time the fiscal year for which the estimates were prepared had expired. That year we happened to have a nice surplus in China. It often moves the other way.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. What is the situation this year in regard to China? Do you expect a surplus?—A. At the moment the exchange rate is fairly well stabilized. It is 12,000 to the dollar, but that might move a good many thousands to the dollar either way over night.

Q. In connection with China Mr. Justice Davis was appointed Ambassador to China recently. Is Mr. Justice Davis still a member of the Court of Appeals of Saskatchewan or has he resigned from that position?—A. I have no definite

knowledge of that. I think he is on leave, but I am not sure.

Q. Still on leave?—A. That is my understanding, but I cannot give a

definite answer.

- Q. Are there any other cases of persons being on leave from one position and occupying ambassadorial positions at the moment?—A. There have been certain people who are still technically on army strength and who I understand are being retired. General Vanier is being paid by our department but he has been technically on army strength. There have been others of that character, but I do not think there have been any others on leave except the army ones and Mr. Justice Davis.
- Q. Would you know how long that leave of absence is being continued?—A. No.
- Q. You have no records of that in your office?—A. No. I think the Department of Justice would have records of that.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Have you any news as to the progress of the houses that are going over from here to China to house the ambassador?—A. We have not heard of them having arrived yet, but they are on the Pacific at the moment.

Q. May I ask if those houses are insured in transit?—A. No.

Q. They are not insured in transit?—A. No. The general policy is that no government department shall carry insurance. I understand the risk is so widespread it is considered better to have the government assume its own risks.

#### By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. How many of those houses went?—A. Three. One of them das a duplex so that there are four units but there are three separate houses.

Q. How much are those houses worth?—A. Speaking from memory the cost in Canada was \$39,000.

#### By Mr. Boucher:

Q. For the four units?—A. Yes. It was \$43,900. That amount is for the three units, one of which is a duplex, and that figure represents their value in Canada. The shipping cost will be very substantial to get them to Nanking.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: What would be the shipping cost?

The Witness: It was a shipment that included the houses, the buildings, and a lot of other things, which were sent over. The total shipping cost to Nanking was around \$30,000 but I am not sure what proportion would be properly chargeable to the houses.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. What would be the other things?—A. I think there was a truck, and there was some coal.

Q. Coal?—A. Yes, it was absolutely impossible to get it in China. We would not have sent that by itself but as it could be added to another shipment it was sent along.

Q. And how much coal was there?—A. I have not the record but I could find it

Q. Have they no coal in China?—A. Apparently they just cannot get any in Nanking. They suggested that we send this shipment and we did.

Mr. HACKETT: Was that just bunker coal?

The WITNESS: It was for heating of the buildings in general.

Mr. Graydon: What else was there besides coal?

The Witness: I could get you the actual details of the shipment. There was a certain amount of office furniture, residence furniture, and I think there were some food supplies went with the shipment.

# By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. There were very substantial shipments of food?—A. Yes, but I do not know whether it went with this shipment.

Q. Has this ever taken place before, that an ambassador has been accompanied by his houses?—A. No.

# By Mr. Knowles:

Q. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire the reason for the reduced amount in the case of the embassy in Moscow?—A. There is one explanation that covers a good many of the reductions throughout. These estimates were to a very large extent based on the expenditures of the first four or five months of the past fiscal year. If the expenses go up during the latter part of the year it means you have underestimated. That accounts for a good many reductions in comparison with the past year's expenditures. Actually in Russia there was one substantial non-recurring item last year. When our mission first moved to Moscow we were assigned the house and properties previously used by the Danes. All the Danish furniture was there and we had to pay the owners of that furniture a rental for three or four years. That would be \$12,000 and that was paid last year but it

will not be recurring so that we have an expenditure of \$104,000 being \$116,000 less \$12,000 of this non-recurring item compared with \$98,000 estimates for the

current year.

Q. What I was really anxious to find out was whether the reduction had any connection with the fact that there is no ambassador there at this time?—A. Actually, at the time the estimates were prepared there was an ambassador. Undoubtedly, if the period without an ambassador is at all extended the figures for expenditures in the current year will be even lower.

Q. But this estimate provides for a full ranking ambassador?—A. Yes.

Mr. Graydon: How many Canadians are attached to the Soviet embassy in Moscow?

The WITNESS: I can give you that actual figure.

Mr. Knowles: Would you name them, there are not very many?

The WITNESS: Yes, there is Mr. Ford, the second secretary.

Mr. Graydon: He is the acting Charge d'Affaires.

The Witness: Yes. And there is Mr. Phillips, the third secretary; Miss Oram, clerk grade IV, Mr. Finnie, clerk grade III; Miss Millar, stenographer; Mr. Goulet, clerk; Miss Powell and Miss Brown, both stenographers; and then there is the military attache, Brigadier Allard; I have not a complete record of his staff. The only one that I have listed is the sergeant who is his clerk.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask you to contrast or compare the number that we have in the embassy at Moscow with the number that the Soviets have in their embassy at Ottawa?—A. I can get those figures but I have not got them here. They have ten people listed in the diplomatic list. That does not include their clerical staff but I understand they have their household staff from Russia as well.

Q. I think the Department of External Affairs has some indication by virtue of permits or records of the people coming in from time to time which would enable you to give the committee perhaps at a later sitting the exact

numbers?—A. Yes.

Q. Because my understanding is we are very much out of balance so far as numbers are concerned, compared to ours over there.—A. Yes. We can get the actual figures for you.

Mr. GRAYDON: I think that's important.

Mr. Knowles: One of the reasons would be the fact that the Russians bring their household staff here whereas our people in Moscow hire their entire house staff including chauffeurs, translators and even some messengers; people like that around the embassy are all Russians and that would account for a very substantial amount of the difference.

Mr. Graydon: We don't do that over there.

Mr. Knowles: It is up to them. Why do we hire Russians there? That is our position.

Mr. Cote: That situation is probably due to the fact that not very many people here speak Russian.

Mr. Graydon: Of course, that would explain some points.

Mr. Knowles: Incidentally, I wonder if Mr. Matthews could tell us how many Canadians over there in Moscow speak Russian? I understand that practically no Canadians speak Russian while a lot of their staff practically all speak English. Could you tell us how many of our staff over there speak Russian?

The WITNESS: Some of the stenographic staff when they go have not much more than a book knowledge of the language, but they have worked hard and

now most of them can speak a certain amount of the language.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Turning back for a moment to this question of houses for China, were those houses designed by some government department?—A. We have a departmental architect who adapted a design for use for our purposes.

Q. Adapted, from what?—A. From the manufacturer's standard design. I

can bring over for another meeting some photographs of those houses.

Mr. Graydon: In whose mind did this idea of taking houses around with ambassadors start?

The Witness: I think it is one that actually grew out of the impossibility of obtaining suitable accommodation there without the payment of fabulous rentals.

#### By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. Did Brigadier Odlum get along all right over there?—A. He was in Chungking. We actually had to build a house out of mud walls for him and it cost us approximately \$125,000 Canadian to build the house which is really of mud construction.

Q. When was that built?—A. That was built in 1942 or 1943.

Q. It cost us a lot to have representation there?—A. That was the time when the rate of exchange was very much against us. Probably if we had had a proper rate of exchange the amount would not have been in excess of \$15,000.

Q. Did you sell it afterwards?—A. I think we sold it for \$12,000.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. We are apparently not doing very well in the real estate business. Did I understand Mr. Matthews to indicate that we were going to get full particulars of the cost of design and construction and so on of these houses?—A. We can get that for you. Of course, we cannot give you the final cost including cost of erection over there because we will not know that for some little time.

Q. Were any nails sent over with the houses? I think that is important. I do not think there is anything more important than nails right now. Would that include all things necessary for the erection of these houses over there?—A. Yes. I think it went absolutely complete. Naturally the foundations had to be built over there but I am not sure that they did not send over the cement for that purpose.

### By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Who will do the work of the erection of the buildings?—A. They probably will have to get local labour. One man went over to supervise construction. He was a man who had worked for some missionary society over there, I understand.

# By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Are those houses demountable?—A. I think once they are up it would be very difficult to move them.

Q. Who constructed them for the government?—A. I think it was a firm in British Columbia, but I will have to get the name for you.

# By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Perhaps you could come prepared next time. You may not have expected so much interest by the public in this matter; but when you come again you might have the particulars so that we can give you a detailed examination.—A. Yes,

# By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Do all the military attachés and staffs come under the department's roster of people?—A. No, they are on the pay-roll and are the financial responsibility of the Department of National Defence.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Are any Canadians in the various missions paid by the Department of Justice?—A. No.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Do other classifications, besides the military attaché and his staff, come under your own staff?—A. There are the trade representatives of the Department of Trade and Commerce, the trade commissioners' service, who are given the designation of commercial secretary or counsellors, according to their rank, and they are paid by the Department of Trade and Commerce and their instructions come from the Department of Trade and Commerce. All the people attached to the mission are under the general supervision of the ambassador.

Mr. Knowles: We have no such commercial secretary in Moscow? The Witness: No.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. The significant increase in this list seems to be, first, in the office of the Canadian High Commissioner of the United Kingdom—an increase over expenditures last year of \$272,000 and the estimate this year is \$333,000, of which \$19,000 is accounted for by C.I.S. In Australia the figure goes up from \$39,000 to \$71,000; and then among the embassies the United States jumps up from \$239,000 to \$357,000 of which \$63,000 is accounted for by a Canadian Information Service item. I wonder if Mr. Matthews would give us an explanation of the reasons for the very substantial increases in these three items abroad?—A. The increases in the United Kingdom are partly the result of increases in staff and partly the result of increases in allowances. The allowances have gone up quite substantially because they have been trying to build up the number of Canadians in the subordinate staff in Canada House. When we send a Canadian there we have to pay allowances as well as salary, and while the amount in any individual case is not very great I think there is provision for about fourteen more Canadian members of the subordinate staff than there was last year. There is one other item that affects the United Kingdom. A substantial increase of \$12,000 for our postage. During the greater part of last year the air mail between the United Kingdom and Canada was carried on service planes; now it is carried by T.C.A. planes, and we have to pay for it, which we did not have to do before. As the mail from almost all our missions on the continent is centralized in Canada House and then shipped over here, it means that the cost of air mail is very heavy, and that accounts for an increase of \$12,000 compared to our estimates for the previous year.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask you a question with respect to vacancies that occur from time to time in our posts of high commissioner, ambassadorial and ministerial? During the last few years there have been very long gaps and periods among our senior officials where the previous senior official had been retired or moved and no appointment had been made. Have you a record of the exact gaps and periods?—A. I can easily obtain that; I have not got the information with me.

Q. I would like to have this put on the record of the committee because there was an astonishing number of our senior posts that went unfilled and went by default not only for months but in some cases more than a year. I think that should not occur again. At one time, in the Commonwealth, I believe we only had one post filled which I do not think is a proper thing in view of the importance of our diplomatic position.—A. I will get that statement. Would it be for the past year that you would want it?

Q. For the last two years. I think that covers the period I have in mind.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Mr. Matthews was going to comment on the other two items about which I asked, Australia and the United States.—A. One reason that the expenditures last year in Australia were considerably below what we are spending this year and what we had estimated for last year is the very point Mr. Graydon has raised, there was a gap between the postings of high commissioners. The salaries and allowances of your chief of mission are always a fairly substantial portion of your expenses at a post. Also, to a certain extent, the activities are closed down when your chief of the mission is away from his post. I am afraid I have not the actual period during the past fiscal year when there was no high commissioner in Australia, but it was quite a considerable period of time. This accounted for a large portion of the drop in expenses last year below what we had anticipated.

Another reason is that, in the past year, Mr. Malone, who is the second senior man of the External Affairs staff out there was transferred from the information pay list to the departmental pay list. This made an increase in the provision for salaries of approximately \$4,000. I am sorry I have not the expenditures for the Information Service for last year, but the \$4,000 which was previously on

their list would be swung over to the External Affairs this year.

One other thing; in Australia this year we had to estimate for an automobile which brought up the estimates. We have estimated for \$4,000 for that item but I think we bought a car for considerably less the other day.

Mr. Graydon: It would depend upon whether it was a used car or a new

one. The used cars cost more than the new ones, these days.

The Witness: Mr. Starnes just pointed out to me that Mr. Justice Davis left Australia at the end of May, so that for over ten months of the year there was no chief of the mission. This would account for almost \$15,000 in salaries and allowances.

# By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Did his salary and allowances cease when he left Australia?—A. I am not sure of the date of his appointment to China, but as of the effective date of that appointment his salary would be charged to the appropriation for China.

Q. But his salary as High Commissioner to Australia and allowances would continue up until the date of his appointment as ambassador to China, is that

correct?—A. Yes.

Q. So that actually the date of his departure from Australia is not the significant date?—A. No, it might be two or three months after that before his

salary stopped being charged.

Q. What about the United States? There was a large increase there which is only about half accounted for by the amount which has been taken over from the Canadian Information Service?—A. But part of that increase is accounted for by the fact that this year, we have provided for a minister as well as an ambassador. Mr. Stone has been appointed as minister, and we have provided for the same number of staff at the counsellor level in our estimate. This means one additional senior man which would account for approximately \$15,000 of the increase.

There is also a fairly substantial increase in the number of our subordinate staff. During the war years, there were a good many military personnel attached to the Embassy and a lot of the messenger service and guards were provided by the veterans' guard, not at our expense. As these people were withdrawn, we had to get people down there on our payroll and that would account for quite a large number of people. None of these are very high salaried people, but the aggregate amount is quite substantial.

Q. Does that appointment of Mr. Stone as Minister carry with it the title

and designation of minister?—A. Yes, the designation of minister.

Q. So we now have an ambassador and a minister at the Embassy in

Washington?—A. Yes.

Q. That represents an increase in the personnel?—A. The year before there was an ambassador and two counsellors. At the moment, actually, there is an ambassador, a minister and a counsellor, but in our estimates we have provided for a second counsellor when one can be sent there.

#### By Mr. Cote:

- Q. Have you not in New York also a good many more secretarial workers than you used to have on account of the United Nations representation?—A. There are a tremendous number of people who travel down to New York for that work. There are certain ones who are assigned to New York full time, to visit General McNaughton on the Atomic Energy Commission, but there are none who are assigned full time in New York for the United Nations.
- Q. Those expenditures are included in this substantial amount of increase?

  —A. No, the consulate proper in New York is down at the bottom of this page.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. There is a large increase in the item for the New York Consulate which is largely taken care of by the Canadian Information Service?—A. Yes.

#### By Mr. Cote:

Q. This would not explain that point you just mentioned?—A. You mean—

Q. The clerical staff attached to the various delegations of Canadians going to the United Nations for various purposes?—A. Normally, those people are selected from the staff of the department here. Depending on the size of the delegation, we decide how many should be sent down and those people are sent down for the duration of that particular mission.

### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. The consulate at New York has had a great deal of work thrown upon it by virtue of these meetings at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows. While the New York office does not provide directly for the staff, which comes from Ottawa, nevertheless I think Mr. Scully and the others in New York have a greatly added amount of work by virtue of the fact so many Canadians are in New York?—A. The New York staff has to make all the original preparation because the Ottawa staff just goes down with the delegation. Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of work in preparation.

Mr. Graydon: I think Mr. Scully and his staff deserve some tribute because I do not think the average person realizes what the New York staff is up against with the large number of Canadians down there. Those who are in New York always want some service rendered and the New York office has always been very kind and courteous as the chairman noted, no doubt, the last time he was in New York.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, I certainly did.

# By Mr Fleming:

Q. I wonder if Mr. Matthews could bring us some statement as to the detail of the items he was discussing in explanation of the increases for the offices in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States?—A. Yes, I can. It is difficult for our treasury office to break down the past year's expenses into the finer details because the method by which their books have been kept to date makes it a very great chore. It is difficult to give you a comparative break down of expenditures over the past years with the break down used in the preparation of the estimates.

- Q. I do not want to put Mr. Matthews to any unnecessary trouble in this matter, Mr. Chairman, but I think if we could have a statement with somewhat more detail than he has been able to give us in his oral explanation this morning accounting for the increases, it would be desirable. For instance, in the United Kingdom, you mentioned there were increases in allowances and I think in salaries?—A. Yes.
- Q. If we could have the numbers of those affected and the percentages, something of that kind, I believe that would be satisfactory.—A. Yes. Those in which you are particularly interested are the United Kingdom, Australia and Washington?

Q. Yes.—A. Right.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. May I ask one question concerning South Africa? Have we a high commissioner in South Africa?—A. Yes, Mr. McGreer.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Would you include France in that break-down?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Graydon:

- Q. Have we bought the house in Washington about which all the discussion took place in the committee?—A. No, we have not yet, sir. I, personally, hope we will.
- Q. I thought we only had until a week ago Saturday. There was great urgency about it. What happened in the meantime?—A. It is still under consideration. We have not yet taken any steps.

Q. What is the reason for the delay? What is the hold up?—A. Well, I do not know. I can only recommend. I have not the authority to go ahead. I cannot say, sir.

Q. Has the government given the department any "go" sign with respect to the purchase of it as yet?—A. No.

Q. In other words, it is the government for whom you are waiting?

Mr. Beaudoin: Did I understand you to ask the witness if the government had done anything?

Mr. GRAYDON: Yes.

Mr. Boucher: If the government has given the "go" sign to the department.

Mr. Graydon: I did not mean that to be an offensive question.

Mr. Beaudoin: I would not say it was offensive, but the witness has already said he has no authority to answer on this matter. I thought Mr. Pearson was going to come back here, and he would be the proper person to question about that.

Mr. Graydon: All Mr. Matthews knows is that the deal has not been closed. I was only anxious to find out, in view of what Mr. Pearson said a week ago Saturday, what had happened. May I ask one other question with respect to India? In this item, representation abroad, there is no mention whatever of India. Where do we get the money for Mr. Kearney in Calcutta or New Delhi, wherever he goes?

The Witness: This item only covers the amounts for offices which had been opened at the time the estimates were prepared. The figure for offices which may be opened later is contained in the \$400,000 for new offices.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. That includes the one in India?—A. The one in India and we have also opened legations in Cvechoslovakia Poland, Sweden and Switzerland, all of which are being charged against that amount.

#### By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Is there not one in Denmark?—A. Denmark and Norway are really treated as one. The one minister is accredited to the two countries. If we opened a separate office, which is quite possible, in Denmark, then the expenses would be charged to this item. At the moment, the people living in Norway periodically visit Denmark. We have no staff permanently resident in Denmark.

# By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Did we send any house or fuel to India with our new high commissioner when we sent him over there?—A. No, nothing has been sent there. Mr. Pick, who is the secretary, has been there for approximately two months now. He has been spending practically all his time searching for housing accommodation.

Q. Why was one ambassador treated differently to the minister going to India? Both countries are oriental countries and, I fancy the same problems with regard to housing and fuel would have to be faced?—A. So far as China is concerned, we had some people on the spot who were able to look into the situation and advise us as to how we should deal with it. Undoubtedly, in India there is a real problem, although Mr. Pick has not yet given up hope of being able to obtain, on a reasonable basis, some leasehold premises for a chancelry. He also hopes to obtain a residence. The coal problem, from anything we have heard from Mr. Pick, is in New Delhi. A very slight problem.

#### By Mr. Beaudoin:

- Q. Mr. Matthews, is there anyone in your department who is more directly connected with this Canadian Information Service?—A. I understand Mr. Pearson hopes to be here shortly and intended, with the approval of your chairman, to deal with that subject.
- Q. I want to know what the activities of the Canadian Information Service are, but I might as well wait for Mr. Pearson?—A. Yes.

# By Mr. Cote:

- Q. Who is in charge of the C.I.S. now?—A. The C.I.S. has really been absorbed into the information division. Mr. Andrews is the chief of that division.
- Q. He has resigned?—A. No, his resignation is not effective as yet. He is still in charge of the division.
  - Q. When is he leaving?—A. I think it is about the first of August.

# By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Has he left yet?—A. As the minister, some time ago, made a statement to the House on this matter, I believe I should not answer the question.

Mr. Graydon: I have no objection to your not answering it because the minister did not answer it either. Just to refresh your memory, I may say when I approached the minister concerning the rumour which was currently circulated in the press that Mr. Andrews was about to resign or contemplated resigning, the minister said he had no indirect or direct information on the point. I was wondering whether there was anything fresh on that point? I shall ask the minister direct.

Mr. Cote: There was a news item in the press last week saying Mr. Andrews was going to Vancouver, to the University of British Columbia.

Mr. Graydon: Everybody seems to know more about this matter than the minister does. I think we should ask the minister again to make sure.

Mr. Fleming: The committee might ask the Chairman to ask the question.

#### By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Are there any other departments of the government which supply officials to the various ministries and embassies, besides the Department of National Defence and the Department of Trade and Commerce?—A. The Immigration Branch have people attached to the embassies in Paris, Brussels and The Hague, to deal with immigration matters which arise there. These people are given the designation of counsels in these places. The Department of National Health and Welfare has medical officers, I believe only in Paris and The Hague, to assist in the medical examinations which are required in connection with immigration work.

Q. Is that because we have no immigration offices, as yet, set up in those countries?—A. No, the immigration office will probably continue to be attached to the embassy or the legation in those countries in order to have all the

Canadian groups working together.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Do you know if there is any request from the immigration department to your department for the opening of other offices in central Europe, the Balkans or elsewhere?—A. I believe consideration is being given to that possibility, but I have not heard of any definite plans.

Q. You have not yet made any provision with regard to those plans?—

A. No.

Mr. Croll: As a matter of fact, the immigration department has offices in practically every country in the world at the moment, with the exception of Roumania and Bulgaria?

The WITNESS: I think the department has a team travelling around, but I do not think they have any settled office as yet.

Mr. Fleming: There are no settled offices as yet. I believe there is just a travelling team.

Mr. Croll: I think you will find the department has established offices in practically all places except Roumania and Bulgaria.

# By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Is there not a separate immigration office in London?—A. Yes, which works along with Canada House. There is a senior immigration officer in

London who has jurisdiction over all Europe.

Q. Is he part of the diplomatic staff at Canada House?—A. I do not think he is. He comes under general jurisdiction as part of the High Commissioner in London. The general principle is that the chief of a high commissioner's office in the commonwealth countries, or of the diplomatic offices elsewhere, have general supervisory powers over any Canadian government official in the country. This does not mean that officials' day-to-day activities are directed, but there is general supervisory control whether he is technically connected with the mission or not.

# By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Has there been any change in the immigration staff in London? When I was in London three years ago, I met the superintendent of immigration there. I had to see him with regard to my return to Canada. He had his office on Piccadilly at the corner of Sackville Street, and I was wondering whether the same man was there.—A. I am afraid I do not know that. Such information would have to come from the immigration branch.

Mr. Cote: Did you have trouble with him?

Mr. JAQUES: No, on the contrary, I found him most obliging. I was hoping he was still on his job, that is all.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. Are there any representatives of the Department of Labour in any of these embassies?—A. No, I think there is one other official whom I have not mentioned. There is a representative of the Department of Finance in Washington.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I was not clear as to the completion of Mr. Matthews' answer to the question Mr. Graydon asked about the representation in India. I understood from his answer the figure of \$400,000 under the heading, "Miscellaneous new offices", would provide for any building required, but what about the salary and allowances for the commissioner and his staff?—A. No, the provision for building and furnishings is the one immediately following that, \$200,000, to build or purchase premises.

Q. The item, "new offices" has nothing to do with the building at all, it is simply a residuary item available for the opening of new legations?—A. Yes.

Q. Or high commissioners' offices in places where there are no such estab-

lishments at the present time?—A. That is the purpose of that item.

Q. How is the item of \$400,000 made up?—A. Where estimates are being prepared you have a general idea of what plans are being considered for the opening of new embassies. You have to just take a sum which will cover that. We will have to conduct another survey of the whole situation for the supplementary estimates because, by now, I may be advised that there will be more offices opened before the end of this fiscal year than we anticipated in November.

Q. How was the item of \$400,000 made up at the time you estimated it? If you have not got the details for it now, Mr. Matthews, we are quite content to have you bring them to the next meeting.—A. The only way that item would be made up—you would know that, there would be under consideration, the opening of the high commissioner's office at New Delhi as well as missions in the various parts of Europe, such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. It is not an exact method of computation at all. You would decide, probably half of those offices will be opened at the beginning of the fiscal year and the remaining half about half-way through the year. The approximate amount you would need for a new mission of the size you would have in any particular country may be \$60,000, \$70,000 or \$80,000. You would just take a round sum and put it in with the diea it would be better to underestimate rather than overestimate because you would have a clearer picture of the requirements by the time the supplementary estimates came down.

Q. I do not want to be unfair, but it strikes me that is altogether too vague or nebulous a method of estimating. Apparently, when this estimate was made the department did not know what new offices were going to be opened or what time of year they were going to be opened, or how much was going to be allotted for each office. This does not seem to be a satisfactory method of estimating any amount. I quite appreciate that, in matters of this kind, you cannot get down to a very close figure, but I should think in arriving at a substantial figure such as \$400,000, some consideration must have been given to the amount required for each of the offices which the department contemplated opening and that there would be some allowance for each. There should be some breakdown of items as large as that. Surely the department is not just taking an item like \$400,000 out of the air and saying, "We had better have that as a reserve amount in case we open up an office here or there"?—A. No definite decision had been taken last November as to exactly which of the new offices would be opened or the actual timing of them. It was known we had commitments to open offices in various places. The main consideration in determining the timing of the opening would be when you could provide some kind of staff for the office. You cannot make an exact estimate on that type of thing. As I say, we are trying to keep that figure down in the main estimates which have to be prepared a long time in advance of when we know the amount which will be required during the year, because the only thing we know is that five or six offices may be opened.

Q. When was this estimate prepared?—A. In November.

Q. Has the situation clarified now so it is possible to give a more detailed explanation?—A. What is happening right at the present time is that the department is preparing as detailed an estimate as possible of the requirements of each of the offices which have already been opened. These requirements are being charged against that \$400,000 to see how much may be required for the five offices. We will then have to go to our minister and get him to give us an opinion as to what, if any, offices may be opened between now and next April. Based on his decision on that we will have to add another round sum to our amount required for offices that may still be opened, in determining whether or not we should submit an amount in the supplementary estimates for the purpose.

Q. That step, by way of reviewing the rough estimate of last November has not yet been taken?—A. Just yesterday we received a request for details on any supplementary estimates which might be required, so that step is

beginning to-day.

#### By Mr. Cote:

Q. If I understand you correctly, in the supplementary estimates there will be some clarification of the amount which is already in these estimates?—A. No, it has not been the practice to break that down further. The details of how we are allocating that may be given very easily.

Q. In the supplementary estimates?—A. In an explanation of your supple-

mentary estimates, yes.

Q. This is the minimum amount which would probably be required?—A. Yes, I think probably there will have to be a supplementary estimate for that purpose.

# By Mr. Croll:

Q. Until such time as we have opened all the offices we desire to open, this sort of thing will continue?—A. Yes.

Q. You are planning for the same thing in the future?—A. Yes.

# By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask a question concerning an article which appeared in the press? There was a report in the press that Jean Desy who, I think it is generally accepted by all, has been doing such a good job in Brazil, was about to leave his post at Rio de Janeiro. It was also stated that a diplomatic mission for Canada was to be established in Italy again. How far has that developed? I suppose that cannot develop until such time as the peace treaty between Canada and Italy is signed. What is the situation now, as between Italy and Canada, on the diplomatic level?

Mr. Core: Mr. Chairman, I do not want to interrupt, but I think that is a question which should be asked either of the minister or the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. It is a matter of policy more than a matter of expense. I do not think it is fair to ask Mr. Matthews to make statements in regard to the actual situation.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. All I am interested in is the fact that we are dealing with the miscellaneous item of \$400,000 for prospective missions. Now, all I want to know is whether in that figure any provision is made for the opening of an Italian embassy. I do not care whether the witness answers the question or not. Our peace treaty with Italy has not been signed, but there was a report in the press

that Jean Desy from Brazil was to be transferred from the Brazilian embassy to a new Italian one when the peace treaties were signed.—A. Any decision about opening or not opening a new mission is the decision of the government. I do not think I can answer that question.

Q. In other words, the decision has not been made; if it had been made

you would know about it?-A. Yes.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. We have a list of consulates and vice-consulates; is this a complete list?—A. That is a complete list. The officers in New York and Portugal are the complete list of the consulates that are staffed by Canadian External Affairs personnel. There are consulates in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and Caracas, Venezuela, where all the staff are commercial intelligence service staff and they are given consular rank; the intention being that if straight consular as opposed to commercial work occurs we would send a member of our staff.

Mr. CROLL: On the other page there is mention of Portland, Maine.

Mr. COLDWELL: That is in Maine.

Q. I notice we have nobody in the United States on the Pacific coast. Mr. CROLL: Oh, you were referring to the Pacific coast?

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. We have some trade commissioners there, have we not?—A. In Los Angeles, yes.

Q. The trade commissioner—that is the one I am thinking of—the trade commissioner in Los Angeles has no status as a consul or vice-consul?—A. No.

Q. I know that when I was in Los Angeles I met a number of Canadians and they asked me to bring, on some appropriate occasion, the matter to the attention of the House because they felt that with the large number of Canadians on the Pacific coast—and at that time there were many people going from the east to Los Angeles and San Francisco—it would be useful to have either a vice-consul or someone with official status there to look after the needs of Canadians who were in that area. I notice that we have nobody there. I am not asking you this question because it is not in your department. Later I shall ask Mr. Pearson what consideration will be given to this matter. However, I thought I would ask if we had a complete list here.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Sweden and Denmark are not included in this list.—A. We have appointed charge d'affaires in Sweden but we have not got a large staff there. Any expenses in connection with Sweden at the moment are being charged to the appropriation for new offices. Denmark is put with Norway on the appropriations, the minister to Norway being accredited to Denmark.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, Mr. Pearson is here now. Mr. Matthews will remain with us. We will continue until 12.30. Shall I call Mr. Pearson now?

Mr. Jackman: May I ask Mr. Matthews a further question with regard to exchange rates, and whether they come under his supervision? Do we find that we get fair treatment in the exchange of our Canadian dollars or whatever funds we use to buy the currencies of countries in which we have embassies established—for instance, Russia? I understand that they have one rate of exchange for rubles for foreigners which is quite different from the ordinary commercial rate of exchange. Is there any discrimination against us?

The Witness: They give a special rate for funds required by diplomatic missions which is far more favourable than the commercial rate. The commercial rate is five to the U.S. dollar and the rate for diplomatic purposes is

twelve to the U.S. dollar.

Mr. Jackman: So it is in our favour rather than against us?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Croll: It is not discrimination if it is in our favour.

The CHAIRMAN: We will now call on Mr. Pearson.

# Lester B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, recalled:

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Perhaps you can answer, Mr. Pearson, the question I asked with respect to representation on the Pacific coast, just to clear that matter up. I refer to consular or vice-consular representation in a particularly important place like Los Angeles.—A. We have no representation of any kind from External Affairs on the Pacific coast—no consular representation. As I think Mr. Matthews mentioned, there is however still a trade commissioner in Los Angeles. The Department of Trade and Commerce are, I believe, considering the closing of that office. If that were done there would be no Canadian official of any kind on the Pacific coast. I was in Los Angeles some time ago, and the mayor of that city was lamenting the fact that out of a consular corps of thirty or so there was no Canadian. On all official occasions the Canadian people were represented by the trade commissioner, who was at the bottom of the protocol list—whatever that may mean—yet the people there of Canadian origin were second in number to the Mexicans. I think he said there were 200,000 or 300,000 Canadians in Los Angeles county.

By Mr. Croll:

A. That, of course, is a matter of government policy. Possibly it would be appropriate for me to say that the department for many years has been planning for the establishment of a Canadian consular service. Before the war, plans had been drawn up for that purpose, but the war came along and those plans had to be shelved. Our consular service, however, did begin during the war. It happened that the first Canadian consul was appointed not to New York or Los Angeles or some large city like that but to a place called Ivigtut in Greenland. That arose out of the emergencies of the war. When Denmark was overrun we discovered to our surprise that one of the most important spots on the map as far as the war industry was concerned was Ivigtut, where cryolite comes from, which is indispensable to the manufacture of aluminum.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Who made the appointment?—A. External Affairs.

Q. Who was appointed?—A. Mr. Kirkwood.

Q. I thought he was. He came from the county of Peel.—A. We did not

leave him there very long.

Q. He did the work so fast he did not have to be left there long.—A. Since that time we have appointed other consuls. We are now preparing plans for the establishment of a Canadian consular service in the United States. We have a Consular Division in the department which is working out these plans, and we have an official of the department who is at present visiting the British consulates in the United States to see how they operate and what proportion of their work is Canadian work. He will report on the whole situation when he comes back next month.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. How do you tie in with the Department of Trade and Commerce with respect to these consular services?—A. The trade commissioners in certain capitals are given consular status. The Canadian Trade Commissioner in Caracas, Venezuela, is Canadian consul as well as trade commissioner, and the Trade Commissioner in Lisbon is Canadian consul as well as trade commissioner. When a trade commissioner is operating in a dual capacity he is responsible both to the Department of Trade and Commerce and to the Department of External Affairs—Trade and Commerce in regard to trade work and External Affairs in regard to consular work. The two departments work

closely together.

Q. I should like to make a suggestion following up the remark made by Mr. Coldwell concerning Los Angeles. In Gautemala City the trade commissioner there is working under a severe handicap by reason of the fact that he is known as the commissioner. A commissioner in Latin American countries is regarded as a person who opens the door of a motor car or does some similar work. He is not understood to be an appointee of a government; I think the Guatemala appointment is the only one of its kind in Central America, and Mr. Birkett who is there finds himself at a considerable disadvantage in not having any status which is recognized in those Latin American countries. I should think that if you consider appointing any more consuls you should give consideration to such a case as that.—A. The department will be very glad to give consideration to that and similar situations. Of course, we have to do this with the Department of Trade and Commerce. A Central American post—such as the one at Guatemala—might be a suitable one for translation into a consular post, and we shall be glad to take that matter up with the Department of Trade and Commerce.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I presume that you will have to have increased expenses if you wanted to take such consular activities?—A. Where a trade commissioner becomes a consul the increased expenditure is nominal because he is the same person and he has the same office. When we open new consulate posts we will require large appropriations.

Mr. Coldwell: I think the committee should understand that.

Mr. Jackman: There are certain economies in the running of the office because once you get diplomatic status as consul you have certain privileges which the trade commissioners do not get.

Mr. Graydon: What about the western cities: have we any representation

in Chicago?

The Witness: The Department of Trade and Commerce have a trade commissioner in Chicago, and it is contemplated that when we establish consular service in the United States this office will become a consulate.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is it possible for Mr. Pearson to tell us if the department is contemplating the policy of appointing Canadian consuls at points where we used to be served, for instance, by the British officers?—A. Yes; it is contemplated that the work done for Canada in the United States which has been so well done and so willingly done over many years by the British consuls—it may be that the time has come when we should take over that work ourselves. The fact that the head of our Consular Division is in the United States now surveying that situation, is an indication that the government are contemplating such a change. I think myself—it is only a personal view—that it is inappropriate for our department to ask the United Kingdom government through their consuls in

the United States to do Canadian work. However, they have always done that work efficiently and willingly and I am hopeful that when we have consular offices in United States cities where there is no United Kingdom consul that we may be able to reciprocate and to help them.

Mr. Coldwell: How did you get away with an expenditure of \$800 in Maine?

The Witness: He is an honorary consul and gets no salary; he gets an honorarium.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, I believe it will be in order now to call item 41 of the External Affairs estimates. It is on page 8.

Mr. Beaudoin: Is this the place to ask whether the department bought that house in New York or not?'

The Chairman: I believe it will be in order for Mr. Pearson to make a statement in that regard.

Mr. Croll: Does Mr. Pearson want to cover the matter concerning the house again?

The Witness: The house in Washington? As far as I am concerned I am quite satisfied with the discussion we had at the last meeting.

Mr. CROLL: Let us leave it at that.

Mr. Graydon: The question was asked as to whether the house had been bought. I understand there was a dead-line a week ago Saturday. However, some felt that it was a slightly offensive question from the political point of view and that I should ask the minister rather than in any way involve members of the department. I should like the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to feel free to answer if he feels there was nothing in that question that would involve him or the department.

The Witness: I should be glad to answer any question I can so far as the house is concerned. May I say that from our viewpoint the meeting we held here was helpful. I reported to the minister, but it was not possible to get any further action in the East Block at the time, so I asked Mr. Wrong if he could secure an extension. He has secured an extension for a few days, giving the government a little more time to come to a decision. I am hopeful that the decision will be made to-day and that it will be possible to tell Mr. Wrong this evening that he can go ahead with the purchase of the house; but I am not sure

Mr. Graydon: You take a rather optimistic view.

Mr. CROLL: So do we.

Mr. GRAYDON: I would expect that.

Mr. Croll: I would be disappointed if there is no decision.

The CHAIRMAN: We will ask Mr. Pearson to proceed.

The Witness: I think the item the committee might like me to discuss is that which provides a vote concerning the Information Division of the Department. This matter came up, I believe, when I was in New York, and I think it was suggested that when I returned I might say a few words about the plans of the department regarding information activities and answer any questions that I could on this matter. I do not suppose it is necessary for me to say anything about the importance of information work abroad. Nearly every Foreign Office in the world now has an information division or an information section. It has become customary for the external information work of a government to be centred in the foreign office—more customary than it used to be. During the war, you will remember, many governments had their own separate information services, sometimes under the control of a separate

minister. Since the war there has been a tendency toward the amalgamation of the separate information departments with the foreign offices. That is true in Washington and it is true in London. We feel in the department that external

information work is a legitimate function of the department.

In a sense every representative of the department abroad from ambassador to the third secretary is an information officer. But in another sense there is room for specialized information officers; men who have been recruited for a particular purpose and who have some knowledge of and experience in information work.

The importance of that work is not merely that it projects Canada abroad, and tells foreign peoples about our achievements; but it is also important from the point of view of trade promotion. That is one of the most important aspects of information work abroad; to provide a background for the promotion of trade. The more foreigners know about our country, the more likely they are, if the information is the right kind of information—in the case of Canada it always is—to trade with our country. It is also important—

Mr. Graydon: Has the Department of Trade and Commerce a special information service?

The Witness: No, they have not any special external information service. They have, I think, an information division for the Department of Trade and Commerce; but the information work of the Department of Trade and Commerce abroad—is done through their Trade Commissioner officers and our legations, embassies and consulates. The co-ordination of that work at this end is through the interdepartmental committee on which both Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, and other agencies of the country concerned with information, are represented. We work closely with Trade and Commerce in this field.

Before last February—I think it was February—there was, as you know, a Canadian Information Service. It was not responsible to External Affairs in any way, though it worked closely with External Affairs. At that time there was also an information section in the department. As the result of a government decision taken, I think, in February, the Canadian Information Service went out of existence. Possibly it would be better to say that its external

activities were transferred to the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. Graydon: What happened to the domestic side?

The Witness: The domestic activities dropped. We are concerned in the department now only with external information. We have nothing to do with any internal information service. We have now taken over the Canadian Information Service, and most of its staff including the director, Mr. Andrew. He became head of the information division of the Department. It was not an easy job at first to integrate the former information service into the department, which was the natural place for it to rest.

Mr. Graydon: That is a good word.

The Witness: From one point of view, it was a marriage of convenience, because the Department was the most convenient place for it to be. So it took a little time to get the Information Service completely integrated into the Department. That integration has now taken place. The information division is an important part of the External Affairs department. Mr. Andrew has done a fine job as head of the division and we are very sorry indeed that he is leaving the government service.

Mr. Graydon: When did you get this news?

Mr. Croll: Now, because he is being frank with you about the possibility of Mr. Andrew leaving the government service—

The WITNESS: Mr. Andrew has resigned from the department.

Mr. Coldwell: Can you tell us why?

The Witness: He has resigned from the department because he has been offered and accepted a very attractive post in the University of British Columbia.

#### (Discussion off the record.)

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. I see the amount here for Canadian information service, totalling \$169,000-odd. The smallest amount is for \$5,200. That is the Australian amount. Would it be possible to ask for a break-down of these figures? I imagine it would be a large undertaking. Would it be possible to break down the small amount of \$5,200 as a sort of yardstick for what would be happening elsewhere?—A. The Australian break-down which I have before me is: temporary assistance \$2,890; printing and stationery \$310; telegraph and telephone \$250; postage \$250; travel and removal \$700; sundries \$800.

Q. Would it be fair to say that would be a general formula of what has occurred all along the way?—A. I have the same kind of break-down for London,

and it is roughly in the same proportion.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. How do you reconcile the total of information service for 1947-1948 estimates of \$169,000 with the item for publicity and information \$241,200?—A. I wonder if the members of the committee would mind if I leaned heavily on the accounting officers for information in these separate items because I do not know as much about them as they do. Mr. Matthews and Mr. Clark are here.

Q. Do they relate to the same thing, or is there a difference?

Mr. Matthews: The \$169,000 I gave you to-day?

Mr. JACKMAN: Yes.

Mr. Matthews: That is for the amount to be spent abroad under vote 43 for representation abroad. The \$241,000 is part of the fund to be spent in Ottawa included in vote 41. It is a separate fund altogether.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. I would like to ask Mr. Pearson this question with regard to the transfer of the C.I.S. to the External Affairs department: With regard to the amount being spent abroad, does that mean that from now on there will no longer be any service given by Canadian Information Service in Canada?—A. That is right. In this case we have no concern whatever in the department with domestic information but we do, of course, give information on external affairs.

Q. The transfer of C.I.S. into the department, I understand, left no staff or organization where it was before and, therefore, there is no work being carried on with regard to domestic consumption as far as information service is

concerned?-A. I think that is right.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. The total amount spent on information is a combination of the two items \$169,000 and \$241,000 or a total of \$410,000; am I correct in that?—A. The \$169,000 covers work abroad; the departmental administration of information is, I think \$477,144. The total amount of money spent on information in the department and in its operations abroad is \$477,000 plus \$169,000. That is the total appropriation, the total estimates—\$646,550.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Of course, the difference is involved because of the cost of printing and so forth plus the staff here and plus various incidentals attached to the publications?—A. That is right. Publications in that amount come to \$103,000.

Mr. Croll: May I help the committee out a bit? I took some figures from Hansard that were given by Mr. Claxton when he was the Minister of Health showing the cost of information in other countries last year. Our budget was,

I think, \$640,000. The Netherlands last year spent \$864,000 for the same sort of service; Brazil spent \$2,000,000; Australia spent \$1,419,000; Great Britain spent \$30,588,000; the United States spent \$24,584,000. Those were the figures placed on *Hansard* by Mr. Claxton. I looked them up. I anticipated that a question might arise and I thought it would be interesting for the committee to have those figures before it. The staffs are comparable. I have the staffs here.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. How many have you in the information division in New York, Mr. Pearson?—A. We have now, in New York, a staff of 8, I believe, and 10 in Washington, which gives us a total of 18 employees in the U.S.A., including stenographers and clerks. The Australian News and Information Bureau has 35 employees in the United States; the Chinese have 40; the French Press and Information Service, the French News Agency, 62, and their Information Service, 64; the British Information Service has 213 employees in the United States and the Netherlands Information Bureau has 25.

Q. How many has the Soviet?—A The USSR break-down is not so

enlightening.

Q. It is not exactly an orthodox one?—A. It is not normal in the sense that the Tass Agency, is an agency of the Soviet Government and has 38 people. The Soviet government also has a good many people in information work who are actually members of their embassies.

Mr. Coldwell: Leaving aside the Russian representation, to some extent our small representation in the United States would be due to our proximity to the United States and the remoteness of Australia and the Netherlands.

Mr. Croll: Following that line of thought, I have a note that in Britain the French Information Service has a staff of 12, the Netherlands 17, Australia 21, the United States 53 and the Canadian Information Service 4. Have you any more than four there now?

Mr. Coldwell: That does not bear out my suggestion, then?

Mr. Croll: Not in so far as the distances are concerned. What number have we in the information service in France?

The WITNESS: We have two or three people in Paris.

Mr. Croll: We had four last year, compared with Australia which had 21.

The Witness: The situation with regard to distance brought up by Mr. Coldwell is quite true. We are so close to the United States that we have facilities for the exchange of news and information which probably do not exist in the case of Australia which is so far away. On the other hand, you might argue that our relationship to the United States is so very important to us that it is even more important than in the case of Australia that we be accurately known in the United States.

Mr. Graydon: We are not very accurately known now in certain quarters. I have letters coming to me and I suppose the other members of the committee do too, containing comments of the same character as one hears on any street in any city in the United States which are to the effect that Canadians pay taxes to the British government. This false impression has concerned a great many of our Canadian people who have written to me and to others, I have no doubt. It seems that matter, along with a number of other things, is agitating the American mind from time to time. Those are the things which our information service might try to correct.

Mr. Coldwell: I think, to do it, we would have to try to get into the educational institutions, Mr. Graydon. I was addressing a teachers' convention on one occasion in an American city. After I had spoken, I was asked how I

could call Canada a democratic self-governing country when we paid taxes to Great Britain and had to do what the Governor General told us. This question was asked by the principal of a high school in one of the American cities.

## By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is not your staff in the information branch also supervising the work of the Tourist Bureau in the United States as well as elsewhere?—A. There is co-operation with the Tourist Bureau, but the Tourist Bureau, I believe, have their own offices.

Q. But is not your staff supervising the work and also acting as a sort

of clearing house?—A. That is true of New York.

Q. For the trade and commerce activities?—A. That is quite right, especially in the United States. The ignorance in the United States concerning Canada, to which reference has been made, is appalling. Having lived there for some years and gone around the country making speeches, I am in the same position in which the members of the committee are to appreciate that.

Mr. Cote: They even called Mr. Hepburn the Prime Minister of Canada. Mr. Graydon: Some of you fellows were not so very far away from that

yourselves.

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Jackman will remember that we once had a police escort in Baltimore because they insisted the Prime Minister of Canada was with us.

The Witness: You will appreciate the difficulty our information service has in coping with this situation when you realize we have only two officers in New York and two in Washington. We could do a lot more work in this regard if we had more resources, more employees. At the same time, it is not true to say that only these four offices are information offices. Every Canadian official in the United States is an information officer or should be, and that applies to the most senior as well as to the most junior. The Canadian ambassador, who, through the radio reaches an audience of 15,000,000 people, is acting as an information officer. He has a far better opportunity than a grade 2 clerk of appearing on such a program, and important information work is done by taking advantage of that kind of opportunity.

# By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is not your small staff also supervising the distribution of Canadian films as well as supervising the radio broadcasts made on the network in favour of Canada?—A. Our information people abroad, do whatever radio information work has to be done. The film board, has its own representation in New York and Washington.

Mr. JAQUES: Was not the recent chairman of the film board—is he the chairman, president or manager, what is he, Mr. Grierson? Was he not refused

admission into the United States this year?

Mr. Croll: I have heard that statement, but Mr. Grierson is in the United States now. He was never refused admission. There was some report went out to that effect, but that is not true. When I was in New York the last time I made some enquiries. He is in the United States now and carrying on business. I do not think that report is true, Mr. Jaques.

Mr. Beaudoin: Did I understand you correctly, Mr. Pearson, in reply to Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Graydon, to state that the ignorance of the American people

was appalling-

Mr. Graydon: On this point. Mr. Beaudoin: Which point? Mr. Graydon: The point we have been discussing.

The Witness: I did not say, I hope, that the ignorance of the American people was appalling. What I meant to say was that the ignorance of the American people about Canadian matters is appalling to a Canadian.

Mr. Beaudoin: About what things are they ignorant? Do the people of the United States know there are two important ethnical groups in this country, or do they think we are still a colony or something like that? What is it? I should like to know more about this because, while I knew there might have been an opportunity of informing the American people about Canada, I never thought the situation was as bad as it would seem to be.

#### By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Just on that point, would you say the American universities were as well posted on Canadian affairs as the Canadian universities are on American affairs?—A. I would say there is no institution in the United States as well posted on Canadian affairs as we are on American affairs. But that is to be expected. In the United States you have 140,000,000 people and what they do has an important immediate effect upon us, but what we are doing does not often immediately impinge on them.

There is another point. We are their good friends. We talk the same language; and appreciate the same things. The American people are therefore inclined to take us for granted, in the the same way that someone from North Dakota takes someone from New York for granted. We often do not make a much greater impact upon the consciousness of the American people than a State in the Union does. Therefore, Americans do not think it necessary to learn

as much about us as they should.

I think, however, that the situation is changing, especially in the last year or so. During that time, the United States has become conscious, not only of our contribution to the war, but of our importance in the post-war scheme of things, economically and strategically. The United States is becoming more interested in Canada.

The Chairman: I think I told the members of the committee that when we went to Flushing Meadows, we were much impressed by the C.B.C. there. We heard a lot of favourable comments from American listeners concerning what was being broadcast. Is there any contact between the C.B.C. and the information service?

The Witness: We have an inter-departmental committee on short-wave radio broadcasting. The Information Division works very closely with the C.B.C. but there is no organic connection between the two.

Mr. Coldwell: Where our C.B.C. news service can reach the American people, I have found they are inclined to listen to our news rather than their own news.

# By Mr. Cote:

Q. In the light of your experience in the United States in this regard and also in relation to our tourist trade which is the most important we have between this country and the United States, do you not think we are too shy at promoting ourselves in the United States with this, what I will call trivial amount, of \$169,000? I know it is quite an embarrassing question because the estimates come from your department but I, for one, with the little experience I have had in the field really feel, in this new era, after the war is over and we have to reorient our views with regard to international relations and more particularly in view of the tourist bureau business, feel we may be a little too shy at promoting ourselves in the United States. I do not know how it is possible to do a good job with that small amount of money. I am asking you, in the light

of your experience. If you wish to answer or wish to speak off the record, I should like to ask you to do so. I think your viewpoint is most important.—A. In so far as the tourist business is concerned, of course, it falls under another department. I do not know whether it is really appropriate for me to comment on information policy generally, which is the responsibility of the government, but I think it goes without saying that the relations between Canada and the U.S. are very important, and that anything we can do to increase the knowledge in the United States of Canadian affairs would be useful in maintaining a good understanding. It would also serve as a useful background for trade and for the tourist traffic between the two countries.

Mr. Graydon: May I make one suggestion there? This is not altogether a question of information; this is a question of public relations to a large extent, as my good friend Mr. Cote who is an expert on matters of this kind would testify to. There are in the United States, I suppose, a very large number of Canadians. I have no idea how many there are, but they are scattered all over the United States.

Mr. Jaques: Do you mean by Canadians, former Canadians?

Mr. Graydon: I mean, perhaps, people who have been Canadians and have the interest of Canada at heart. We will not make any great distinction one way or another.

Mr. Jaques: In the case of a man who has taken the oath of allegiance to another country I think his interest in his former country is nil.

Mr. Graydon: Suppose we admit everything you say and still come to my point. Suppose we take all these people out and still have some people left of the type I am referring to, either hundreds of thousands or millions.

Mr. CROLL: 4,000,000.

Mr. Graydon: 4,000,000 people. I would be inclined to think that one good way of handling public relations in the United States would be through whatever organizations the Canadians have down there, or perhaps by encouraging groups of people who are interested in Canada—to help them along on a voluntary basis. It seems to me that we could place in the hands of these people in the United States who are friends of Canada answers to these questions that are being posed all the time by American people; and in doing that we would go a long way toward solving some of our public relations difficulties.

Mr. Cote: Unfortunately, of those 4,000,000 people most of them live in New England states and, therefore, the great majority of the states would not be covered.

Mr. Graydon: I understand that. I am not suggesting it as a solution or a substitution for what we are doing; but I am indicating that there is a field there which I think we might use a little more than we are at the present time.

Mr. Cote: My point of view is this: I do not see how we can cope with the requirements of modern times if we are to do a good job between Canada and the United States—I do not see how we can do that job on the basis of the amount being spent. It is impossible.

Mr. Graydon: I am not dealing with the amount being spent; I was adding the additional fact that I thought it would be important, because there is nothing that spreads as quickly as the ordinary relationship of the ordinary community. You do not have to advertise on the radio or in newspapers. The same things quickly gain momentum and velocity in the way of circulation through a community. In addition to our work on publicity and extension work I think it is a source that might be tackled because I believe that a large number of these people are very much interested in having in their hands something that they can work on and talk about Canada. It is a suggestion, and I am thinking out loud.

Mr. Cote: I will ask this last question. Mr. Pearson, of course this does not involve any contribution that Canada is bound to make to UNESCO?

The WITNESS: No, it does not cover UNESCO at all.

Mr. Jaques: I would like to mention one other angle. I have had some public experience in the United States. While I have found no Canadian feeling down there or any Canadian propaganda, I have found a tremendous anti-British propaganda, and for my part I cannot separate the two things. I am British enough to tie the two things together. There is in the United States at the present time, and there has been for years, anti-British propaganda.

Mr. Cote: It is not made by Canada.

Mr. Jaques: Oh, no; but it is hard to separate the two.

Mr. Croll: They separate the two down there.

Mr. Jackman: I am questioning—

Mr. Jaques: Mr. Chairman, I made a remark and I wonder if Mr. Pearson would care to comment on what I have said.

The Witness: I would be glad to comment on what Mr. Jaques has said, which has some bearing on what Mr. Graydon has said. There is no doubt that there is a great feeling of friendship in the United States for Canada; Canada has, I think, more friends in the United States than any other foreign country has. When I talked about ignorance of Canada I was not referring to ignorance arising out of enmity but ignorance, if I may put it that way, based on friendship; they take us for granted.

Mr. Graydon: We stand ace high.

The Witness: We do indeed. There are many former Canadians living in the United States who have something to do with that. The difficulty in using them as centres of Canadian information in the United States is first that we have no offices outside of New York and Washington except the two trade commissioner offices. When we have consulates, one of their jobs would be to exploit this Canadian feeling through contacts with Canadians. But that is not going to be easy for the very reason that Canadians when they go to the United States become so completely identified with the American community that they do not form blocs, as European blocs are formed. The very fact that they do not form blocs contributes to the good relations between the two countries.

Mr. Graydon: But those individuals have much more influence than if they were established in a bloc?

The Witness: Quite so. Wherever one goes he is made aware of the responsible positions in every field of activity held by former Canadians. They seem to do pretty well over there.

As to the anti-British feeling mentioned, there is an instinctive pro-Canadian feeling in the United States and there is an instinctive anti-British feeling in some quarters.

Mr. Jackman: And a pro-British feeling too.

The Witness: There is, of course, a pro-British feeling as well. The hereditary anti-British feeling in certain sections has, however, often been very vocal.

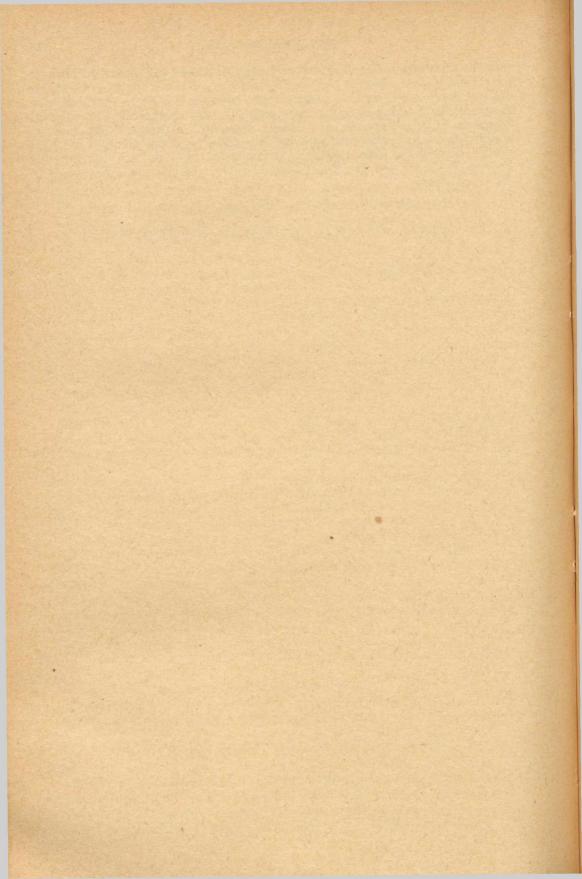
Mr. Jackman: That is where they think we still pay taxes to Great Britain.

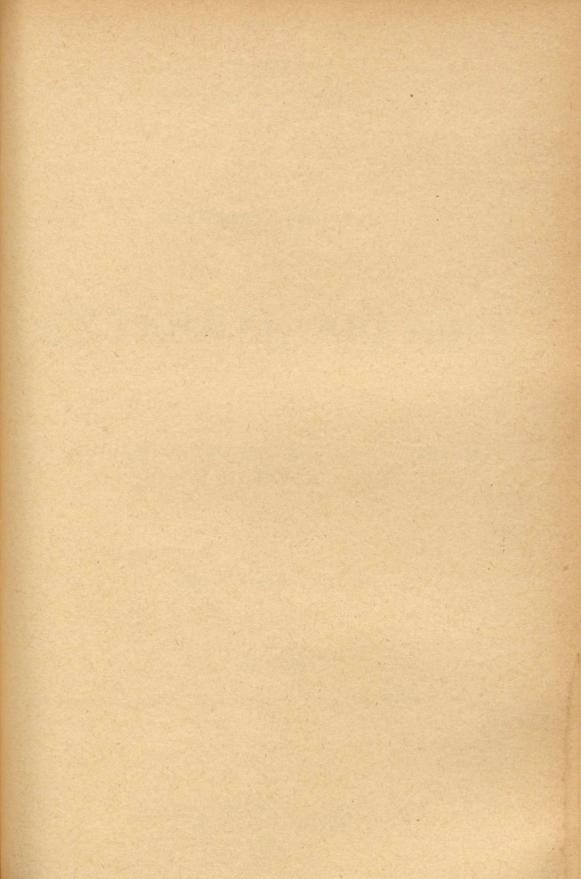
The Witness: This has an association with our Canadian public relations problem because of the fact that certain sections still believe that we are a British colony. I believe, however, that the anti-British feeling which was mentioned is not nearly as strong as it used to be. That would be my own personal impression.

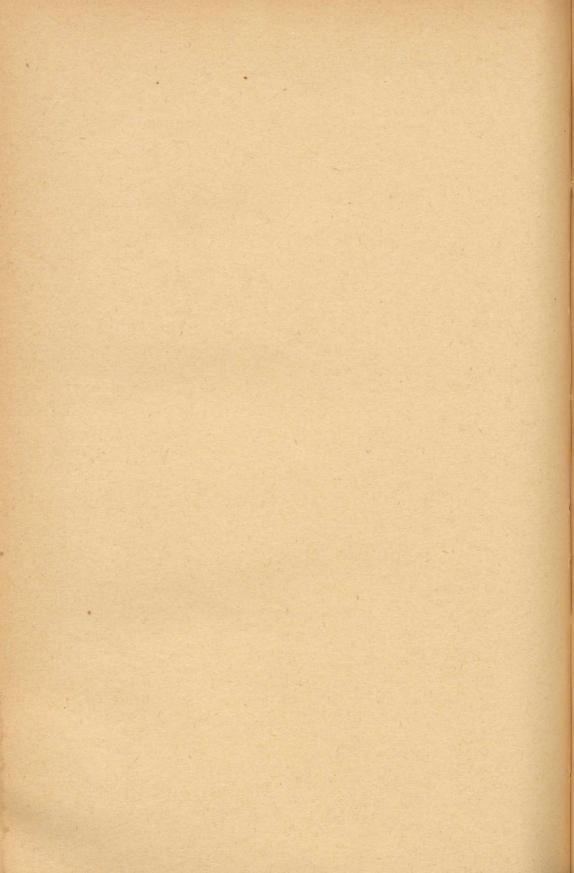
The Charman: Mr. Pearson and Mr. Matthews will probably have to come back for our next meeting on Friday for a discussion of these estimates; but just before we conclude our meeting we have the honour to have sitting in the room this morning a distinguished guest, the Rev. Kwan Sik Kim, General Secretary of the Presbyterian General Assembly in Korea. Mr. Kim in addition to holding other qualifications, is a doctor of divinity and at one time studied theology at Knox College in Toronto and took his M.A. at Princeton University. I will ask Dr. Kim to come to the front and say a few words to the committee.

(Dr. Kim addressed the meeting in private.)

The committee adjourned to meet on Friday, May 30, at 10.30 a.m.







# SESSION 1947 HOUSE OF COMMONS

# STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No 8

FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1947

#### WITNESS

Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,

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#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, May 30, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Bradette, Coldwell, Hackett, Isnor, Jaenicke, Kidd, Knowles, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Pinard, Winkler.—(13).

In attendance: Mr. John K. Stearns.

Before proceeding to the consideration of departmental estimates, the Committee definitely agreed to hear General A. G. L. MacNaughton on Thursday, June 5, and Friday, June 6 next, on the Atomic Energy Report, referred to the Committee.

Mr. Lester B. Pearson was recalled and questioned on items 41 and 43—Departmental Administration and Representation Abroad. He was assisted by Mr. W. D. Matthews and Mr. H. F. Clark.

In answer to questions asked at the preceding meeting, Mr. Pearson tabled the following documents:

- 1. A list of Ambassadors, with dates of appointments, etc.
- 2. A table showing Non-Canadian diplomatic and non-diplomatic employees in Ottawa of the U.S.S.R. Embassy.

Ordered,—That the above tables be printed. (See Appendices "A" and "B" to this day's evidence).

Several items of the estimates were allowed to stand for further consideration.

The Committee began the study of Bill 132 dealing with Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations which reads as follows:—

Article 41—The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

It was decided to continue the study of this Bill on Tuesday, June 10, on motion of Mr. Marquis.

At 11.15, the Committee adjourned until Thursday, June 5, at 10.30 o'clock a.m.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.

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#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons,

May 30, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, I will now call the meeting to order. Before we proceed with Mr. Pearson and the estimates, I should like to receive advice from the members of the committee on one matter. As you are aware, next week we are going to have General McNaughton for a meeting on the Atomic Energy report. This will take place Thursday and Friday. I was afraid for a while it would be impossible for General McNaughton to be here on Thursday since he is speaking at Lake Success on Wednesday, but he is taking the plane Wednesday night so as to be here Thursday morning. It should be possible to hold our meeting from 10.30 to 12.30 on Thursday. We expect to sit again on Friday if we do not complete our business on Thursday.

Will the members of the committee agree that two meetings next week will be sufficient? I say that because on Tuesday the radio committee has a very important meeting which makes it impossible for some members to attend this committee. If it is agreed, we will hold two meetings next week on Thursday and Friday.

Mr. Coldwell: That is agreeable. When are we going to deal with article 41 which was referred to us.

The CHAIRMAN: To-day. You mean this bill?

Mr. Coldwell: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: When will we deal with the bill?

Mr. Coldwell: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: We will have to refer that to the steering committee.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think we should delay any longer than is absolutely necessary.

The Chairman: That might be the next order of business after we finish with General McNaughton. I will ask Mr. Pearson to continue his evidence.

Mr. Coldwell: What is the item.

Mr. Pearson: Are we still on the information service item?

The Chairman: I believe there were to be some questions answered which were asked in the last meeting. Then, I suppose you will take up item 41. I believe that was the intention.

Mr. Pearson: I cannot recall, Mr. Chairman, that there were any specific questions which remained open so far as I was concerned. Mr. Fraser, who is not here at the moment, told me at the end of the last meeting he had some further question on this subject. However, he is not here.

Mr. Coldwell: Let us pass on to something else.

Mr. Pearson: There were some questions arising out of Mr. Matthews' discussion previously. I do not know whether he would like to deal with them now or I can deal with them with him.

The Chairman: I believe it would be in order now to call item 41 which will throw open the administration field for discussion.

Mr. Coldwell: We discussed a number of departmental items earlier.

Mr. Pearson: In connection with item 43, Mr. Chairman, in the previous discussions a question was asked about the dates of departure of heads of missions and the dates of appointment of their successors. I think it was Mr. Graydon who wanted that information. We have secured that information and I have it before me. It shows when an ambassador or minister left his post for a new post and when his successor was appointed as well as when he reached his new post.

Mr. Coldwell: Could that not go into the record?

The Chairman: Is it agreed this go into the record as an appendix? Agreed.

Mr. Pearson: There was also a question asked Mr. Matthews concerning the non-Canadian diplomatic and non-diplomatic employees in Ottawa in the USSR embassy. I have that information here. It shows that the diplomatic employees in the USSR embassy numbered ten males. The non-diplomatic employees, those who are not entitled to diplomatic immunities or privileges, number sixteen men and three women, divided between the embassy proper, the military attache's office, the commercial counsellor's office, the Tass News Agency and the Soviet Film Agency. This makes a total personnel of 26 men and 3 women, twenty-nine people.

Mr. Coldwell: That could go into the record as well.

Mr. Knowles: That does not include household servants?

Mr. Matthews: That is all the Russians there are in the list of employees. So far as we know they had no Canadian servants, so we assume this must include servants.

The Chairman: Is it agreed that this be put in the record as an appendix? Agreed.

Mr. Knowles: Mr. Chairman, our total personnel including both Canadians and Russians in Moscow would be pretty close to that figure, would it not?

Mr. Matthews: We have ten Canadians there at the moment and eight people engaged locally as members of the staff. We have no record of what servants our people may have because they employ them personally and pay them personally. Therefore, we have 18 on the government payroll. Probably there would be several other servants employed which would bring it up to about twenty-five.

Mr. MacInnis: Did you say ten of those were Canadians from Canada?

Mr. Matthews: Yes.

Mr. MacInnis: And eight people were locally engaged?

Mr. Matthews: Yes.

Mr. Coldwell: They would be of Russian nationality? Mr. Matthews: Yes, and I think there is one Greek.

Mr. Knowles: There is a chauffeur, a couple of messengers and an interpreter?

Mr. Matthews: Yes, a furnace man and janitor.

Mr. Knowles: So, the staffs are about comparable. Mr. Chairman, I had to leave the meeting last week to attend another committee so if I ask a question which was asked before, you can let me know. What progress is being made in the matter of filling the post of ambassador to Russia? What are the reasons for the delay?

Mr. Pearson: There has not been a very great delay up to the present, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Wilgress left his post in March, I think, of this year.

It was towards the end of March or the beginning of April. Since that time the government has been giving consideration to a replacement. While there is no ambassador in Moscow at the present time, there is a chargé d'affaires. I believe there are two other secretaries who are carrying on the normal sort of diplomatic work of the embassy in Moscow in the absence of the ambassador. Of course, I am not in a position, myself, to say anything about the appointment of a successor. All I know is the matter is being given consideration.

Mr. Coldwell: It must be almost a year since Mr. Wilgress left Moscow?

Mr. Pearson: It is quite true during the last year Mr. Wilgress has been away from Moscow attending international conferences. This is a practice which the USSR people themselves understand because they have used their ambassadors in foreign posts, notably in Washington, for international conferences in exactly the same way. Their ambassador, at one stage, was away from Washington for nearly a year. I am not suggesting that as a reason why we should follow the same policy.

Mr. Knowles: The Russians have now made the former ambassador a permanent representative to the United Nations and replaced him at Washington.

Mr. Pearson: That is right.

Mr. Knowles: I realize it is not a matter for the Under Secretary of State, perhaps even to report upon, but it does seem to me the importance of relations between our country and the Soviet Union would dictate the desirability of that appointment being made as soon as possible. Situations can develop which make it rather embarrassing for a person whose rank is only that of Chargé d'Affaires to have to deal with the foreign minister in Moscow.

Mr. Pearson: There were a great many detailed questions which were asked at the previous session, smaller points of detail. I do not know whether the committee would care, Mr. Chairman, to go on to item 41.

Mr. Coldwell: I think we should go on and let those who asked the detailed questions follow up the matter. Many of them are not here this morning. I believe we should take up these things in which the rest of us are interested.

Mr. Pearson: Item 41 with which we were dealing last week, departmental administration, included a discussion of the information work of the department. So far as I am concerned I have nothing to add to what I said last week. If there are any further questions, of course, which might have arisen out of that discussion, I would be glad to try and answer them. As I mentioned, Mr. Fraser did say he wished to bring up some questions but he is not here.

Mr. Coldwell: I think we spent most of the morning on that so I think we are pretty well through with it.

Mr. Pearson: I have not any special points to bring up under this item, unless there are questions any member of the committee cares to raise which I will try to answer.

Mr. Coldwell: I was going to ask you how we are getting along with filling our posts in the various embassies, legations and so on, with people who can speak the language of the various countries to which they may be accredited. For a time, I believe in South America, we were short of people who were familiar with the Spanish language. Then, there is Japan. I suppose as soon as the Peace treaty is signed, we will be doing something about that.

Mr. Pearson: On that point, we are really rather fortunate in respect to the ability of our representatives abroad to speak the language of the country to which they are accredited. I think this is a very important advantage. In South America our ambassador in the Argentine is fluent in Spanish and makes all his speeches in Spanish. That is Mr. Chipman. Our Ambassador to

Brazil is fluent in Portuguese. He speaks it like a native. Our ambassador to Peru is as fluent in Spanish almost as he is in English. Our ambassador to Chile has only reached there recently and he is working very hard at Spanish. He will be able to conduct business in Spanish very shortly. Our ambassador designate to Mexico will be able to conduct affairs in Spanish by the time he gets there. Our representative in Tokyo, we have not an embassy or a legation there but we have a representative, is one of the outstanding Japanese scholars on this continent. He speaks Japanese colloquially.

Mr. MacInnis: Who is he?

Mr. Pearson: Mr. Herbert Norman. Our Chargé d'Affaires in the USSR is fluent in Russian and has occasionally acted as interpreter between the Russian Foreign Office people and British and American people.

Mr. Coldwell: I wonder how Mr. Davis will get along in Chinese. He is quite fluent in English, I remember from political conflicts with him in Saskatchewan.

Mr. Pearson: I think the Chinese office would be rather surprised if any member spoke to them in their own language.

Mr. Coldwell: I was not thinking so much of the top people as of the people who go from your department.

Mr. Pearson: We give instructions to those people to learn the language of the country to which they are going as quickly as possible. We try to give them as much notice as possible of the country to which they are going so they will be able to learn the language. We assume, of course, they are all able to speak French as well as English in any post.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any other questions? We can deal with the other items. This is almost a general discussion on any subject.

Will item 41 carry?

Carried.

I think those are all the items with which we can deal now. Mr. Graydon was asking some questions, but he is not here this morning. If the committee will wait for a few minutes we will try to find Mr. Graydon to give him an opportunity to finish his questioning.

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Graydon is away to-day. Is it item 42 on which you are now?

Mr. Matthews: I think it was item 43, representation abroad, in which Mr. Graydon was interested.

The Chairman: In connection with item 42, it was our intention to bring some officials from the immigration department here.

Mr. Coldwell: We could let that stand.

The Chairman: We can let item 42 stand. I think those are all the matters with which we can deal this morning.

Mr. Coldwell: Could we not go on to something else.

The CHAIRMAN: We might start Bill F. Would you be ready, Mr. Pearson, to discuss that bill?

Mr. Pearson: I did not expect to discuss it this morning, but there is no reason why, if the committee desires, that I cannot do what I can to help them in the consideration of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN: Bill F is a bill respecting article 41 of the charter of the United Nations. Section 2 deals with the powers of the Governor in Council and commences,

"When, in pursuance of article 41 of the charter of the United Nations-etc."

Mr. Low: Mr. Chairman, I think some questions were raised in the House the other day regarding this bill which the minister intended to answer. I understood that he had intended to come before the committee himself. For example, there was the question of whether the terms of this bill might run foul of provincial powers, and I think Mr. St. Laurent was going to clarify that matter before the committee. Would it be wise, under the circumstances, to begin a study of this bill until such time as the minister has had a chance to make his statement in clarification of the questions which were asked?

Mr. JEANICKE: This is purely an International Affairs matter and I do

not see how it can interfere with the provincial authority.

Mr. Coldwell: I was wondering if Mr. Pearson could have the legal adviser who is responsible for advising the delegation, Mr. Hopkins, to come here? I wonder if Mr. Hopkins is around to-day?

Mr. Pearson: Unfortunately, Mr. Hopkins had to leave the city to go to Quebec to attend a meeting of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. If there are any questions in connection with this bill that I could attempt to answer I shall be glad to do so. I think the bill is a fairly simple one. It arises out of article 41 of the charter of the United Nations which provides for economic sanctions, measures falling short of the use of force. Action recommended by the United Nations which will involve the use of force is covered by other sections of the charter, and our obligations in that respect are pretty definite, and it may be that domestic action will be required at some time in the future to implement that. The economic action envisaged in the charter would, of course, require domestic action by the members to enable them to fulfil their obligations under that article. It may mean interference with trade; it may mean interference with exports; it may mean interference with a variety of things: and this bill, as you know, is destined to give the parliament of Canada the power to carry out obligations in respect of the imposition of economic sanctions which parliament and the government have already accepted by the acceptance of the United Nations charter. In other words, it is implementing legislation. The acceptance of this obligation, or the acceptance of this charter constitutes, of course, an international obligation for Canada by which we are bound. It remains for us—the people and the parliament and the government—to decide how we will implement that obligation. So far as the international aspect of the matter is concerned the obligation is clear, irrespective of all constitutional difficulties at home.

Mr. Coldwell: Nowhere in the charter is it contemplated that any action we may take under any of these clauses may interfere with domestic jurisdiction. I mean that we are still free within our own borders to do whatever we wish. In fact, it definitely excludes interference with such things as immigration, citizenship and so on. So we are safe, I should say, as far as provincial rights are concerned, because in no aspect of the charter is it contemplated that domestic affairs will be interfered with by any section of the charter.

Mr. Low: I would like to have a specific case. Could we have a suppositious case and follow it through, showing how the bill applies?

Mr. JAENICKE: There is suspension of export and import trade in the country. That is one thing I can think of as being covered by economic sanctions.

Mr. Low: That is against the country.

Mr. Pearson: I can visualize under this section of the charter at some time in the future the United Nations taking action against an aggressor, but not punitive action in the sense of certain force against the aggressor-an economic action cutting off all trade, as indeed the League of Nations in a sense attempted to do before the war. Now, the interference with export trade between Canada and an aggressor would require domestic action on the part of the parliament of Canada; but without implementing legislation of this kind parliament might not—I am not a constitutional authority, and I may be wrong—parliament might not have authority to take that action.

Mr. Knowles: On this point I will go 90 per cent of the way with Mr. Pearson, but I do not think the bill seeks to give any power to the parliament of Canada that we do not already have or are not already obligated to by our signature to the charter. The bill is an Act of parliament giving power to the Governor in Council. It seems to me that Mr. Pearson is absolutely right in calling our attention to the fact that article 41 is already in the charter, and we have signed the charter and approved it unanimously in both houses of parliament; and by that signature, among other things, we have agreed to article 25, which says that members—and Canada is now a member—agree to accept the decisions of the security council according to the present charter, and all this bill does is to provide the machinery whereby Canada or any other member prefers to carry out that undertaking, and the machinery is to the effect that we give certain powers to the Governor in Council.

Mr. MacInnis: Mr. Chairman, I was not in the chamber when this Bill was discussed the other evening, but I understand that there was some difference of opinion on the bill. I think we should not proceed with the bill to-day without some further notice that this bill is a subject-matter for consideration by the committee. If we deal with it to-day we may have to go over the same ground again when some other members of the committee, who are absent to-day, will be present.

Mr. Low: Mr. Chairman, I rather think that is true.

Mr. Hackett: I would like to ask Mr. Pearson a question before the chairman rules on the suggestion that has been made. Is there any question of the authority or power of the government to take the action which was taken and later rescinded with regard to sanctions on oil in Italy some time before the war? I think you will remember, Mr. Pearson, that there was an incident there, and I am merely asking if the power of Canada to apply sanctions was at any time questioned by the government?

Mr. Pearson: I cannot recollect that aspect of the question. I recall the incident very well because I happened to be in Geneva at the time, but I was probably more preoccupied with the Geneva side of the matter than with the Ottawa side to recall whether there was any questioning of the authority of the government to take the action required. That is as regards interference with exports to Italy.

Mr. HACKETT: Were the powers of the government exercised at that time exclusively by order in council?

Mr. Pearson: I shall be glad to look into that question and see whether that particular aspect arose at that time. Certainly this Act is designed to make it quite clear that the government will have that power.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe hat the point taken by Mr. MacInnis is a good one. As Mr. Low mentioned earlier, some questions were asked in the House of Commons, so we may have to delay discussion of this matter for the time and hold a special meeting on it.

I wonder when it would be convenient for the committee to discuss this bill?

Mr. Low: I think one of the law officers, probably Mr. Hopkins, should be here.

Mr. Pearson: We will have him here for the meeting.

The Chairman: I mentioned before that we are going to have General MacNaughton before the committee on Thursday and Friday, so we will have to discuss this bill after we have finished with General MacNaughton.

Mr. Knowles: Is there any urgency in connection with this bill?

The CHAIRMAN: No.

Mr. Knowles: There is not the same urgency as there was with regard to the refugee matter?

Mr. Low: I spoke with Mr. St. Laurent about this and he said there was not any urgency, chiefly because the Security Council had not as yet made any regulations.

(Discussion followed with regard to date of meeting.)

Mr. Marquis: I move that we discuss this matter on June 10.

Carried.

Mr. Coldwell: I move that we adjourn.

The committee adjourned to meet on Thursday, June 5, at 10.30 a.m.

# APPENDIX A

Post	Name	DATE OF DEPARTURE	DATE AND COUNTRY OF NEW APPOINTMENT	Name and Date of Appointment of Successor
Argentina	Turgeon, W. F. A	1 February 1944	23 August 1946—Belgium	Chipman, W. F. 22 August 1945
South Africa	Burchell, C. J	10 August, 1945	Retired	McGreer, E. D24 October, 1946
Chile	Chipman, W. F	21 August, 1945	22 August, 1945—Argentina	Elliott, F 1 December, 1946
Ireland	Kearney, J. D	19 November, 1945	Norway and Denmark-20 November,	Mahoney, M. M28 November, 1945
	Mahoney, M.M.	5 May, 1946	1945 Deceased	Turgeon, W. F. A. 24 October, 1946
New Zealand	Riddell, W. A	19 May, 1946	Retired	Rive, A 1 June, 1946
London	Massey, C. V	23 May, 1946	Retired	Robertson, N. A. 17 September, 1946
Australia	Davis, T. C	29 May, 1946	24 October, 1946—China	Greene, K. A15 April, 1947
Belgium and Luxembourg	Turgeon, W. F. A	23 August, 1946	24 October, 1946—Ireland	Dore, V 8 November, 1946
United States	Pearson, L. B	17 September, 1946	17 September, 1946—Ottawa	Wrong, H. H17 September, 1946
China	Odlum, Maj. Gen.	30 September, 1946	On Leave	Davis, T. C 24 October, 1946
Peru	V. W. Laureys, H	30 November, 1946	2 April, 1947—Norway and Denmark	Strong, J. A 9 May, 1947
Norway & Denmark	Kearney, J. D	6 February, 1947	1 March, 1947—India	Laureys, H 2 April, 1947
Mexico	Keenleyside, H. L	15 March, 1947	Transferred Mines and Resources	Pierce, S. DNominated

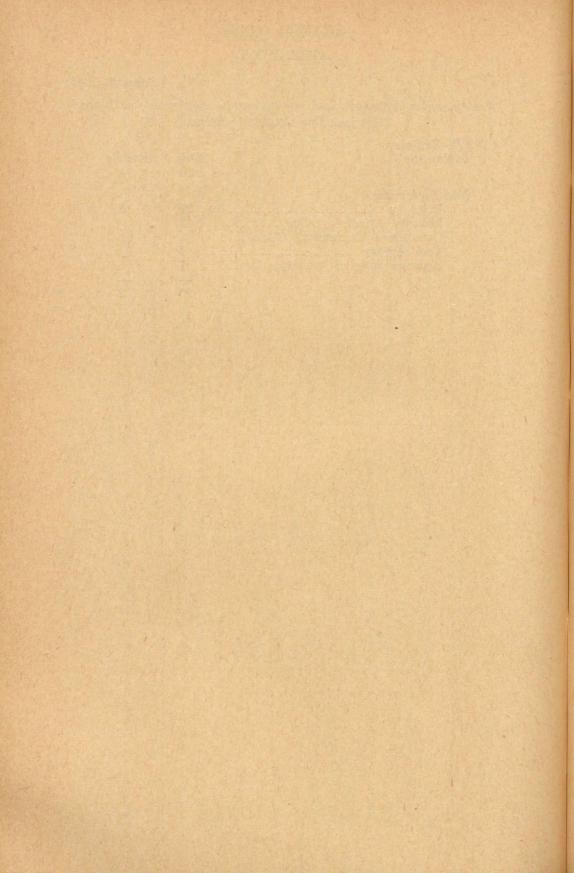
### APPENDIX B

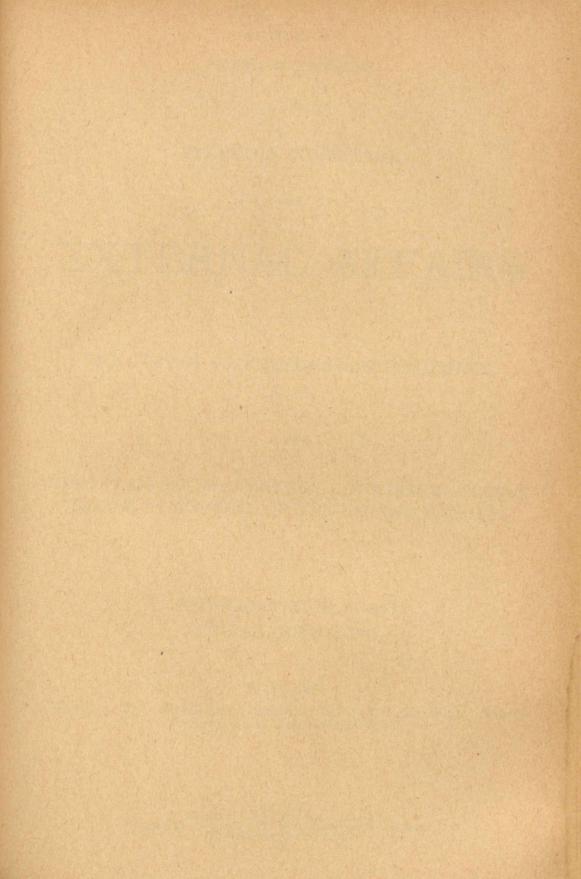
May 28, 1947.

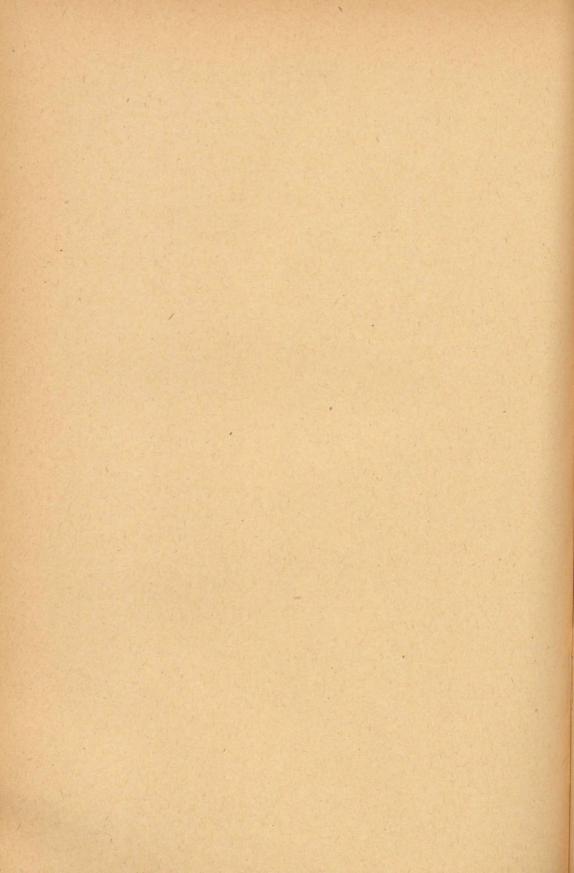
Non-Canadian diplomatic and non-diplomatic employees in Ottawa (Not including Consular personnel)

U

I.S.S.R. Embassy Diplomatic	Male 10	Female	
Non-Diplomatic  Embassy  Military Attaché's Office  Commercial Counsellor's Office  Tass Agency  Representative of "Sovexportfilm"	11 2 1 1	3	
	26	3	29







SESSION 1947 HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 9

REPORT OF ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1947 FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1947

#### WITNESS:

General A. G. L. McNaughton, Canadian Delegate to the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1947

#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, June 5, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 4.00 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Boucher, Bradette, Breithaupt, Coldwell, Cote (Matapedia-Matane), Fleming, Graydon, Green, Hackett, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Knowles, Low, MacLean, Raymond (Beauharnois-Laprairie), Reid, Winkler. (18).

In attendance: Messrs. George Ignatieff and John K. Starnes, Department of External Affairs.

The Chairman tabled copies of a report of the Canadian Government delegates to the 29th session of the International Labour Conference—(September 1946). These were distributed.

The Chairman reminded the members of the dinner organized by Messrs. Jaenicke, Côte and Fleming to be given this day in honour of Mr. Pearson, General McNaughton and Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent.

The Steering Committee's report respecting future meetings was read and adopted on motion of Mr. Fleming. (See this day's evidence).

General A. G. L. McNaughton, Canadian delegate to the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations, was called. The witness read a prepared brief on atomic energy. His examination was begun.

At 5.57 the Committee adjourned until Friday, June 6, at 10.30 o'clock.

FRIDAY, June 6, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Bradette, Breithaupt, Coldwell, Fleming, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Picard, Winkler. (12).

In attendance: Same as at the sitting of Thursday, June 5.

General McNaughton was recalled and his examination concluded.

On motion of Mr. Coldwell, the Committee was unanimous in voicing an expression of thanks and appreciation to General McNaughton.

At 12.00 the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, June 10, at 10.30 o'clock.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee. 

#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, June 5, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 4 p.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: I appreciate the members being here so early, and particularly the presence of those two busy and distinguished members, Mr. Reid and Mr. Green. We know how busy they are. Therefore we appreciate the fact that they were able to find it possible to be here.

Before we proceed with the order of reference there are a few preliminary remarks I should make. First of all there will be a distribution of the report of the Canadian government delegates to the 29th session of the International Labour Conference. That will be done now.

Then there is the report of the steering committee.

The Steering Committee on the Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 2.15 o'clock on Monday, June 2, 1947, in the chairman's office.

Present: Messrs. Low, Knowles, Fraser and the chairman.

The chairman informed the members of the inability of General McNaughton of being present on Thursday morning.

As you know General McNaughton has been very busy. He thought it would be possible to fly from New York last night, but it was impossible to get a proper reservation, and he had to take the train. We are very fortunate, indeed, that he was able to make the grade because there was a hold up due to a railway accident. We are privileged that he could make the trip and be here for this meeting.

The Steering Committee thereupon agreed on the following:-

- 1. To cancel the 10.30 o'clock meeting on Thursday, June 5, and to meet at 4 o'clock in the afternoon to hear a statement on atomic energy control by General McNaughton.
- 2. To meet on Friday, June 6, at 10.30 o'clock to question General McNaughton.
- 3. To met on Tuesday, June 10 next, as originally decided, to take evidence on Bill 132 (F of the Senate) respecting Article 41 of the Charter of the U.N.

We may have a brief discussion on that because of the visit next week of President Truman. He will be here on Tuesday morning, but that will not affect our own activities because he will not come to the House before the following day, or that afternoon. Will it be satisfactory to have a meeting on Tuesday at 10.30 on Bill 132, letter F of the Senate?

Carried.

4. To hear an official of the Immigration Department on Friday, June 13, and to conclude, if possible, consideration of the estimates referred.

The above are submitted to the approval of the committee.

Are you in agreement with the adoption of that report? Mr. Fleming: I move its adoption.

Carried.

The Chairman: Before we proceed I want to remind the members of our committee that through the good offices of Messrs. Cote, Fleming and Jaenicke they have arranged a very fine dinner for Mr. Pearson, General McNaughton, and the Honourable Mr. St. Laurent. I know you will all make it a point to be present on that occasion.

Mr. COLDWELL: Where is it?

The Chairman: In one of the private rooms off the parliamentary restaurant. I have been told it is well organized and we will all enjoy it.

Mr. Reid: As to hearing the representative from the passport office I would suggest that they bring copies of the passport documents with them. There are controversies raging all over the country regarding the change that has taken place in the passport form since the Citizenship Act was passed. Personally if there is a change I should like to see what it is.

The Chairman: I will take a note of that. We will get those documents. I will now call on General McNaughton. He does not need any introduction because we know the position he holds in the scientific world and also the fact that he is well known nationally and also internationally. I have great pleasure in calling upon General McNaughton.

# General A. G. L. McNaughton, Canadian Delegate, United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, called.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: I come before you to-day as the Canadian delegate on the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations. I should like to say that I count it a very great honour and a very great privilege to have this opportunity to come to you and to tell you something, in the brief time that you can give me, of the work which is proceeding in New York, in the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations.

It seems to me that perhaps it might facilitate discussion of the first report of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations, which has been referred to your committee for consideration, if I were to commence by giving you briefly the background of the report, and then explain the various parts of its contents, and tell you of some of the more important developments in the Atomic Energy Commission subsequent to the submission of this report to the Security Council. In talking of the report, I shall refer to the document that has been circulated to members of the committee, which is entitled "Atomic Energy Commission, Official Record, Special Supplement, Report to the Security Council"

You will recall that efforts to bring atomic energy under international control began almost immediately after the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan in August of 1945. You will all recall the statement given by the Right Honourable C. D. Howe immediately after this event in which he revealed the part which Canada had taken in this development, a part of which we may all be very proud, indeed, and which was, I know, a source of great surprise to the majority of the people of the country, the secret having been so very well kept.

Discussions were initiated almost immediately by the President of the United States in the fall of 1945 with the two other countries that had been associated with this atomic energy development, namely the United Kingdom and Canada. These talks led to the conference at Washington in November,

1945, out of which came the first proposal to establish an international commission to deal with the problems of atomic energy. The specific proposals emanating from that conference were embodied in the Washington Declaration of November 15, which was tabled in the House of Commons on December 1, and on which the Prime Minister made a very full explanatory statement on December 17, which appears in *Hansard*. In addition to outlining the course which must be followed if the peace of the world was to be preserved against the dangers of atomic warfare, the Prime Minister also outlined the part which Canada had played in the wartime developments in atomic energy, and he gave this information, as was then permissible, in much greater detail than had been possible for Mr. Howe at the time he gave his statement in August.

The proposal emanating from Washington was to set up a United Nations commission, and the terms of reference for this commission, which had been worked out in the conference between the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, were considered in December, 1945, at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the five great powers which was held in Moscow in the Soviet Union. This proposal from Washington was there approved substantially without change, and it was agreed among other things, on account of the important part which had been played by our scientists, our engineers and our business executives in working on atomic energy during the war, and because of the special knowledge which Canada had, that she should be not only a charter member of the commission to be set up by the United Nations but also a continuing member of that commission.

The next step in setting up the Atomic Energy Commission was taken at the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in London in January of 1946, when a resolution was passed unanimously dated the 24th of January establishing the commission and giving it the following terms of reference. I would ask, if I may, to read those terms of reference exactly as they appear because I think all members of the committee will agree that every word and every comma in this statement is of great significance and importance in the world at it is today. The terms of reference read:

The Commission shall proceed with the utmost despatch and enquire into all phases of the problem, and make such recommendations from time to time with respect to them as it finds possible. In particular, the Commission shall make specific proposals:

(a) for extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;

(b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;

(c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;

(d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

It was agreed also at that time that this commission would be composed of the members of the Security Council, with the addition of Canada when we are not otherwise a member of that council.

Some months then passed before the United Nations commission was summoned to meet in New York which it did just a little less than a year ago, the first meeting having been held on the 14th of June, 1946. In the meantime various governments had been doing some detailed thinking about plans for the international control of atomic energy, and in particular the United States, as the country with the most direct and broad experience in this field, had produced a most important study of the whole problem. This study has come to be known as the Lilienthal-Acheson report. This report is the product of the

minds of some of the men who had been most closely associated with developing the atomic bomb. They include General Groves, who was the head of that project, Dr. Oppenheimer, who was the principal scientist in charge of the Los Alamos laboratory, and Dr. Vannevar Bush who, as the members will know, was selected by President Roosevelt to bear the prime responsibility for the organization of American science in the conduct of the war. There were many others as well with wide experience in public service and administration. would mention Mr. Lilenthal who was then chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and who is presently chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. There was also Mr. Dean Acheson who you will recall is Under Secretary of State in the government of the United States. There were also representatives of industry, and particularly of those industries which had been associated with the atomic energy project, men such as Mr. Winne, one of the vice-presidents of the General Electric Company, Mr. Thomas of the Monsanto Chemical Company and Mr. Barnard of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company.

You can see that this group of men, who were engaged to prepare for the President this Lilienthal-Acheson report on what might be the possibilities of controlling atomic energy by international agreement in the future, were drawn from a very wide circle of men with very great experience in a number of lines. I mentioned these names to indicate the high authority and the qualifications of those associated with the preparation of this report which established certan basic lines of thought in dealing with the great problems which had been raised by the discovery of atomic energy and by its various possibilities of application, not only in war but for the benefit of humanity in peacetime. To those of you who have not read it I commend it to you most earnestly as a

document which is well worth while giving the most careful reading.

You will see the report does not purport to represent any final plan; it only suggested certain fundamental propositions as regards an approach to the solution of the problem, but as such it offered hope that a workable arrangement might be arrived at to enable the world to have security against atomic warfare, provided always that there was some effective system of international agreements which would necessarily give very wide powers of control to some

international authority.

In view of its importance I should like to mention the highlights of the Lilienthal-Acheson report because it has affected the thinking of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission very substantially since it was introduced as the basis of the United States proposals which were put forward by Mr. Bernard Baruch on the 14th of June last year at our first meeting. The first point is that there is—and I quote from the report—"no prospect of security against atomic warfare in the system of international agreements to outlaw such weapons controlled only by a system which relies on inspection and similar police-like methods." I think that was the fundamental assumption on which Lilienthal and his associates proceeded, that there had to be something more than police measures, something positive, something constructive in the international authority if we were to have any possible hope of getting an enduring solution which would ensure atomic energy being used for peaceful purposes only. That was the first point.

The second point about the Lilienthal-Acheson proposals was that an atomic development authority should be established. I wish the members of the committee would mark these words because you are going to find in this approach to this entirely novel problem of the control of atomic energy that we are going to have to stretch our minds and conceptions a good deal before

we are through.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. That is the international authority?—A. The international authority. The second point was that an atomic development authority should be established which would own all source materials from which atomic energy is derived (uranium and uranium and thorium in combination), and would control by operation all those activities in the field of atomic energy which may be regarded as dangerous in the military sense. The Lilienthal-Acheson report placed much emphasis on the direct ownership by the international authority of raw materials, and also on the ownership and operation of all plants employed in the development and use of atomic energy which might be dangerous for the reason that they might be applicable to the making of bombs. You will find in my discussion to-day that I constantly use the word "dangerous". "Dangerous" is a word which has come to have a very special meaning and special significance. It is not dangerous in the sense that the material would cause the loss of an individual's life if he picked it up and handled it. It is dangerous in the military sense that if anybody had these facilities and was able to direct them and use them they might be able to build up a war potential by which, if they loosed it on the world, they might be able to acquire mastery of the world and put down everybody else. It is dangerous in the military sense that we mean when we use the word "dangerous" in this discussion.

The United States proposals for the international control of atomic energy, which incorporated the essential approach of the Lilienthal-Acheson plan, envisaged, however, some greater flexibility in the forms of control. I want to make that point here that while the Lilienthal-Acheson report had a good deal to do with the thinking on the matter it was not a report which was put forward by the sponsoring government, the United States, as a definite proposal. A good deal of the Lilienthal-Acheson thesis was embodied in Mr. Baruch's proposals, which were the official United States' proposals, put forward, as I have said, on the 14th of June, but Mr. Baruch saw fit with his advisers, and the approval of the United States government, to modify somewhat the

Lilienthal-Acheson suggestions.

Mr. Baruch proposed that "the authority should set up a thorough plan for control of the field of atomic energy, through various forms of ownership." He used the words "dominion, licences, operation, inspection, research and management by competent personnel". One of our considerations, certainly in the earlier part of the discussions, was to develop precisely from our United States colleagues exactly what they meant by the terms "dominion over raw materials", "licences", "operation", and so on. I will come to that in due course.

This system of control, according to Mr. Baruch, would be set up by

stages. I quote from his speech:

When an adequate system for control of atomic energy, including the renunciation of the bomb as a weapon, has been agreed upon and put into effective operation, and condign punishments set up for violations of the rules of control which are to be stigmatized as international crimes we—

that is the United States-

propose that—

- 1. Manufacture of atomic bombs shall stop;
- 2. Existing bombs shall be disposed of pursuant to the terms of the treaty; and
- 3. The authority shall be in possession of full information as to the know-how for the production of atomic energy.

I have quoted two of the more important passages of Mr. Baruch's statement of June 14 last, but I do not intend to go into the details as they were

originally put forward as they have been published and are therefore available to those who wish to read them.

I would observe that the reaction in the Atomic Energy Commission to these comprehensive and constructive proposals was very generally favourable.

As regards the Canadian delegation I would say before going down to New York we had had the benefit of prolonged and detailed discussions with the various ministers and officials of the government who were concerned with these matters, that is, with the development, application and use of atomic energy and with the problem of international control. In our discussions here in Ottawa we had found ourselves closely in accord with the general approach suggested in the Lilienthal-Acheson plan, and I was therefore authorized by the government as the Canadian delegate to the United Nations' Atomic Energy Commission to state at the meeting of that commission in New York that the Canadian delegation was willing and happy to accept the United States' proposals as a basis on which to begin our discussions.

However, the Soviet delegate, Mr. Gromyko, put forward a plan on behalf of the Soviet government, which differed fundamentally from that of the United States. This plan proposed the immediate outlawing of the manufacture and use of the atomic bomb, and the immediate destruction—"within three

months" were the words he used—of all existing stocks of atomic bombs.

Mr. Gromyko tabled a draft convention which he proposed should be taken as the first order of business and discussed forthwith, and which would, to use his own words, "constitute a basis for the adoption by the commission of recommendations to the Security Council." This Soviet draft convention also provided that any violation of the undertaking not to produce or use atomic weapons would constitute—and here again I quote Mr. Gromyko's words—"a most serious international crime against humanity", and the contracting parties should pass legislation providing severe penalties for the violation of the convention. That is national legislation providing penalties, and the nations assuming the obligation to deal with their own people in accordance with that legislation.

Mr. Gromyko gave us to understand that he did not see any reason for delay in negotiating a convention of the type he had proposed, but he was prepared to discuss methods of control and inspection as well as the exchange of scientific information, and he made some suggestions regarding the organization

of the work of the commission to this end.

I would observe that the notion that the peril which confronts the world through the discovery and application of atomic energy could be solved by an international agreement that only prohibited the use and manufacture of atomic weapons is certainly simple. However, the problem of finding a means to prevent preparations for atomic warfare involves difficulties which cannot be solved by an international convention that only prohibits the use and manufacture of atomic bombs. In my opinion there are at least two good reasons in support of this argument. The direct result of such a convention, without any accompanying safeguards, would be drastically to reduce the military force of the United States, which is the only country that at present possesses atomic bombs, without giving the United States any real assurance that other countries will not be able to make and use atomic bombs. This would amount to a measure of unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States and this, of course, is a proposition which is wholly unacceptable.

There is, moreover, an objection on scientific and technical grounds to a convention which only prohibited the manufacture and use of the atomic bomb. To stop the making of bombs would mean little or nothing, unless the manufacture of the fissionable material, which constitutes the essential part of the bomb, is either prevented or brought under control because the atomic bomb is merely a special end product of a series of processes employed in the release of atomic energy. The fissionable material, which is the explosive element of the

bomb, is also applicable to various peaceful uses, and notably, in the future, it

may hold a very important place in the development of power.

For these reasons most of the members of the Commission took the position that the prohibition of the use and manufacture of atomic bombs should form a part—an essential part, it is true, of an overall control plan, but that when such a prohibition is put into effect, it should be accompanied simultaneously with the application of effective safeguards.

It was therefore decided in the Commission, after a considerable discussion of the United States and Soviet proposals, that we should go ahead with a thorough examination of the safeguards which would be required in order to ensure that atomic energy is used only for peaceful purposes. You will find a record of the important general discussions to which I have referred, as annexes to the First Report in pages 68 to 133 inclusive in the document which has been circulated to this Committee.

Again, as I say, in order to get a sense of the atmosphere and of the thought that was going on in these discussions in New York last summer I certainly would commend this report prepared and issued by the secretariat because, if I may observe here, a lot of the things that go on in commissions of the United Nations are quite incomprehensible unless they are interpreted in the light of the atmosphere which is pervading. I think everyone who has been to those meetings will bear me out on that. A bare written document by itself really does

not give you the picture of what it is all about.

As a first step towards working out the safeguards which are required, it was decided to examine the scientific and technical aspects of the problem of control. This problem was remitted to our Scientific and Technical Committee, whose Report, which you will find on pages 20 to 42 of the document to which I have referred, sets out the principal activities which are involved in the release and use of atomic energy, and it lists the dangers which arise if effective safeguards are not established against the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. I think the most important point about this report is that it showed that the activities leading to peaceful as well as to destructive ends are so intimately inter-related as to be almost inseparable.

This point is clearly brought out in the conclusion of the report where it is stated "there is an intimate relation between the activities required for peaceful purposes and those leading to the production of atomic weapons; most of the

stages which are needed for the former are also needed for the latter."

In order to prevent the preparation of atomic warfare, therefore, it is essential to control the peaceful applications of atomic energy, so as to ensure that there is no diversion of material, or of plant, to the making of atomic bombs. I repeat that in concentrated form the very same material may be used for the bomb as is used for various peaceful purposes, and a plant which is designed for peace can quickly be converted to production for war.

The conclusions reached in this study of the scientific and technical aspects of the problem of control led the Commission to the next stage of their work. This coincided with a period during which the chairmanship of the Commission,

which rotates monthly in alphabetical order, was held by Canada.

It fell to my lot to put forward a program of work which you will find recorded as annex 7 on page 138 of the documents before you, and which proposed that the commission should "examine and report on the safeguards required at each stage in the production and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes to prevent the possibilities of misuse indicated in the report of the scientific and technical committee."

I should like to observe in that connection that at the time it came Canada's term for the chairmanship we had spent many months and many many meetings on the details of principles, and that we had found that we were rather tending perhaps to go around in circles, that there was perhaps a lack of clarity in the meanings attributed to various words. Most of us felt that we had had all the general discussion which was useful at that stage, and that it was necessary to come down to very specific simple propositions in order by working them out to try to find an answer that might be appropriate, and then to take those various answers and sythesize and put them together and then go back to our discussion of principles again. As a result of this proposal we put forward we had three considerations to examine, and we had seven heads under which each of them had to be examined so that gave the commission twenty-one subheads to work from. We agreed that we would not engage in general discussion until we had been through that long and arduous course of detailed study.

I proposed also that the Commission should do its work mainly by means of what we call informal meetings, and in order that we might thereby more freely exchange and develop our views, scientific as well as diplomatic representatives should take part freely in the discussions. This manner of work has been followed ever since with, I think, considerable advantage. We find that these informal discussions add flexibility, as delegates are not bound at these meetings to go on record as expressing the views of their governments. They can contribute any ideas which may occur to them, and their ideas may be explored and if not found acceptable, abandoned without embarrassment to the nations concerned. Indeed, this manner of procedure is quite essential in dealing with such a highly complex problem. This procedure, of course, does not exclude formal meetings of the Commission or of its committees wherein decisions have to be taken. In these cases, of course, the delegates speak for their governments in accordance with the instructions they have been given.

The report on the subject of safeguards called "The First Report on safeguards required to ensure the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes" was prepared after weeks of discussion and constitutes part 5 of the report before you. The "Findings" of this report are conveniently summarized in Part 2(b), pages 12-16 of the report.

Again for those of you who cannot spare the time to read the full report I would earnestly suggest that the findings on pages 12 to 16 might be considered.

I will only mention the more important elements of the findings which this report contains. As all applications of atomic energy depend on two primary materials and two only, that is, uranium and uranium and thorium in

combination, control of these materials is an essential safeguard.

The Commission, therefore, proposed that there should be inspection of all mines and of milling and refining operations in order to detect and prevent the diversion of materials to destructive purposes. As the material assumes a more concentrated form and is, therefore, more directly applicable to the making of bombs, the controls must, of course, be stricter. It was, therefore, proposed that certain plants and establishments using material in its most concentrated form should be placed under the exclusive operation and management of the international control agency, and that plants such as nuclear reactors, chemical extraction plants and isotope separation plants using plutonium or other highly concentrated nuclear fuels which, by the way, is the name by which all fissionable materials have now come to be called when they are in concentrated form, would be subject to management by the international agency.

In addition to the safeguards required to prevent diversion from declared or reported atomic energy activities, there is the problem of providing safeguards to detect any unreported or clandestine activities. In order to give assurance to all countries that no secret preparations are being made for atomic warfare, the Commission in its report on safeguards recommended that national governments would be required to make reports on activities related to atomic

energy, and also that the international control agency should have broad privileges of movement and inspection within national territories including rights to conduct surveys by ground and by air. These privileges, however, it

is understood should be very carefully defined to ensure against misuse.

In addition to the specific safeguards proposed to prevent diversion of material or plant to bomb making and to ensure the detection of secret preparations of atomic warfare, you will find the report contains certain "General Findings" and "Recommendations" regarding the nature of the international system of control and inspection which should be the objective of the Commission's work. This portion of the Report, to be found in Part II (c) Page 15 and Part III, Page 17, is derived from a number of proposals introduced by Mr. Baruch, the United States delegate, on December 5 last. The members of the committee will recall that at that same time the General Assembly of the United Nations was busy discussing a resolution on the principles which should govern the general regulation and reduction of armaments, including atomic weapons. This resolution, with which you are no doubt familiar, was adopted on December 14, 1946, and lays down the principles and procedures for the working out of international agreements on the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces, including some reference to atomic energy. The work of preparing the various plans according to this resolution is to be divided among the Security Council, with which is included the Atomic Energy Commission, and when its plans are completed they are to be coordinated by the Security Council and submitted to the members of the United Nations for consideration at a special session of the General Assembly. They will have been formulated as draft treaties or conventions which, if approved by the General Assembly, would be submitted to individual nations for ratification. This procedure which I have outlined involves a number of stages, and we are at present only in the first, namely, that in which preliminary plans are being prepared.

As regards the work of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Assembly Resolution merely confirmed the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission and stated that the system for the control of atomic energy shall be established within the framework of the Security Council (as the organ which bears primary responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security). It also provided that the organs of control shall derive their powers and status from the treaty or convention under which they are established.

The proposals presented to the Atomic Energy Commission on December 5, 1946, by the United States delegate to which I have referred had been drafted before the discussions on disarmament in the General Assembly, and we of the Canadian Delegation felt therefore that they needed to be re-examined to ensure that they had been made consistent with the resolutions of the General Assembly which had just been adopted, and with certain other international agreements governing the work of the commission, namely and particularly, the charter of the United Nations and the first resolution of the General Assembly on atomic energy which had been passed on January 24, 1946. The United States delegate accepted our proposition. The United States' proposals included the proviso that no government should have the power, through the misuse of any right of "veto" or otherwise, to obstruct the course of control of inspection or in any way prevent the fulfilment by the international control agency of the obligations imposed upon it by an atomic treaty. They also provide that in regard to measures of enforcement and punishment—and I use the words of the report— "there shall be no legal right, by veto or otherwise, whereby a wilful violator of the terms of the treaty or convention shall be protected from the consequences of violation of its terms".

After a discussion which revealed that the Soviet delegation was not prepared to accept the report and more particularly the general findings and the principles proposed for inclusion in the report by the United States' delegation we took the report to a vote. We had ten favourable votes with the Soviet and Polish delegations not voting against but abstaining. This vote took place on December 30 of last year, and was the last act before this particular report was sent forward to the Security Council.

I should now like to tell you briefly what has happened in connection with this report since the new year, and to give you a brief summary of the work of

the commission to date.

The report was submitted to the Security Council where a further prolonged debate took place. The Soviet and Polish Delegations expressed their objections. The Polish Delegation expressed the view that there was not much use of proceeding on the basis of the report, before complete agreement on principles had been reached between the permanent members of the Security Council.

The Soviet Delegate on the Security Council, Mr. Gromyko, introduced a number of specific amendments to the general findings and recommendations of the report. He also argued that there should be an agreement on important questions of principle, before the commission could go on with its work of preparing a plan. It is worth noting some of the more important points which Mr.

Gromyko made in his statements.

On the subject of prohibition of the use and manufacture of atomic weapons, he said, "the prohibition of atomic weapons as well as all other weapons of mass destruction should constitute by itself the first important stage in the fulfilment of the General Assembly's decision mentioned above." This refers to the Assembly resolution of December 14. The conclusion of such a convention prohibiting atomic weapons would not, he said, mean that the working out of

other questions including that of inspection should not be continued.

As regards control and inspection, Mr. Gromyko said that this was a necessary component part of the system of international control, but should not develop into unlimited control for, in the words of Mr. Gromyko, "unlimited control would mean an unlimited interference of the control and controlling organ or organs in the economic life of the countries on whose territories this control will be carried out, and interference in their internal affairs." He indicated that the controls specified in the first report which, I may say, were the minimum type of controls which were acceptable to the other members of the commission, he said that those controls would constitute "such unlimited interference." He did not specify, and has not specified since, his understanding of what constitutes acceptable international inspection.

I, myself, as a representative of Canada on that commission fully, I think, apprised of the significance of what might or might not constitute international inspection, have made it my business on every appropriate occasion to give the representative of the Soviet Union an opportunity, have urged him to expand on precisely what significance he is prepared to attach to the words, "international inspection." On every occasion, he has declined to explain and clarify

his position.

Mr. Gromyko likewise rejected the concept of management by the international agency, on the grounds that this would constitute the creation of international syndicates and trusts. He said and I quote, "I deem it necessary to emphasize that granting broad rights and powers of such a kind to the controller

is incompatible with state sovereignty."

As regards the veto, Mr. Gromyko said, "The Soviet delegation considers that it will be impossible to reach an agreement on this question as long as the unacceptable proposal on the question of the so-called veto is defended, since such a proposal is in contradiction with the principles of the United Nations." He emphasized that in matters of enforcement of any treaty on atomic energy the decision would have to lie with the Security Council in which "the principle of unanimity operates."

The Security Council after several weeks of discussion, passed a resolution urging the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work, developing specific proposals on the control of atomic energy and requesting it to submit a second report to the Security Council before the next session of the General Assembly in September. This resolution also had an important provision that, "any agreement expressed by the members of the council to the separate portions of the report is preliminary since final acceptance of any part by any nation, is conditioned upon its acceptance of all parts of the control plan in its final form."

In reference to the proceedings of the Security Council, I should like to say that while Canada is not a member of the Security Council it has been held by that council, when matters of atomic energy are under consideration, the interests of Canada by reason of our participation in this project and by reason of our membership on the Atomic Energy Commission are such as to warrant the Security Council permitting us to take a seat at the table to take part in the discussion, but without a vote.

In the light of this resolution, which I have quoted, the Atomic Energy Commission decided that one of its committees, the first committee, should devote its full attention to the consideration of the points of disagreement with the Soviet Union which had been indicated by the amendments which had been moved by Mr. Gromyko in the Security Council and in the various statements which he had made.

Now, these discussions are still going on and I can give you assurance that the Canadian delegation is doing everything to try to get at the root of the matters on which it has not been possible so far to reach an agreement with the Soviet government. I must report, however, that progress has been very slow. We hope, at the end, to have a supplementary report which will bring out more clearly the points on which we can agree and those on which further negotiation will be necessary.

The second committee of the commission is going ahead with further exploratory work, mainly in informal meetings, preparing a series of working papers which outline the functions and powers of the international control agency. These working papers, when completed, will be discussed formally in the commission, and then will be referred to governments for study and comment. I cannot be too emphatic, at this stage, these working papers represent merely the best thought of the people who are most anxious to reach a solution. They have been working forward in the process of reaching a meeting of the minds of the people who are engaged in this particular part in the drafting of the treaties. The drafts have no force or sanction until they have been before the committee as a whole and indeed until they have been referred to the governments and the delegates have been given instructions on them.

In the second committee we are working according to an agreed schedule. After considering the functions and powers of the agency, we will go on to the consideration of the organization and administration of the international authority, the principles governing the geographical location of dangerous atomic activities and of stock piling, the financial and budgetary organizations and the difficult questions of prohibition and enforcement. We also hope to examine before next September the stages by which transition might be accomplished from conditions of national control to the final conditions of predominantly international control.

I should just like to say a word more about our method of work. As I have said, we meet mainly in private and with a minimum of formality and publicity. This is not because the commission has anything that it wishes to hide from the public, nor are its discussions in any way of a secret character. This procedure is purely for the purpose of facilitating discussion and negotiations.

Security, that protection for all peoples from the peril of preparations for atomic warfare, is the overall criterion which guides our work in every phase and in every degree. At the present time, the commission is going fully into the question of how much international control is necessary; how much authority and power should be entrusted to the international control body on such matters as raw materials, research and development; design, construction and operation of various plants, in the various categories. We fully recognize in the commission that in order that adequate security and protection should be given by the control plan the control agency will have to be given functions and powers of a type and on a scale hitherto never ascribed to an international authority. We are insisting, therefore, that the fullest possible reasoning and argument should be given in support of every provision in the specific proposals which are now being drafted, in order that those who study our plan should have ample opportunity of judging its merits for themselves. By, "those who study our plans". I say that we are looking most particularly to this committee and we look to the House of Commons of Canada to be the final authority on what shall be accepted by us.

It is understood, and I particularly refer again to the terms of the resolution of the Security Council to which I have referred, that no country will be committed to any part of the plan until it has had an ample opportunity to consider the plan as a whole. It will, of course, not be possible to have a full picture of the plan until a draft treaty has actually been written. At present only portions of this treaty are in skeleton outline. I should like to emphasize that what I am saying to you today, as well as the report before you, should be regarded as only interim reports in order to inform you of the developments in the Atomic Energy Commission to date. You will, of course, be fully informed as Mr. St. Laurent said in the House of Commons on March 26, of further developments of the work of the commission, and the results of the work of the commission when available in the form of a draft treaty or convention which will naturally be submitted to the House for its consideration and for the usual

procedure of ratification if it is accepted by the House of Commons.

I should like to conclude my remarks by posing and answering a question which will, no doubt, be uppermost in your mind. Why is there any need for such a plan of international control in the field of atomic energy? The answer briefly is that we do not know of any alternative means of preventing the secret

preparation of atomic warfare.

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to Canada, as it is to every other nation, that every possible effort should be made to work out a practical plan for the international control of these dread forces. To this end, the Canadian delegation in New York, I can claim, has made every effort and I can assure you that we will continue to do all that is possible to work out an international agreement which will give protection to Canada and all other nations; within the limits of the paramount consideration of security, which must come first, we hope that the plan will make available the maximum possible benefits from the peaceful uses of atomic energy which is also undoubtedly a proper objective for any international plan.

The Chairman: Would the members of the committee like to go on with the

questioning now?

Agreed.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I should like to ask the General a question, if I may. I should like to ask if, in your opinion, this question of international control of atomic energy can really be separated from the general problem of international disarmament?—A. Mr. Graydon, I should like to say this; it is impossible—of

course, I am really expressing a hypothetical opinion and I am giving my own opinion, not the opinion of the group. As I have watched this whole business of the limitation of armaments develop and, in that connection I think I might say for the information of the committee, that I have been, for a number of years, closely interested and concerned in the business of the limitation of armaments and all constructive measures of that sort for the peace of the world. I was one of the members of the delegation to Geneva in 1932, so I have been concerned with it for a very long time. I have thought of atomic energy as possibly being the key to an otherwise very difficult business. I have thought the very extremes of the danger in which we, the world and everybody are put by these new forces, might cause the conscience of the world to face up to the issues and to adopt some measures which might lead to an era of peace.

Now it is for that reason, and I think a lot of people for the same reason have supported the idea, that we are, so far as possible at this stage, keeping atomic energy in a separate compartment because if it is mixed up in the general plans for disarmament there will be a lot of loose and general talk. People will talk about principles without having defined the words in which they are expressing those principles. We will get a lot of confused thinking on it which may obscure the issues. If we can keep atomic energy and the Atomic Energy Commission and if we can, by patience and perseverance evolve some sort of a solution which should be acceptable to the nations, it will act as a pattern for a lot of the other things which are difficult. I think you will find everything will fall in line with it. I think if we can solve atomic energy we would very quickly solve the problem of the limitation of ordinary weapons. It is for this reason we are trying to keep it separate. That is why we consider it wise to keep this in a separate compartment.

Q. The reason I asked that question General, was this: we have just had word that the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council has brought in a very milk and water kind of report with respect to the question of disarmament generally—perhaps I should not say disarmament, but something which goes hand and hand with it and that is the international police force which, if we can go by the report is not much more than a little lilliputian army which will have little or no effect so far as the general set-up of peace is concerned. I want to ask you this: is there any inter-locking personnel, either technical or otherwise between the Military Staff Committee and the Atomic Energy Commission?— A. The Military Staff Committee, as you know Mr. Graydon, is composed of the missions of the five permanent members of the security council, the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia, France and China. All have very strong missions presided over by high-ranking officers of great experience. These gentlemen constitute the Military Staff Committee which invariably sits in secret. The first pronouncement which we have had from them is this report to which You have referred. The status of that report at the present moment is merely a report from the Military Staff Committee to the Security Council. It is full of alternative provisions and it has not, as yet, in any sense been adopted. It is purely a working document which is before the Security Council.

Q. There is just one part of the question which you overlooked, General. Is there any inter-locking of the personnel, either technical or otherwise, of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Military Staff Committee?—A. I was going on to answer that question, Mr. Graydon. There is, I understand, in the delegations of the permanent members of the Security Council, an interchange between their technical officers and the Military Staff Committee attached to their delegation on the Atomic Energy Commission. These are private, national arrangements, but there is no formal liaison between the Atomic Energy Commission and the Military Staff Committee.

Q. Does the Military Staff Committee keep you, for instance, as Canadian delegate on the Atomic Energy Commission, informed either officially or other-

wise as to what is going on?—A. No.

Q. We live in the dark so far as that is concerned?—A. Except in so far as we can gather the trend of their thought from this one report which they have made to the Security Council of which we have copies, and in so far as we can judge the trend of their opinions by personal conversations which are always going on.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. The question I was going to ask you is, how widely is the basis of atomic energy known to scientists? It is not confined to the United States is it? I mean the fundamental principles of the release of atomic energy, is not that pretty widely known by scientists in all parts of the world?—A. Oh, yes, I would think so. I had an opportunity the other day of reading a report by Fermi which I last read in 1939. It was an address given before the Institute of Electrical Engineers in New York. I read this report of Fermi's given in the latter part of 1939 and I was surprised, on reading it, to see that it gave practically the whole of the scientific basis of the work. So, from that observation, you will see there is no secrecy about basic scientific information.

Q. The reason I asked the question was to more or less get on the record the necessity for haste in connection with these control measures. Will it be long before some other nations discover this power and apply it, perhaps, to weapons of war?—A. I cannot answer that question better than to quote from an authoritative pronouncement which was made in the United States Senate about two weeks ago. It was to this effect, anybody who thought it would be, in a matter of 2, 3, 4 or 5 years, impossible for other nations to produce the bomb

would be working on a very slender premise.

Q. I have seen the statement over and over again that the present bomb which was used at Hiroshima, which is probably improved by this time, that from one to ten of those bombs getting through to a modern city could practically obliterate that city, depending on the size of the city. Is there any truth in that statement?—A. I do not have to forecast or carry my mind forward to the new bombs of which, indeed, I have no knowledge. I content myself with making a comparison on the basis of the Hiroshima bomb. Much less than ten bombs of the type of the Hiroshima bomb would paralyze a great city, perhaps

less than ten would be required.

Q. Is there any defence against a sudden attack of this description?—A. I cannot give you a categorical answer to that question. The question does not lend itself to any simple yes or no, so may I take a moment to elucidate. To-day, the atomic bomb has to be carried either in the form of a missile fired from a gun or by a rocket, or dropped by a long range aeroplane or planted by submarine, something of that sort. Now, while there is no specific antidote to the bomb as such, by which I mean there is nothing we could throw out which would prevent the stuff from exploding, yet there is the possibility of dealing with the carrier, the submarine, the aircraft or even the long range rocket proceeding at perhaps 1,000 miles an hour. They are not incapable of being dealt with by modern science. With the kind of set up great industry would make, having regard to the terrific danger of these things and having regard to the terrific need of meeting an attack of that sort, regardless of the cost, undoubtedly, sir, it would be possible for a very considerable portion of the bombs launched by any means against a great industrial nation, to be rendered harmless, but a few would get through.

Q. I was going to say, a few would get through. This would mean any important industrial centre such as Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago and even

Windsor or some of our own cities, would have to have new forms of defence in order to defend them against possible attack by atomic weapons if we cannot control this thing internationally; is that right?—A. I would say that is correct. I would say this; wherever a bomb falls there is no real, effective static defence practicable. From the gamma rays alone, which range up to perhaps 1,000 yards from the bomb, it takes eight or nine feet of concrete to reduce the intensity of those rays to a point that man would not evenutally die from the result. He would die a lingering death, six weeks hence, due to the disruption of the corpuscles in his blood.

#### By Mr. Hackett:

Q. So long as the atomic bomb is available as a weapon, does not the necessity or value of armies and fleets disappear, except in so far as they are used as carriers?—A. I would give as my opinion, an opinion which I think is based, particularly during the last year, on anxious study of all aspects of this business—The unfortunate thing we have to face is that the atomic bomb is an added weapon and its resistance does not thereby decrease the need for armies, fleets, and aircraft.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. May I ask you this question: I heard—I have just forgotten his name at the moment but you will know who he is; he is one of the radar experts of the United States who went to Britain to assist in the defence of Britain against the flying bomb, make the statement that these things could be planted. How big a thing is it? They could be planted with a time attachment, indeed with a radio attachment which might be attuned to a distant station and exploded on a given signal. I remember he said that they did not deteriorate by keeping over quite a lengthy period. Is there any truth in that?—A. I would not dispute that statement, Mr. Coldwell. So far as the size is concerned, of course, we are under the most stringent security measures of not giving information as to the size. In the Smyth report, two figures were given—I have forgotten what the figures were, but it is somewhere between the two figures.
  - Q. I have read the figures in magazine articles, as a matter of fact.

# By Mr. Cote:

Q. I should like to ask the General two questions. Is it possible for your commission to assert, even off the record, or to know whether or not the Russians, for instance, have the know how; and, B., whether there is in Russia the raw material to make an atomic bomb?—A. Mr. Chairman, I will have in this case to not answer directly because I have no first hand information on Russia. The Russian situation as regards their raw materials and as regards what they are doing is, at present, a most carefully guarded Russian secret. Now, I have to answer as well as I can by inference. From our general knowledge of geology, we have no reason to believe that the materials for atomic energy will not be found in Russia as in any other country in the world. In fact, it turns out that uranium, which is the most important of the two source materials, is one of the most widely distributed substances in the world.

Uranium occurs in granitic rocks all around here. It occurs mixed up with vanadium in Colorado. It occurs in gold ores which are recovered for the purpose of getting out the gold. Uranium is a peculiar substance. When it goes into solution, its salts are readily dissolved in water. The water flows across a peat bog, for example, and the vegetable matter causes the uranium to deposit. There are great deposits in the world of peat and shales with very considerable uranium content.

If it was only the few special mines in the world that have high quality pitchblende in them, there are only a few which have been found, if those were all we had to contend with to limit this business it would be very easy. Unfortunately, as I say, uranium is a most widely distributed substance and comparatively easily recovered from materials which are generally available to all the nations of the world.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

- Q. Does that apply to thorium, too?—A. Thorium occurs rather differently. The present sources of thorium are not in the ores or shales or rocks. Thorium was ground down generations ago into a form of sand from rock which seems to have occurred in the upper layer of the earth's crust. This got ground up in the ice ages. It was carried out to sea. By the wave action, as so often happens, it was concentrated in great beaches along the seashore. Then, the land was probably pushed up and then several beaches were formed and so that today you have great deposits of thorium bearing sands. The biggest reserves of thorium bearing minerals in the world are in India, known reserves, that is. There are great reserves along the coast of Brazil, along the coast of Australia and I could mention a number of other places where they occur. They occur in these sea beaches, and the thorium content runs from three to six to eight per cent. In Travancore in India, perhaps higher than that. We are not so much worried about thorium at this stage because you cannot use thorium unless you have uranium.
- Q. You have to have both?—A. No, you can use uranium by itself, but if you want to use thorium, you have to have uranium also.

#### By Mr. Cote:

Q. Let us say by inference, because apparently you have no first hand information as regards the know how in Russia, but by inference is it possible to reach the hunch that the scientists in Russia also have the formula?—A. As I said earlier, in the fundamental science of this thing there are no secrets. The basic scientific information is known. Now, do not think that is the whole story because it is not. There is a lot of difference between knowing how to do a thing scientifically and being able to do it as an engineer. Mr. Lilienthal, who spoke to us the other day, the head of the United States Commission, made the assertion that, at the present time, the United States investment in atomic energy facilities—facilities mind you—is represented by two and a half billion dollars. Two and a half billion dollars represents a tremendous amount of man-days of work. Remember that these man-days of work are not the work of ordinary labourers, but they are the work of highly trained technologists which, in the economy of the United States, could be taken out from other work even under war conditions, and put on this special job without any great detriment to the United States part in the war.

I think I should like to answer your question by putting another question. Do you think, or would it be reasonable to suppose, having regard to the present position of industry in the Soviet Union, that they could take out a like number of people with this highly technological training, make an effort of that sort and put it to the special business of atomic energy on a scale sufficient to wage war without, at the same time, most seriously affecting their economic recovery in other lines? I wish I could answer that. I cannot give an answer. I have not got the information. It is the great question which faces all of us. I cannot help, sir, any more than by putting the two sides of that question really in the form of another question. I have to leave you up in the air because I do not know the answer.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. Is it not likely that any other nation making the atomic bomb now would find it easier than the United States found it because of necessity a great deal more has been given to the public in the way of knowledge of what has been done?—A. I would answer Mr. Coldwell, yes. When you know there is a path through to the objective, however difficult the way may be, however full of obstacles, if you know there is a path through mankind will get through it; that is undoubtedly the case. Undoubtedly some of the false leads and partial leads which were followed in the United States atomic energy developments would not have to be followed again. I would say this, not many of those unpromising leads were followed very far, that the sum total of effort put into them is not very great comparatively. Even so, I would suggest that the effort in the technological field might be really stupendous.
- Q. And that would be a prohibitive step in Russia?—A. That is a question of judgment; we do not know.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Is there any information which has come to you or to our Canadians on the commission which would indicate that the atomic bomb as a means of waging war might, perhaps, within the near future be outdistanced by some other type of new invention for destructive purposes?

#### By Mr. Boucher:

Q. May I supplement that question? I was thinking of chemical or microbic warfare, as compared in its danger to the other. Probably when you answer Mr. Graydon, you could couple that thought with it?—A. Yes, I would be glad to because those are two things which some of us regard as, perhaps—I do not like to use superlatives in these things—very much more horrible than the atomic bomb. Bacteriological warfare and Chemical warfare are both terrible forms of war and are even more difficult to deal with than is the question of the atomic bomb. I should like to observe in that connection, if you recall the statement of our objectives, that the Atomic Energy Commission has the business of studying the elimination from national armament of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction by which are meant chemical warfare and bacteriological warfare among others.

# By Mr. Graydon:

- Q. That is within the purview of your reference?—A. Very definitely. Mr. Graydon and Mr. Coldwell will recall that when we had the last assembly meeting, when we had those long meetings of the committee which drafted that December 14 resolution we were most careful to ensure that these other forms of warfare were kept within the ambit of the Atomic Energy Commission.
- Q. Has the commission given some considerable study to them?—A. No, for this reason, that those two subjects are so difficult to grapple with that there is no point at which you can get your finger on them, get a grip on them. The only real hope of solving them is by solving the problem of the atomic bomb and catching up with the others in some sort of general resurgence of world thought which might carry us into an era of peace.

# By Mr. Boucher:

Q. May I follow that up with another question before we go on to some other subject? Is there anything in the minds of the members of the Atomic Energy Commission by way of fear that developments along bacteriological lines or by way of chemical invention will surpass the danger or are surpassing the danger of the atomic bomb?—A. Again I am afraid I cannot be specific in the answers I give. I can only say—and again I must here express my

personal opinion—that I regard the possibilities of bacteriological warfare and certain of the newer forms of chemical warfare if they were unleashed on the world with equal if not greater horror than the atomic bomb itself.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. When you say "horror" do you mean effectiveness?—A. Yes.
Mr. Coldwell: It would seem from what you say the only hope is if the world can avoid wars.

#### By Mr. Jacques:

- Q. I should like to ask this question. There has always been a defensive answer to every offensive weapon. Is it assumed that now there is no defensive answer to the atomic bomb? Are they working on a defense to the bomb, or are they just saying that there is no answer and that therefore we must have international control of it?—A. May I say first that I think in the minds of the men who bear the responsibility for the protection of their countries the feeling is that the only real answer is in the elimination of war itself.
- Q. May I put it this way?—A. May I go on and finish? On the other hand, while that is the answer, and while that is the purport of the instructions given to the countries who are represented on the Atomic Energy Commission, that they are to seek safety for the world through the elimination of the use of atomic energy for war purposes, at the same time, and very naturally, the staffs of every country are busily engaged, and scientists of all countries are busily engaged, in trying to find out the military answers to an attack of that sort. These matters, of course, are in the highest degree secret. We are not going to give any suggestion as to what the answers are. I indicated earlier in my remarks that there is no specific thing by which you can stop fissionable material from exploding. The only defense is in bringing down the carrier of the bomb, the aircraft, the submarine, the battleship, the long range rocket, or the military agent who brings it in and plants it. Defenses against those things are all within the ordinary realm of defense arrangements. They have got to be studied and made effective, and they certainly will have the result of They have making it very difficult for us to be got at, more particularly if in the defense of the country you can make good and certain that the enemy is held at a distance, and certainly, too, like the old saying that offense is the best form of defense. That is all I can say.
- Q. Let us suppose for argument's sake the war had continued, and the atomic bomb had been used more than it was used. Then undoubtedly by force of circumstances the various nations would have been compelled to go to work and do their utmost to find the answer to it. They might not prevent the explosion, but from your knowledge of science would you say that it would be worth while or are they trying at the present time to find some means of preventing the evil effects of the explosion? Do you think that would be possible, that there is any hope on those lines?—A. The effect of an atomic bomb is several fold. First of all you have to contend with the blasting effect. That is the explosion and the pressure wave that goes out, and is followed by a suction wave which destroys houses of ordinary construction within a radius of perhaps three miles. The second effect is the direct radiation of heat, the enormous heat for fractions of a second. You have this mass with a temperature approaching that of the sun. The rays are coming out at a temperature estimated to be about 5,000,000 degrees centigrade. The radiation falls on a person and it destroys their skin, it destroys their eyes. That is direct radiation of ordinarily visible rays. Direct rays, visible rays, are stopped by a sheet of paper. The least bit of paper will stop them and give you the necessary

protection but the gamma rays, as I said earlier, up to 1,000 yards or so away from the bomb will go through a nine or ten foot concrete wall and still knock a man out.

Q. There might be other substances that would stop them?—A. It is highly unlikely from a scientific point of view, if I may say so, that there are any substances which will stop a gamma ray because the stopping of the gamma ray is a function of the mass of material which is in the path, the weight of the material. A good deal less thickness of lead will stop gamma rays but lead is heavier than concrete. A good deal less thickness of tungsten than lead will stop them but tungsten is double the weight of lead. The stopping power to gamma rays in almost entirely a function of mass.

#### By Mr. Cote:

Q. Do I understand that the only defense against these new weapons of war would be as in the words of the old Scotch saying, "Do unto others what you would have them do unto you but do it first"?—A. That is exactly what we want to do with the Atomic Energy Commission only we want to reverse it from murdering the opponent to giving him the best form of civilization we can. I think we have got to go at it from that point of view, and we must keep that point of view uppermost. I did not finish the answer to one of the earlier questions. I was put off on another track. I have one other form of the effect of these atomic bombs to refer to. I think I should mention it to make it complete. When uranium undergoes fission merely due to the bringing into close proximity of certain masses that make the whole mass above the critical size it breaks up into elements of about half the atomic weight, but they are not ordinary elements. They are what are known as radioactive isotopes. That is, everyone of these elements is giving off profusely for some very considerable time, gamma rays or alpha particles or beta particles, and they have a most deleterious effect upon human beings. If any of those substances get into your body or in close proximity to it, although they may be very tiny quantities, they may go on destroying the blood and blood tissue and lungs, and all that sort of thing. So these radioactive isotopes are very poisonous indeed. That is another form which has to be guarded against.

## By Mr. Low:

Q. How long do they remain in suspension as real isotopes?—A. These isotopes from a bomb explosion have been found in the air for weeks and they drift with the wind currents for thousands of miles but under present experience they were so thoroughly dissipated that they were harmless, but they could be made to be harmful.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How long were the ships impregnated?—A. That is different because the bomb was exploded below the water. The radioactive isotopes were absorbed by the water, by the sea, and were carried directly into contact in concentrated form with the ships. They were what the chemist calls adsorbed in the ships. A lot of those ships still cannot be visited.

Q. So if a bomb of that description were exploded in the proximity of a battleship that ship would be a death trap for a very long time?—A. A battleship of the Bikini day would be a death trap for a long time, but they have learned how to handle those things in the meantime by decontamination.

## By Mr. Low:

Q. They have developed decontamination methods for handling it?—A. Naturally.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Reid wanted the floor.

Mr. Reid: It is on a little different matter. It is on something he said in his address.

By Mr. Kidd:

Q. The General will recall in World War I when the Germans used gas. That happened on April 22, 1915. They were the first to use gas in World War I. In World War II there seemed to be a feeling that the Germans had something up their sleeves, some form of gas, and if they had used it the allies would have done the same thing by way of retaliation. I will go a step further. In the event of war to-day, following Mr. Cote's question, if an enemy, whoever it might be, entered into chemical and bacteriological warfare, are we going to be in a position to counteract that and meet them on the same ground?—A. I am going to ask not to answer that if I may.

Q. You could say it off the record?—A. No, I dare not answer it.

(Off the record)

Q. I know, but they might have used it.—A. I am now expressing a personal opinion. I think the Germans would have used it if Hitler's head-quarters had been in effective command at the time of the invasion of Normandy. There was only one occasion during the war, and for a very brief period of about ten days, when I think, it might have been considered advantageous by the Germans to make use of gas having regard to what they were going to get in return. That was between about the 10th and 20th days of the Normandy landing when we had our troops concentrated in a narrow area. If there had been somebody at Hitler's headquarters capable of appreciating the situation and giving a decision and they had used what they actually had it might have been pretty disastrous but fortunately for us, as the members will recall at that stage, the members of Hitler's entourage were busy murdering one another in place of paying attention to their business. Actually it turned out, I have heard, that the senior man who knew about gas warfare then at Hitler's headquarters was a major.

Mr. Coldwell: And he did not like to take the responsibility.

By the Chairman:

- Q. Taking that statement that they did not use poison gas during the last war, whatever may have been the reason, would that lead us to build any hope that if we face the same situation with the atomic bomb it will not be used?—A. The argument, in other words, is that the knowledge that the other fellow has the bomb, would be a deterrent to its first use?
  - Q. Yes?—A. I leave it to other people to judge. I do not know.

By Mr. Reid:

Q. My question is something separate and apart but I think it is important, too. Did I gather from your remarks that the draft plan put forward by Mr. Gromyko, the Russian, suggested the control and destruction of all uranium materials, the destruction of the bombs, coupled with the doing away of arms, demobilization? I think you said that the result of that would be that the United States would be called upon, if they adopted the Gromyko plan, to do away with their arms?—A. May I say again what the Russian plan is? The Russian plan is a straight convention on the lines of the Kellogg-Briand pact to outlaw the use of atomic energy for war unsupported in itself by any measures of safeguard or even by international inspection. Gromyko has gone on to say if the world will in the first instance outlaw atomic energy for war and if those who have atomic bombs will themselves destroy them then the Russians will be pleased to confer with the rest of the world on some system of international control and inspection. Those are the terms that have been used, international control and inspection. As I said, we have never been able to develop

just what that thesis means. I have probably been the most insistent in trying to get the Russians to say precisely what they mean by "international inspection." I have never lost an opportunity to ask Mr. Gromyko in the most courteous terms, to explain it because we want to know the answer. It is not to be rude to him. We want to know the answer because without knowing what he means by international inspection we cannot judge whether anything he is saying makes any rational sense at all. This is what he has offered to do. His proposal is to destroy the bombs, outlaw them and make it a heinous crime for anybody to have the least bit of this material in their possession after a period of three months. By international law it will be made some sort of penal offence and if we will do that, in other words, completely and unilaterally disarm the United States, then he will be willing to talk to us about what he means by international control and inspection. He says he will not talk to us at all until that state of affairs comes about.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. If this agreement were entered into and a nation violated the agreement would the punishment of that nation still be subject to the veto?—A. As we understand the thesis. We cannot be quite categorical on it because we have never been able to get complete agreement but Mr. Gromyko has always insisted and continues to insist that the application of these matters shall come within the Security Council which means that any action is subject to the so-called unanimity rule which in common parlance is called the veto.

Mr. Reid: The reason I ask that question is because of the reaction you get among certain groups and individuals in this country every time you mention the word "Russia." Because the Muskox expedition explored the north we are assailed for violating the peace. It is pointed out to us we are engendering bad faith with Russia and preparing for war. We get that all the time. That is said to me. It is said, "Why are you doing this in the north"? None of us knows exactly what the attitude of Russia is or whether she is an ally. We are always told we are wrong.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think that is the point. I do not want to enter into a discussion. We had better leave it. I do not think we had better enter into that discussion.

Mr. Reid: He mentioned this plan of Gromyko.

The Witness: That question of policy is rather beyond my prerogative.

## By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Did I understand you to say that the Canadian attitude was one in favour of international ownership of thorium and uranium and their by-products?—A. No, I would not say that is the Canadian position at all. The Canadian position on that matter is as yet undefined, and rightly so, until the whole implications of these things have been explored.

Q. That really was the Baruch recommendation?—A. Yes.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. That was your disagreement with him?—A. No, That was not mine.
- Q. One of the points of disagreement?—No.
- Q. I thought so from reading the evidence at the time.—A. No. The Canadian delegation have tried, and tried conscientiously, to let no predisposition enter our minds either for or against any of these measures that would prevent their full and adequate discussion. In fact, in the working of these little drafting groups that are trying to work out these very complex matters we have tried to take a thesis and tried as individuals to impartially offer every conceivable kind of argument in favour of that thesis. Then we have

tried to take the diametrically opposite view and impartially offer the arguments in favour of it, and then put the two sides of the argument side by side and look at the consequences and see which are the ones the conscience of the world can accept. We have been at it for a year, and we do not claim we are in any position to give judgment on ownership at all. It may be necessary. It may not.

#### By Mr. Boucher:

Q. It seemed to me in your previous statement when you mentioned Bernard Baruch as recommending international ownership that you did imply the hope that could be achieved and I did not know whether we were to take that as the Canadian policy.—A. No. If I did so I would be giving a wrong impression because, as I say, this business at the present time is exploratory. We do not know whether or not it is the right thing to do but I am going to say this that we are dealing with something which is entirely novel. It is a new thing. Enough of it can be carried around in a small motor car to destroy the great cities of the world. We have got to deal with it. There is no past human experience to help us in pointing out a course of action. We have got to set our minds to finding out what course of action we ought to follow. When we do make up our minds what has to be done about it we can be perfectly certain there are going to be a whole lot of things that need to be done that we are not going to like. I do not think anybody will like the treaty when it comes down.

#### By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I should like to ask the witness one question. Has your committee any jurisdiction over Great Britain where they are going to set up an electrical plant from atomic energy?—A. We have no jurisdiction. That is a matter for the British government.

Q. You have no jurisdiction over that?—A. None whatever.

Q. How would that work in with the Russian suggestion that every bit of this material be destroyed?—A. If the Russian suggestion were adopted the British plant would have to be demolished.

The CHAIRMAN: It is almost 6 o'clock. I do not think we should go any

further.

## By Mr. Cote:

Q. I should like to ask this last question. Assuming that the Russian point of view might be accepted would that mean the denial of an international police force? Mr. Gromyko has suggested disarmament and the destruction of whatever weapons of war are in existence. Would that mean the denial of the international police force that is supposed to be organized?—A. I would not think the two things are related.

Q. They are not?—A. Not directly. You see, what Gromyko suggested amounts to this, that we should merely do as we did in the Kellogg-Briand pact, outlaw the possession of atomic energy, make it an international crime, have a gentleman's agreement that nothing will be done about it and that is all.

As was pointed out the effect of that is unilateral.

The CHARMAN: It is almost 6 o'clock. I have no doubt that the witness is fairly tired. He had a rather wearisome trip. I have no doubt that the applause which has been offered for your very clear and instructive address has been a reward to you.

Mr. Coldwell: It has been most interesting.

Mr. Core: I think we should move a motion of thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: We will have General McNaughton with us to-morrow morning.

'Mr. Coldwell: I was wondering if he would tell us something to-morrow about the possibility of industrial uses of atomic energy for peacetime needs. I think we have discussed the terrible side of it today.

The Chairman: I thank the members of the committee for being present in such great numbers and hope that to-morrow you will be as numerous. We will meet at 10.30.

The committee adjourned at 6 o'clock p.m. to meet again at 10.30 a.m. on Friday, June 6, 1947.

#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, June 6, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, we will continue where we left off yesterday. Some members thought it would be better if the questioning were done by rotation. I do not believe in that principle in a way because some members may not be ready or do not wish to put any questions, and it might be embarrassing for those who are at the end of the line. We will carry on the same as we did yesterday.

Mr. Low: That is good enough.

## General A. G. L. McNaughton, Canadian Delegate, Atomic Energy Commission, recalled.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I did not ask any questions yesterday, and I have two or three I might ask. The first one is a rather general question. I am bound to say that yesterday's proceedings left me with a very depressed feeling. That was the impression that the evidence given yesterday made on me. I should like to ask the witness about the general atmosphere in which the commission is carrying on its labours at the present time. Is there evidence of sober confidence on the part of the delegates that they are really going to reach a general agreement and attain success in their efforts, or is there a feeling of frustration and futility on the part of the delegates, or some of them?—A. In answer to that question I should like to say that perhaps the impression of depression that I may have created is due in large measure to the seriousness with which we all view the task which is in front of the Atomic Energy Commission. I think if you were present at the meetings you would find that everybody takes a most serious view of the consequences of any failure to reach an agreement in this business of atomic energy and its control. I do not think that we can say that people are either optimistic or pessimistic at this stage. I do not think it would be right to say that as a general rule or general impression. There are periods of optimism and there are periods of pessimism that come over the group. What I think would more accurately describe the atmosphere is that it is one of determination to presevere in carrying the exploration of this matter forward, and certainly on behalf of the nations who think with the west a determination to arrive at a treaty, the drafting of a treaty, which will, in fact, if it were adopted, give the World the kind of control of atomic energy to the full extent which is necessary to safeguard against preparations for atomic war.

O. You used the expression. "the nations of the west." If it should happen that a general agreement on the part of the twelve members of the commission is not reached is it possible that an alternative agreement may be reached on the part of some of the nations represented on the commission?—A. I think it would be the opinion of most of the delegates that they would deplore a separate agreement. You see all the way through it has been the desire of every one that the twelve nations should fully participate in the discussions. It is perfectly true that the point of view expressed by Mr. Gromyko and supported by the Polish delegation is in fundamentals different from the other ten nations who compose the commission, but one has the feeling—and I think the right feeling that as we go on, with Russia and Poland fully represented not only in the meetings of the commission but in the meetings of all its committees and in these drafting subcommittees where they wish, there is constantly being put before the Russians a constructive attitude of mind and information bearing on it showing that these other nations are perfectly genuine in their desire to achieve control, and perfectly generous in not wanting to get any special advantage out of it. In the course of time the genuineness of that attitude must, some of us think, filter through to the people in the other nations who do not have those views at this time. That is all constructive and all helpful towards an eventual agreement.

As regards the responsibility of the commission I think the duty of the commission at this stage is restricted to the drafting of the kind of treaty which is needed, and that it is the duty of other channels of diplomacy, and so on, to consider how that treaty is to be brought into effect. I think the commission should keep to the business of the first stage, the drafting of the treaty; it is far better the members should concentrate on that than that they should extend into other fields as to the possible time at which it might come into operation. I hope that vesterday I-did not create too much of an impression of immediate danger because in this matter I believe myself that there is an element of time available sufficient for the thorough and comprehensive study of these matters and the formulation of correct proposals. I do not think we have any time to waste but yet I do not see any reason for hysteria. I think that opinion is shared by the other members of the commission. In other words, it is not a temporary expediency solution that is being sought but one which has been thoroughly studied, analyzed and prepared to meet the long term view and be correct in the long term analysis.

Q. Would you care to hazard an opinion as to the likelihood of success being attained by the commission prior to the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in September?—A. I think it would be a very rash man who said one would or one would not reach a conclusion before the September meeting. The actual work in the drafting committees on certain phases of this problem is getting on very well. I have been very struck with the way in which the people associated together are beginning now to work as teams in tackling these problems. There is a sense of collective responsibility about these groups that we did not notice when we began our work nearly a year ago. People are beginning to work as groups and that is all to the good. As to whether we will actually be able to get a complete draft of a treaty by September personally I would say not. I think we will be able to bring forward by September a fairly complete picture of what an international agency to control these matters would look like. We would know fairly well most of the duties. There would be substantial agreement by at least ten nations out of the twelve as to the scope of the functions of the international agency and its duties, limitations, and so on. I think if we can get that drafted and report it to the Assembly that would be a very substantial step forward.

Q. There will definitely be an interim report at least?—A. When the Security Council referred the first report back to the Atomic Energy Commission to get along with the work it was requested there would be another report in September.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I should like to ask which of these plans that have been put before the commission seems to be the one which is favoured by most of the delegates, the Lilienthal plan or the Soviet plan? At this moment is there any indication of favour of one or the other?—A. Yes.

Q. By the majority?—A. Yes. I would say ten nations out of twelve would not accept the Soviet thesis of proceeding by way of outlawry of atomic weapons and leaving to some later convention or conventions the setting up of the

safeguards.

Q. That is what I gathered yesterday.—A. There are ten nations out of twelve that believe, and have so stated in season and out of season on every appropriate occasion, that a convention to prohibit atomic weapons is an essential part, but only one part of a broader convention which provides methods of control. The feeling in those ten nations, I think I can say without any doubt, is that the first proposal would be wholly illusory. It would be giving a false hope of peace to the nations of the world when we know that an act of that sort unsupported by measures to keep it in effect day by day would not be very helpful.

Q. I was going to ask with regard to the other two plans which seem to be most discussed just now?—A. There really is not a Lilienthal-Acheson plan. This was a general paper that was prepared by the committee of which Lilienthal was the chairman. They tried to assess and evaluate and make some general proposals. Certain of these proposals, but not all, were adopted by Mr. Baruch

and embodied in the formal United States presentation.

Q. Have you got back in some degree to the first paper?—A. There is an indication in the proposals, particularly of the United States delegation, that the rather looser control Mr. Baruch proposed, particularly over the control of raw materials, should be tightened up somewhat on the lines of the Lilienthal-Acheson project.

Q. That project proposed, did it not, the control of the actual mining of the mineral?—A. Yes.

Q. What was our attitude on that? That is what I have in mind?—A. It proposed actual ownership of the mines. I expressed Canada's view on that somewhat forcibly on a number of occasions. Please do not think we were refusing on any selfish grounds to go into a project of that sort merely because we happened to be the possessors of raw materials. A selfish attitude on our part was furthest away from the reason for our taking that view. We felt that the one sure way to wreck an international development agency would be to say, "You will own all raw materials, all the raw uranium in the world", because they would then become the biggest owners of derelict real estate of any organization in the world. A person can get one of these Geiger counters, and they can go up in the Gatineau or some place down near Kingston and they can get a kick on the galvanometer showing there is uranium around. Immediately they would come and want to sell the stuff to the agency, and it would be very hard for the agency to refuse to buy it. The first thing you would know you would be owning real estate in every outlandish place in the world and you could not do anything with it. Then, too, it is probably only one of the things likely to be present. There may be a lot of other valuable products, and the agency would have to be mixed up in the gold industry, the mining of vanadium in Colorado, of tungsten In other places, of oil shales in Sweden, and I do not know what else. They Would have no time left to deal with atomic energy. They would be

managing real estate. It was on that ground I expressed a very strong view that if one wanted to wreck an international agency one would favour the ownership of mines. That view was accepted and carried. There is a strong opinion forming—I do not know yet whether it will actually materialize—for the ownership of the source materials once they have been displaced from where they occur in nature, that is, in the mines, the ownership of them would pass to the International agencies when they have been brought up to the surface. Ownership is not a term which has been very clearly defined as yet. As I understand it it is not ownership in the ordinary sense of the word that is intended by the people who propose this, but rather something in the nature of a trustee title to the mineral, so that in its further stages of milling, refining and concentration and use in reactors, an so on, from the very beginning, the agency would have the say as to what happened to it. It is not ownership in the sense that I own this particular copy of this report. It is some kind of title in the agency, once the stuff is disturbed, that would give the agency the right to have the final say in what was to be done to the material at every stage. There is a good deal to be said for that thesis although I am not prepared to say we accept it. We do not yet know. It is one of the things that is being argued impartially pro and con at the moment.

Q. I asked the question because I wanted to bring out that phase of it.—A. Yes, it is very important.

Q. Some of the papers inferred that Canada had a vested interest, and that was the reason I asked the question.—A. I should like to assure this committee—

Q. I do not doubt that for a moment.—A. —that while we have important sources of this material I think it is in the minds of everyone associated with this problem that the real interest of Canada is not in the possession of some particular mineral or other but in the formulation of something which will give us security from the cataclysm which will come if we do not bring this business under control. Our interest is security. I am quite sure, having that interest, that we will pay whatever is the proper price to pay for security. We will pay what is proper, neither more nor less. I think that is the thing that must guide us and govern us in giving consideration to this matter, not only as to the proposals—and I say proposals because that is all we are working on in the commission—but also, if I may be so bold as to say so, the same conception must guide the House of Commons when the matter comes before you gentlemen for legislation. It is the security aspect that must dominate.

By Mr. Jacques:

Q. Am I correct in saying that the idea is to place absolute control of atomic energy, which in its present form is the decisive factor in warfare, in the hands of a small body of men who would assume world control of atomic energy and therefore atomic bombs? That is correct?—A. Shall I answer that question?

Q. Yes.—A. No, I would not say that simple statement really tells the story. The idea is, by means of treaties and conventions, to set up an international agency which will have control of these fissionable substances from the time they leave the mine until they are used up in industrial purposes for the generation of power or the preparation of isotopes for use in chemistry, physics, medicine, and so on, so that they will go along in the channel of peaceful use, and that if any nation should be seeking to divert them to war purposes there will be a warning at once that that is happening. That is the thesis that underlies the conception of the international agency. It is first of all to give a warning. Of course, once war breaks out, if war should break out, then the international agency, like every other organ of international collaboration, goes into the discard.

Q. To make that control absolute would they not have to have control of the bomb itself so they could use it as a threat to any nation which was, well, we will say putting the bomb to other than peacetime uses? Is there any guarantee that when this international body gets working-after all, it is composed of human beings no doubt with a lust for power—is there any guarantee to the rest of the world that that bomb will not be used as an absolute control over all nations? If a nation proceeded along a path which was not agreeable to the international control what would there be to guarantee that it would not be necessary to use the bomb? If someone had a bomb all that would be necessary would be to use the threat; to say that if you do not toe the line, then we have the bombs and you will have to take the consequences. It seems to me there is more than a risk there.—A. I certainly agree with you that there is very serious risk in all these matters. I think it is generally accepted that one part of the treaty, as I said yesterday, would be this outlawry of the use of the bomb under all circumstances, and the dissipation of any stock of bombs which may be in existence in the world. That is, the fissionable material will be withdrawn from those nations and used for peaceful purposes in reactors and so on for power. The bomb having been outlawed, its manufacture or its use would be an international crime of a most serious character.

Now, as to the future, the action taken at Nuremberg in the trial of war criminals has shown that anybody who commits an international crime is going to be dealt with, and I think the lesson of the Nuremberg trials would be one deterrent.

Q. You would not say that anybody who would break an international law would be punished?—A. Now, the other phase of it is this international agency. The stocks of this material used in the world would have to be known to this agency, and one of its duties would be to keep those stocks down to the minimum required for industrial purposes, to prevent the accumulation of stocks; and at the very least, through their world-wide contacts and their responsibilities to the United Nations, to give immediate warning if there was any indication of any nation whatsoever stocking this material for other than

peaceful purposes.

Q. Let me put it this way. Suppose a country considered that its liberties were being threatened; therefore it considered it necessary to use armed force in defence of its liberties and threatened war against one or more other countries; now, under this arrangement would that country not incur the penalty of this international body, and be threatened with the use of the atomic bomb against it if it declared war? Or is it to apply only to the use of the bomb or bomb materials to warfare? In other words, is this completely international? Will it be used to stop all warfare for all purposes, or is it only specifically against the use of the atomic bomb in warfare?—A. The business of our commission is at the moment the latter part of your statement dealing with the outlawing of the atomic bomb and the setting up, or the proposal to set up, some sort of a system which will prevent the use of atomic weapons in war.

Q. It is purely and specifically against the use of atomic energy in warfare, is it?—A. I will quote from what I said yesterday when I referred to the resolution establishing the commission. Paragraph (c) of the items on which we are making specific proposals reads: "For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction."

That is what the commission has to do. The broader application you have

indicated is something really for the United Nations itself.

Q. Would you say, General, that that would include all other weapons; the ordinary bomb is a very destructive weapon?—A. Well, certainly the two matters we referred to yesterday, chemical warfare and bacteriological warfare would come within the terms. The other weapons, the weapons known as conventional weapons, are being dealt with at the present time under the

Assembly resolution of the 14th of December last by the Security Council. They are trying to set up a system of dealing with conventional weapons, leaving out atomic energy and major weapons of mass destruction to the Atomic Energy Commission.

Q. One last question: If we remove the worst penalties of the war—in other words, make war more humane—do you not think that might encourage people to indulge in that pastime in the future? On the other hand, if all people realized what was going to happen to them as a result of the war—that is with regard to atomic energy, chemical and bacteriological warfare—do you not think that would be about the best preventive of war that one could think of? At least, it might be; I will not say that it is.—A. It may well be that what you say is right, because once a war breaks out there is no writ of international law which governs what will happen. The only deterrent to the use of these weapons will be the fear of retaliation or the sacrificing of some advantage and what we have to do is to try to persuade the nations of the world to get their minds working together and away from war if we can. At least we should remove the anxiety with regard to atomic warfare which is hanging over people's heads so that there will be at least a period of warning before the stuff is let loose. If we can remove anxiety by this convention and by the setting up of an international agency we have gone some way to prevent war or to make war unlikely.

#### By Mr. Knowles:

Q. Is not Mr. Jaques confusing the functions of the Atomic Energy Commission and the body dealing with conventional weapons on the one hand and the functions of the Security Council on the other?—A. Yes.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Does it not all boil down to this, that there must be some international authority whose main function is to get rid of war and the causes of war?—

A. That is right.

- Q. And that is what the United Nations was set up to do?—A. That is right. That is my thought on the matter. There is one observation. There are certain wars that the United Nations might make in the future that are contemplated to be of a punitive character, where the idea, it seems to me, would be to reform people but not to wipe them off the face of the earth; but of all the weapons for police action of that sort that anybody can conceive, it seems to me the atomic bomb is the worst.
- Q. In other words, police methods to put down aggression, but with the idea of reforming the nation in the end?—A. Yes.
  - Q. That should be the end of our penitentiary system too.

## By the Chairman:

Q. Would not the ultimate goal of your commission be for the eventual stoppage of the manufacture of any of the atomic bombs for war purposes and the destruction of the stocks actually in hand at the time?—A. I would not use the term "the destruction of the stocks", having regard to the great civil uses of this material. One would salvage the stocks for peaceful purposes, if I may put it that way. The total destruction of stocks would be an act of vandalism.

## By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Would you agree to this, that the main purpose should be to prevent war of any kind because once war breaks out then there would be no control over atomic bombs or mechanical warfare or any other sort of warfare; and I think, that being the case, perhaps the best deterrent of war would be the very

real terror of the people, of all people, as to what would happen to them or might happen to them in the event of war from the use of atomic bombs or chemical or bacteriological warfare?

Mr. MacInnis: Mr. Chairman, could the situation be summed up in this way: if the nations of the world could come to any agreement on the matter of the atomic bomb then the psychological effect of that would be to remove from the nations that terrible fear, and to clear the way for cooperation in peaceful pursuits?

The Witness: The only thing I would add to that statement, Mr. MacInnis, is that it is not only the outlawry of the atom bomb itself, because I do not think that would carry that degree of confidence to the nations and to the peoples; it is the outlawry of the bomb associated with all these other measures I have referred to which will give that warning, and turn these things to peacetime purposes and so on. I am referring to these controls and safeguards. If you couple the two together I am with you.

Mr. MacInnis: I had in mind that the outlawry of the bomb would require a very complete international inspection so that you would have exactly the same situation in every country with regard to the use of atomic energy. Is not that a factor?

The Witness: Again, I cannot quite subscribe to what you said in the terms in which you said it, because I do not believe many of the nations of the world would be satisfied merely with inspection. There has to be a positive measure of control and safeguards associated with the outlawry. If those things are done then you will get a feeling of confidence among the nations of the world: at least they are going to have a period of a year or so before this stuff may be launched on them. Then I think the way is clear for constructive measures.

Mr. MacInnis: I included that in my term "inspection."

The Witness: Forgive me for being so insistent on bringing out those points. We have to be very careful that we put this case completely; because you see on the one hand we have before the commission the simple thesis from the Soviet Union supported by Poland, that all they want is a convention on the lines of Kellogg-Briand pact to outlaw war; and on the other hand we have the other ten nations saying, "Yes, we want to have these dread things outlawed, but there is no use trying to do it by itself; that must be associated with all these control measures and safeguards." We do not want to be thrown by an incomplete statement from one side of the argument onto the other side. Forgive me for making that plain.

Mr. MacInnis: I not only forgive you, but I very much appreciate your reply.

By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. It amounts to this, that the Soviets must be prepared, with all the other nations, to relinquish some of their sovereignty and place that sovereignty—I believe it is an extension of sovereignty—in the hands of the international organization through this board.—A. I think that puts the matter in a nutshell. That is the situation. If we are going to have a world authority we would have to clothe it with powers, and powers can only come if the nations of the world are willing to entrust these particular functions to an international authority. We are doing it every day. Every treaty we make is a derogation from national sovereignty.
- Q. Yes. Yet, in a way, it is an extension of national sovereignty?—A. In a sense, it is an extension of national sovereignty. The trouble with it is this;

I think you get these words coined and there becomes in the minds of some people a sort of passionate idea about their meaning. They do not stop to work out exactly what is involved. If you take the trouble to work out what is involved and state it, you will find there is no objection on behalf of the people. But, if you merely say to a fellow, "We have to give up national sovereignty", he thinks those are fighting words.

#### By Mr. Fleming:

Q. That leads to another aspect of it which has to do with the informing of public opinion. I think the impression the public has in general of this matter is that it is surrounded by such secrecy it is a matter for a small group of scientists and not a matter for public opinion. The fear engendered by the thought of it may be so great that the average man does not want to think about it but before very long, perhaps arising out of the report of the commission, it is going to be necessary for a decision to be made. Perhaps in this parliament and every parliament of the world it will have to be made, with some relation to public opinion. I would invite General McNaughton's statement on the steps that may be taken right now to see that public opinion is informed on the great issues which are involved in this tremendous problem of the control of atomic energy.

Mr. COLDWELL: Is not that part of our job?

Mr. Fleming: It is part of our job but after all, there is so much science involved, I believe the opinion of a scientist will be of great importance. After all, how much does the average legislator know about dealing with this problem?

Mr. Low: You cannot publicize what you do not know.

Mr. Coldwell: Dr. MacKenzie, the other night, gave an address on atomic energy over the radio which, I think, would be along the line of Mr. Fleming's thought.

The Witness: I also spoke on the radio the other night. The CBC ran a whole series for the purpose of trying to inform public opinion on these matters. I would also draw the attention of the committee to the fact that the Engineering Institute of Canada, realizing its responsibility for informing the public devoted the whole of the Toronto meeting, in substance, to atomic energy. There were a number of very good papers presented there which, I imagine, will be in the next issue of the Journal of the Engineering Institute.

Further than that and more particularly related to the scientific side, a seminar was held in Hamilton two or three weeks ago. Those papers will also be published. Those two meetings were on the scientific side at Hamilton and on the engineering side at Toronto. A lot of very valuable information has been given so that the people can really understand and assess these various problems.

Then, all our work in the United Nations is very closely followed by the United States press, and particularly by the *Herald-Tribune* and by the *Times*. In the New York Press there are several columns of information every day concerning what is going on in this commission.

Mr. Coldwell: It does not seep into any of our papers.

The Witness: Unfortunately, it does not to a sufficient extent. People such as Mr. Lilienthal are going around the country in the United States speaking on every appropriate occasion, as well as other people like Mr. Winne of the General Electric. Others, who are high authorities, are making speeches purely for the purpose of informing the public on the technical aspects so far as they are allowed to go from the security angle. You will find Mr. Osborne of the American delegation making speeches trying to inform public opinion. It is of vital importance that there should be an informed public opinion, not only

throughout the country but also in parliament and certainly before we try to legislate on these matters and take a decision. When we do there will be a parting of the ways.

Mr. Coldwell: If I may say so, the information we have received on this committee is of great value. I believe all of us can make a contribution by making our next talk on parliament hill on the basis of the information we have received here.

#### By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Would not the development of peace time uses of atomic energy bring new problems and new responsibilities to the Atomic Energy Commission in the way of permitting vast uses of this material and at the same time maintaining control?—A. Yes, those problems of the peace time uses are very, very significant and very important. Again, we have a little time. These great developments are not going to take place over night. Fortunately, as I say, we have time available to think out how we are going to handle them.

#### By Mr. Jaques:

- Q. May I ask the General another question, Mr. Chairman? I do not know whether he would care to answer it or not, but it seems to me pertinent at the present time. The nations are re-arming. As you may know, our debate in the House at the present time is on a measure concerning the armed defence of this country. Great Britain has voted for total conscription. If the problem of the atomic bomb was settled to-morrow and it were possible to do away with the threat of the atomic bomb throughout the world, would you care to express an opinion as to whether or not in that case, the nations would and could disarm completely?—A. You are asking me to make a pretty bold pronouncement. I think it is beyond the wit and wisdom, if I may put it that way, of any individual to answer that question. It becomes really a question of opinion. I would express it, not as an answer, but as a hope. If we were, in fact, able to bring the nations together, have a meeting of minds on the solution of the problem of the atomic bomb and on the problem of armaments generally which is being dealt with by the Security Council, if we had a meeting of the minds on those two things, that habit of a meeting of the minds might extend to almost any extent.
- Q. But merely on the bomb itself; I do not ask you to express an opinion, but if you did, would you consider that if the problem of the atomic bomb itself was settled satisfactorily—A. The settlement of every problem carries on and permits of the settlement of the next problem. It is like a chain reaction. I hope I have made it clear that I regard the bomb as only one of the problems in the sphere of disarmament, all of which are closely interrelated. I regard it as a most important problem, but it is only one of many problems that have to be settled concurrently.
- Q. I would include, of course, chemical and bacterial warfare with it. As I say, all countries are re-arming. I was just wondering whether, if the atomic bomb problem was settled once and for all whether, in your opinion, that would give the nations, what shall I say, the confidence to disarm altogether?—A. Again, all I can say in answer to that question is that the settlement of any controversy predisposes to the settlement of other controversies and that anything we can do to bring agreement is something which is of constructive value towards the peace of the world. I do not think I can go farther than that because I think people who are far better informed on international relations would have to be drawn in to express an opinion before it would be worth anything. My work is primarily restricted to these technical aspects rather than the political aspects.

#### By Mr. Fleming:

- Q. To what extent has there thus far been disclosure either in the commission or the scientific committees working under the commission of the research processes and research results achieved in Canada and the United States? Would you in your answer, if you care to, link with that a statement on the relationship between the work you are doing down there and the work that is being carried on here in Canada by the Atomic Energy Control Commission which was set up here a year and a half ago. I think there is a similar body in the United States. Would you care to comment on that relationship?—A. Quite frankly, I would not care to comment on the peaceful uses at this time because I am here, summoned by this committee, in the particular capacity of the Canadian delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. I have come briefed and prepared to answer, to the best of my ability, questions of that sort. Questions as to what is going on in Canada and other places, I do not think would be within my terms of reference here today.
- Q. Then, General, would you confine yourself to the first part of my question about the extent of the disclosures within the scientific committees working under the commission?—A. Of course, everything new that has a security aspect is excluded from the information. Information can only come before the commission from the national delegates and they are only giving such information as they can, without detriment to their own security, the security of their own nation. I would say, in particular, a very large and important mass of scientific information has been furnished by the United States delegation. They have been in this matter in the biggest way of all; they have the broadest experience. Within the limits of security, as required by their legislation, they have made that information available to the committee.
- Q. There has been a sort of limited pooling of the information that has been given thus far?—A. I would go on to say that I do not believe the work of the technical committee of the Atomic Energy Commission has been, in any way, seriously hampered by a lack of the scientific knowledge and information required to reach conclusions. They have had enough for that purpose and, at the same time, I do not think any nation has given information which would compromise its security.
- Q. Has that position been generally accepted by all the nations or are some of them, who are not in possession of the information clamoring for more?

  —A. Any person who has not that information is always on a fishing expedition.

## By Mr. Breithaupt:

Q. Mr. Chairman, I suppose the continuity of the secrets involved in the manufacture of the bomb is assured so far as the future is concerned. Having in mind human frailty, the passing out of the picture in time of those minds which have this knowledge, I suppose it is only natural to realize that on a matter of this importance, continuity is assured. Would the General care to comment on that or is that a leading question?—A. I do not mind commenting on that at all. The organizations concerned are very large. I do not think there is any danger of any discoveries which have been made being lost by reason of their being locked in the minds of one or two people.

Another thing, you spoke about security. What one set of minds has found out, other minds can find out as well. I heard the chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Lilienthal, the other day express in the most forceful language that security is only to be found in research and development. He went on to say it is the purpose of his commission to make everything we have at the moment obsolete as quickly as it can be done. In other words, security is not a static condition, it is a dynamic consideration. It

comes from progressive leadership in the field.

Q. And the development of improvements?—A. Yes. Development and

improvement.

Q. I have one other question to ask. Yesterday, I was much impressed with the statement the General made in connection with the devastating effect of these gases and these gamma rays after the bomb explosion at Bikini. I understood him to say that the ships were so affected it was not possible to go aboard even at this late date. Has the General any scientific knowledge as to how long that condition would last?—A. No. I may say, just so there will be no doubt about it, my information on that is general. It is not particular information derived from the United States, it is a matter of general knowledge. I was only repeating what is a matter of general knowledge. Certain of those ships are still reported to be radioactive and there is every reason, scientifically, to expect that they might continue so for a considerable period. There is also no doubt, and it would only be logical to deduce from the studies which have been made that methods of reducing that hazard are also known and on future ships there will be some method by which they can more readily be decontaminated.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. But perhaps not entirely decontaminated?—A. Not entirely.

Q. So that the danger to inhabitants on account of the gamma rays thrown up by a submarine explosion would still be immobilizing a ship for some time?

—A. I am only talking as an engineer and scientist, not as anybody having any special information. I am going to put my answer in the form of queries. Certain materials, if you had a rusty deck for example, or rust on the deck, it would only be a matter of common sense to know that some of these radioactive materials might cling to the rust. There are certain paints to which it might not cling. If that is the case, you could swab the painted deck with salt water and remove the radioactivity. By applying engineering principles, you could reduce any of these hazards. Whether you can entirely eliminate them it is not for me to say.

## By Mr. Breithaupt:

Q. How do scientists know that the ship is still contaminated? Do they put small forms of animal life aboard to make tests or how is that determined? A. No, it is very easy to know when you are in an atmosphere which is dangerous from a radioactive point of view. Your standard protection is, first of all, the use of an apparatus known as the Geiger counter. The moment there is any radioactivity about it gives a recording on a meter. If that meter reading is above a certain amount you must not be in the area for more than a few minutes. If it is reading a little less you might, perhaps, be safe in that atmosphere for an hour or so. So it goes. Then everybody connected with this radioactive business has to carry a little sealed envelope with a photographic plate in it of a special kind. Every week that plate is taken away from him and is developed. The intensity of the blackening is measured and that tells how much he has been exposed during the period. If he has had too much then he is told by the doctor that he is not allowed to go into that particular environment again for a couple of months or so. He is put out of bounds. It is very easy to tell when a ship or any other place is dangerous from a radioactive point of view. It is a matter of routine precaution.

## By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Is it true that they have far more powerful atomic bombs today than they had before?—A. Again I cannot answer that of my own knowledge, but I can again suggest to you that the actual efficiency of the explosion of the bombs that were exploded at Nagasaki was only a fraction of 1 per cent of the total

energy of mass in the bombs, and it would be highly unlikely if, with future engineering developments, its efficiency were not multiplied several fold. It is highly unlikely although I am not prepared to make that statement here.

The Chairman: The last issue of the Reader's Digest mentions the fact that with the new bombs it is not so much the material losses that will be involved as it is the fact that everything that is living within a radus of so many miles will be entirely destroyed. That is a horrible thing. It is pointed out that it will be ten times, a thousand times, worse than the original bomb in live destruction.

#### By Mr. Jaques:

Q. May I ask a technical question? I speak, of course, as a layman, but I read somewhere that the force of the present bomb is due to the changing of one element into another element. If I understand the article it is possible to change matter concretely into force. Matter ceases to exist and the whole thing is transmuted into force. Is that correct?—A. Equivalence is not between matter and force but between matter and energy. Energy is different to force. Energy is force operating through distance. It is of different dimensions.

Q. I should have said "energy". That is true, is it?—A. I think the Einstein theory of the equivalence of matter and energy has been abundantly proved;

it is universally accepted by scientists now.

Q. In the same way, of course, that this force is turned into heat matter

can be transmuted into energy?—A. That is right.

Q. And that accounts for the tremendous——A. When these bombs explode the mass of the products of the explosion is somewhat less than the mass that was originally there, and the deficiency in mass appears in the form of the energy which is given out.

Q. You would say in future, of course, that proportion would be increased?—

A. Possibly, yes.

## By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Yesterday the witness referred to the right which had been accorded to Canada as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission to sit in on meetings of the Security Council without a vote when matters pertaining to atomic energy are being discussed. To what extent thus far has there been contact between Atomic Energy Commission and the Security Council? Has there been any occasion as yet for the exercise of that right, and what are the prospects of it?—A. Yes. The first occasion on which we felt we should take part in the Security Council was when the rules of procedure of the Atomic Energy Commission were put forward by the commission itself to the Security Council for approval. We felt that was a vital matter. I pointed that out at the time in a letter to the chairman of the Security Council, and the result was an invitation to myself to sit in the Council for the consideration of these rules of procedure.

Q. Did you participate in the discussion?—A. Yes.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Was that not a rather interesting precedent in the Security Council when Mr. Gromyko did not use the veto to prevent your sitting down? Was that not an interesting precedent?—A. It was a very carefully worded resolution so that the veto would not apply.

Q. Did he argue the veto should apply?—A. It was put in such a way that

it did not apply. Just how it was done by the chairman I do not know.

Q. One of the things that I think we should all be aware of is that the Russians have changed the procedure in the Security Council to some extent by abstaining from voting so that unanimity is not destroyed.—A. I have it here. It has been pointed out to me that the rule of unanimity only applies to matters

of substance and not to matters of procedure, and article 31, under which I went to the Security Council, is definitely a matter of procedure, so we got by with it that way.

Q. I wondered how it was done.—A. I think that was an important precedent. Then when the report came before the Security Council of course there were vital matters involved. I reminded the chairman of our interest and we were at once summoned, and there was no objection taken by anybody.

#### By Mr. Fleming:

- Q. There have been those two meetings of the Security Council?—A. Oh, there have been many meetings of the Security Council.
- Q. Meetings that you have attended?—A. There was a whole series of meetings of the Security Council when this report was under debate. I do not remember how many—four or five.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. That you attended?—A. Yes.

#### By Mr. Low:

- Q. I think this phase of it has been pretty well covered. I wonder if we could go back to a phase of it which involves the production of the basic materials from the mines. Is it likely that the development of pitchblende claims that were staked by private individuals back in 1938 or 1939 prior to the outbreak of war will have to await decision by the Security Council?—A. I would not think so. The matter has been fully dealt with already by our parliament. The Atomic Energy Control Act passed last session prescribes procedure, and the rules and regulations have been issued.
- Q. Well, that is only so far as the government takes over, is it not? Here are staked claims in northwest Canada, for example, that were staked out by private individuals in 1938.—A. As to any claims that were staked out by private individuals before the passing of certain orders in council which were extended under the emergency powers regulations nobody has been deprived of any proprietory right.
- Q. Except that they are frozen; they cannot go in and develop them?—A. I would not say so. That is not my understanding. If they wish to develop there is no reason why they cannot. What cannot be done is that this highly dangerous stuff should be transported or sold without a permit.
- Q. I was under the impression that the orders in council of September 15, 1943, I believe, froze those claims?—A. No, those orders in council only applied to ground where rights had not been granted as yet. As to persons who had a claim already it did not deprive them in any way of any proprietory rights that they had, but it said that in the future as long as these orders in council were in effect, that the Crown reserved the uranium rights on ungranted land to itself, a wholly proper proceeding, I would think, having regard to the tremendous danger of this substance.
- Q. I agree with that.—A. It did not take away any rights. We could not do that under our legislation. Once people have rights I do not think parliament would contemplate depriving them of rights without compensation. I have never heard of it being done.
- Q. I can understand that, but there is this part of it. If long delays occur and these men are assessed by the government for extension or actual work done on the claims without being able to dispose of them, or without being able to turn them over to the government for compensation, it will not be quite fair to those individuals?—A. That is not the situation as I understand it.

Bu Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. The situation is that the government controls these highly dangerous substances after they are taken out of the ground?—A. Except in the case of the claims in the Northwest Territories where they have reserved it for the future.
  - Q. They were not alienated?—A. Unalienated. Q. The only control is on the uranium.

Mr. Low: That was the point I wanted to get.

The WITNESS: It was just the same as when you put control on bootleg liquor. There was no intention of depriving people of their rights. It was just to make sure those rights were not exercised in a way that would be harmful to the body politic, and quite properly so. I do not think the government could have done anything else.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Having regard to the fact that the commission has twelve nations represented on it, including all the members of the Security Council plus Canada, to what extent can it be said to be widely representative? I am thinking about the reception that the report from that commission is likely to receive when it reaches the General Assembly, a body that more widely represents the other nations. Is there any attempt being made to keep nations which are not directly represented on the commission informed of progress? Is there just that report?—A. And other reports, too. Remember, we have already had three nations on the Security Council changed in the last year so there are three new nations which are now being fully informed. Remember further that the Security Council and the Atomic Energy Commission are organs that have been created by the Assembly as persona designata to do particular things on behalf of all nations of the world. In a sense they are agents of all nations of the world to study and do these things and bring out reports, so that everybody may have full opportunity for information. Any nation that expresses a desire is always at liberty to come and attend the open meetings of the commission where everything of substance is dealt with, and to get all the information they want.

Q. Have any of them exercised that opportunity?—A. When controversial things are debated in the open sessions there are many hundreds of people present. I do not know who they are. I know that representatives of other nations come and sit in the special place reserved for them indicating that the nations are taking an interest. Holland, for example, which was on originally, is showing a continuing interest in the affairs of the commission. Their people come to see us periodically to find out how we are getting along, and numerous other nations act the same way.

The CHAIRMAN: Any other questions?

Mr. Coldwell: I think we might let General McNaughton go. We have given him a real question period. We have secured a tremendous amount of information. I think we should certainly express our most cordial thanks to General McNaughton and our appreciation of his very fine work and the fact we have such a well equipped scientist to represent Canada on the Atomic Energy Commission. I know I should like to say that.

The CHAIRMAN: In the name of the committeee we thank you and your officials again. Before we adjourn I want to mention what will be the work of the committee on Tuesday, June 10, as agreed on by the agenda committee. We shall take Bill 132 respecting article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations. The witness on that day will be Mr. Hopkins, head of the legal division of the External Affairs Department.

The committee adjourned at 12 o'clock p.m. to meet again on Tuesday, June 10, 1947, at 10.30 a.m.

#### SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

#### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE
No. 10

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1947

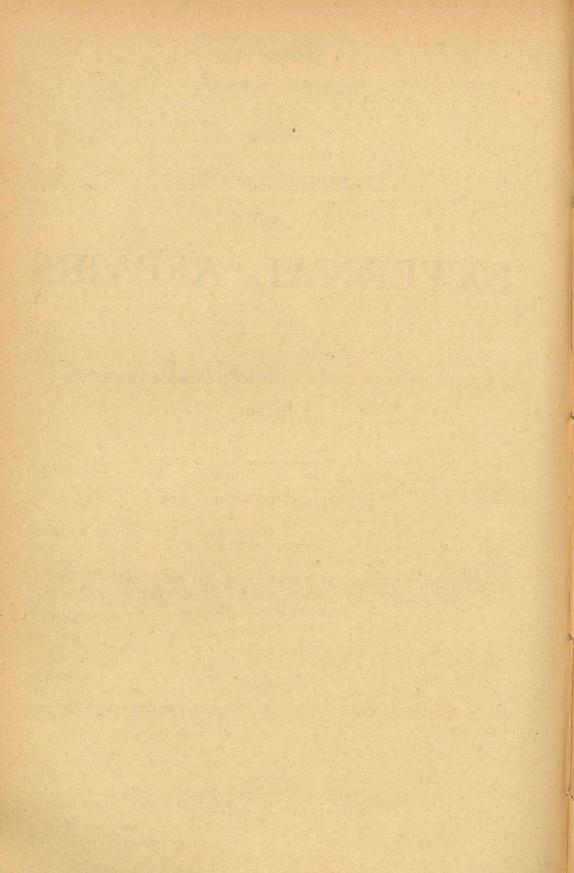
BILL NO. 132 (Letter F of the Senate), AN ACT RESPECTING ARTICLE FORTY-ONE OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

#### WITNESS:

Mr. E. R. Hopkins, Chief of the Legal Division, Department of External Affairs.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
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1947



#### REPORT TO HOUSE

Tuesday, June 10, 1947.

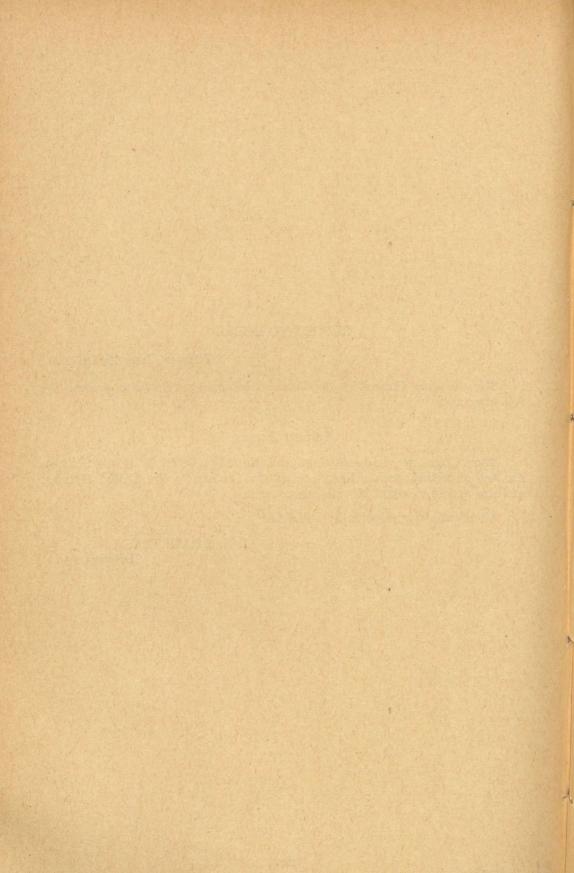
The Standing Committee on External Affairs begs leave to present the following as a

#### FOURTH REPORT

Your Committee has considered Bill No. 132 (Letter F of the Senate), An Act respecting Article Forty-one of the Charter of the United Nations, and has agreed to report it with amendments.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE, Chairman.



#### MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, June 10, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Bradette, Breithaupt, Coldwell, Croll, Fleming, Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Knowles, Low, MacInnis, Marquis, Winkler—15.

The Committee proceeded to consider Bill 132 (Letter F of the Senate) An Act respecting Article Forty-one of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. E. R. Hopkins was called. He made a statement relative to the principle of the Bill, was questioned and retired. The witness was assisted by Mr. John K. Starnes.

Clauses 1, 2 and 3 were adopted.

Clause 4 was amended by deleting "within fifteen days" from lines 2 and 4 and by substituting therefor the word "forthwith"—clause 4 as so amended carried.

Clause 5 was adopted.

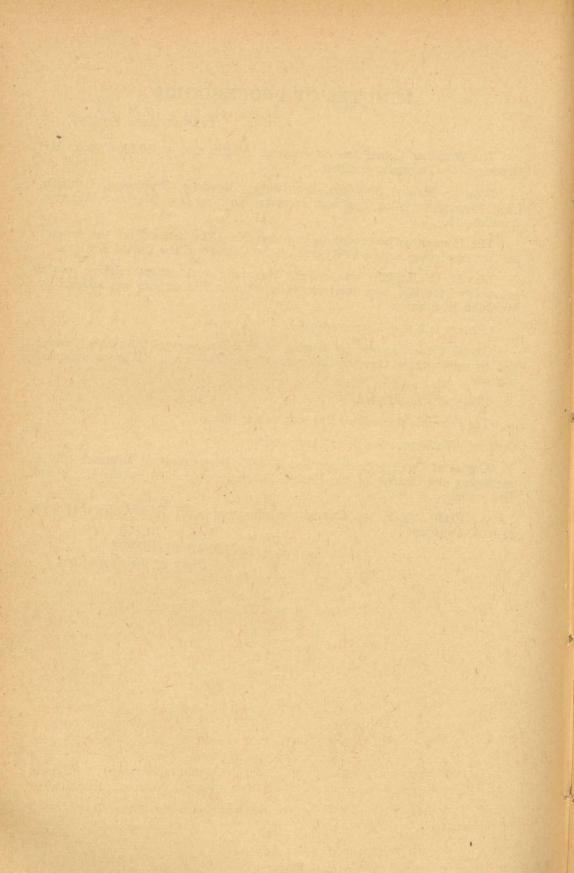
The Schedule was adopted as well as the title.

Ordered,—To Report the Bill as amended.

Copies of Conference Series No. 2, 1945, Department of External Affairs, containing the Charter of the United Nations were tabled by the Clerk and distributed.

At 12.00 o'clock, the Committee adjourned until Friday, June 13 next at 10.30 o'clock.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



## MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, June 10, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: At our meeting on June 5 it was stated we would meet on Tuesday, June 10 to take evidence on Bill 132 (F of the Senate), respecting Article 41 of the charter of the United Nations. We have the pleasure of having with us to-day Mr. E. R. Hopkins, Legal Adviser to the Department of External Affairs. I suppose you all have the bill before you now, and I believe it will be in order to call section 2 of it, "Powers of the Governor in Council".

2. When, in pursuance of Article Forty-one of the Charter of the United Nations, set out in the Schedule to this Act, the Security Council of the United Nations decides upon a measure to be employed to give effect to any of its decisions and calls upon Canada to apply such measure, the Governor in Council may make such orders and regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for enabling such measure to be effectively applied.

I believe it is the intention of Mr. Hopkins to make a statement at this time.

Mr. Fleming: Before Mr. Hopkins begins may I ask a question? This bill comes to us from the Senate. Were any amendments made in the Senate?

The Charman: Yes.

Mr. Fleming: I do not know whether Mr. Hopkins intended to cover this, but it would be interesting to know what amendments were made by the Senate in the original text of the bill.

Mr. Graydon: Amendments as to penalties.

## E. R. Hopkins, Legal Adviser, Department of External Affairs, called.

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. Coldwell: I wonder if it would not be wise to have article 41 go into the record now.

The CHAIRMAN: Article 41 reads:—

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

If I understand it correctly the amendments were made to section 3 of the bill.

#### By Mr. Croll:

Q. Where are the amendments? Are they printed here?—A. The amendments were made as a result of discussion in the Senate External Affairs committee, and are incorporated in the present bill. As we come to the relative sections, I might mention the nature of the changes which were made.

#### By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. This is the bill as passed, not as introduced?—A. This is the bill as passed by the Senate. I wonder if I should say something in a preliminary way about the juridical aspects of the bill, bearing in mind some questions which were asked and which appear in the record of the last meeting. Some questions were asked about economic sanctions against Italy. The story there is that the Parliament of Canada passed in 1919 the Treaties of Peace Act. The terms of that Act empowered the Governor in Council to give effect to all of the provisions of the Treaties of Peace including the Covenant of the League of Nations which formed a part thereof.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

- Q. It was through that then that the Governor in Council got the power to impose the sanctions they later withdrew in the Italian situation?—A. That is right.
- Q. I asked that question of the minister when the debate was in progress on second reading. I could not find any parallel case to this in previous parliaments. That answers the question.—A. I think it might be useful to read into the record the provisions of article 16 of the covenant of the league pursuant to which, and supported by the Treaties of Peace Act, the order in council imposing economic sanctions against Italy was passed. Would that be useful?

## Q. Yes.—A. Article 16 reads:—

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercouse between the nationals of the covenant breaking state and the nationals of any other state whether a member of the League or not.

What happened at Geneva was that the Council of the League of Nations determined that Italy having resorted to war against Ethiopia was a covenant-breaking state and a Co-ordinating Committee was set up by the Council and the Assembly of the League which recommended the kinds of sanction to be imposed against Italy. Pursuant to that, and pursuant to the Treaties of Peace Act, orders in council providing for those sanctions were passed.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What was the date of that ?—A. 1935. I commend to the members of the committee this White Paper which was published at that time. It is entitled, "Documents relating to the Italo-Ethiopian conflict." It is a very useful document, and was published under the authority of the Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1936.

By Mr. Fleming:

- Q. Are copies of that still available?—A. I do not know in what numbers.
- Q. Could we arrange to get copies?

Mr. Graydon: I think they are because I secured a copy of it from the distribution office before the debate on second reading.

The Chairman: I shall notify the secretary to see if they are available and to have them distributed to the members of the committee.

The Witness: Perhaps I might say this. One way of approaching the United Nations Charter might have been to proceed as was done in respect of the Treaties of Peace and the Covenant of the League after the last war, that is to say, instead of having Parliament approve the Charter by resolution it might have been an alternative method to proceed by a bill which might have included a clause similar to that contained in the Treaties of Peace Act, 1919, namely, a clause authorizing the Governor in Council to take such action as might be necessary to implement any of the provisions of the United Nations charter. That has not been the practice followed either here or in any of the commonwealth countries.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Why was the change made?—A. I cannot speak with authority on that subject. I would say that one reason would be that there is no urgency about some aspects of the matter, that the cautious and careful way is to examine the need for legislation as the need arises, or in early anticipation of the need, and to proceed as there is need for legislation. No doubt in the course of time there may be a series of United Nations acts which could then be consolidated, and you would then have a general United Nations Act. That is a question of policy upon which I perhaps should not say anything further, except to say that I think it is sensible.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How many times was article 16 invoked?—A. I am not the most competent historian in the world on that, but I think it was invoked against the Soviet Union—not clause 1, which was the one I just read, but clause 4.

## By Mr. Low:

Q. Would you say that the various occasions on which article 16 was invoked proved successful?—A. Well, "success" is a very relative term.

Mr. Coldwell: One outstanding example was the Italian-Ethiopian situation. It was not successful, was it? It was not successful, because the real sanctions were subsequently withdrawn.

Mr. Low: Why?

Mr. Fleming: The real sanctions really never were started, not because the machinery fell down but because individual nations backed up on their commitments under the convenant. It is not a very creditable record.

Mr. Coldwell: No, very bad.

The Witness: Perhaps I should go on to say that the Treaties of Peace Act in 1919 was based upon section 132 of the British North America Act under which the Parliament of Canada has authority to implement empire treaties. The Treaty of Versailles, in spite of the fact Canada later became a member of the league, was a treaty entered into by the British Empire. Consequently there was no need for reference to any other portions of the British North America Act to explain or vindicate the legislation.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In spite of the fact we had gone in as an automonous country?—A. That was some time before the events of 1926.

#### By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Sir Robert Borden signed the Treaty of Peace. His Majesty entered into that treaty of peace through his Canadian ministers.—A. All of the countries of the Commonwealth signed, but it was an empire treaty. The British Empire is named as one of the principal and associated powers in that case. Provision was however made in the covenant for an entry as individual states of members of the Commonwealth.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I suppose before 1926 that had to be done on that basis until the Balfour declaration was spelled out?—A That is right.

### By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. How does this article differ from article 41 of the covenant.—A. Article 41?
- Q. Yes.—A. It differs in two respects. Under article 41 severance of diplomatic relations is provided for, and I cannot find that in the league provision. It differs also in this respect that the provision in the covenant was an automatic *ipso facto* undertaking, whereas under the charter we are operating through the machinery of the Security Council.

#### By Mr. Croll:

- Q. There are certain penalties laid down for violation of some of the conditions by individuals, Canadians. What happens when we have a similar situation to that described by Mr. Fleming when there is an utter violation by states? Is that covered by the charter?—A. When there is a violation of the provisions of the charter by a state?
- Q. Yes, if they do not live up to it as they did not live up to the League of Nations Covenant, article 16. Suppose they do not live up to article 41—A. The executive organ, and the only executive organ with teeth of a kind, is the Security Council.

## By Mr. Graydon:

- Q. You regard the Security Council with teeth, do you?—A. I would say eye-teeth rather than dog-teeth.
  - Q. They certainly are not wisdom teeth so far.

## By Mr. Croll:

Q. We are back at the Security Council which, of course, has the veto?—A. Provision is made for what is called the veto, yes. In the Security Council there are two kinds of questions which may arise. Questions of procedure require a simple majority of seven of the eleven, but any question of substance, such as those we are talking about, requires a majority of seven of the eleven including the concurring votes of the five Great Powers.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. To understand this provision you have to go back to article 39. Is that not right?—A. I think you must consider this in the light of all the provisions of the charter, and particularly those relating to the Security Council.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask a question? I suppose in committee I may mention the senator's name. It is with respect to a point raised by Senator Roebuck in the debate on second reading in the Senate, which no doubt you have perused very carefully, where he raised the question of dominion provincial jurisdiction. Would you mind clearing that matter up for the committee? It had not occurred to me there was a conflict in jurisdiction, but he raised the question. I think it was raised on second reading in the House of Commons as well. Perhaps you can give us some information.—A. I think your instinct was right in that. The law officers of the Crown entertain no doubt of the constitutional validity of the legislation. In their view it clearly relates not only to the peace, order and good government of Canada but also to defence. It is justifiable under several heads of section 91. It concerns international relations. Its overall purpose is the maintenance of peace and security. Unless we take a very narrow and inhibited view of what is intended in the defence of Canada it seems to me that there is no question any more than that in respect of provisions in any constitutional document it is possible to have more than one view. It seemed to the law officers of the Crown, and to the others who have considered it, that there is no serious doubt as to the constitutionality of the Bill.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. You used the word "serious". Is there any doubt?—A. Not in my mind.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. There is no question of our running foul of the Privy Council decision on the 1935 legislation of Mr. Bennett on the eight-hour day, and so on, which was based on the I.L.O. conventions?—A. I think not, for the reason this legislation differs in character.

Q. This relates to defence?—A. Peace, order, good government, defence, and other heads of Section 91. The over-all purpose of the U.N. is the peace and

security of all.

Q. Might it be put on some other ground than peace, order and government? We are not going to be in a state of emergency all the time.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. This legislation does not give the Governor in Council these extraordinary powers at any time. It is only when in pursuance of article 41 Canada is called upon to take certain steps by the United Nations?—A. That is right. There would have to be a serious condition in international affairs before the powers confined to this Bill could be exercised.

By Mr. Low:

Q. That brings up another point. We talk about peace, order and good government. My friend from Eglinton has put his finger on the very point that this committee ought to consider. The federal government can say that anything relates to peace, order and good government. In recent years the federal government has certainly encroached step by step on provincial powers by the claim that there is an emergency and that it relates to peace, order and good government and therefore certain matters usually considered as provincial come under the jurisdiction of the dominion. There is a point in connection with that. But for the moment I should like to ask the witness to refer to article 2 of the United Nations Charter, section 7. I will read section 7, and I want to ask you some questions by way of clarification because this bill relates to this section.

Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter; but this principle shall not prejudied the application of enforcement measures under chapter 7.

The first thing I should like the witness to clarify is, as specifically as possible, what is the precise meaning of the language "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state"?—A. I do not know of a more difficult question that could be addressed to an individual at any one time

than that particular question.

Q. Hear, hear.—A. As you know from reading the report, the problem caused great difficulty and trouble at the General Assembly of the United Nations during the second part of its First Session. The Canadian delegation was in doubt as to the precise meaning of that phrase, and suggested that, in the particular circumstances of the India-South Africa dispute, it would be a sensible sort of matter to refer to the International Court of Justice. It is a very difficult question. It does not however rise in connection with this bill.

Q. Does it not? Just name me three or four matters which come under that particular phrase that would affect Canada?—A. We are dealing with chapter

7 here, which is excluded from article 2 (7).

Q. I understand so.—A. Which is explicitly excluded from the sense of paragraph 7 of article 2. I cannot clearly see the relevancy of discussing that clause in relation to this bill.

Mr. Graydon: May I intervene there? I think Mr. Low has something there. It may be that it is a situation that has not come to the attention of members much but actually there does seem to be somewhat of a conflict between section 7 of article 2 and article 41.

Mr. Low: That is exactly right.

Mr. Graydon: Which does interfere with domestic jurisdiction.

Mr. MacInnis: I think we should define what they mean by "state." I may be interpreting Mr. Low wrongly, but I think he has in mind here that the state would be a province in Canada or a state in the United States or a state in Australia.

Mr. Low: No, I had not that in mind at all.

Mr. MacInnis: I am taking that from what went on before you referred to peace, order and good government. If that is not what you had in mind then I do not think there is anything in the point.

Mr. Coldwell: You remember, Mr. Graydon, at San Francisco the original wording of the Dumbarton Oaks arrangement was "solely" and it was changed to "essentially." The word "essentially" is less strong than "solely." I would think that matters such as the granting of citizenship, immigration and so on, would be essentially within domestic jurisdiction, but anything which involved a risk of war and upsetting international relations would then fall into the other category of international concern. I do not know whether I am right in that.

The Witness: Yes. I think Mr. Low has a good point, except for the concluding words of paragraph 7 of article 2 which states that this principle, namely, the principle of domestic jurisdiction, "shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under chapter 7," in which is included article 41.

Mr. Low: That is exactly right, and I wanted to bring out that very point that the whole of this charter was written in such vague terms, without any specific meaning attached to any of these clauses, that it is most difficult for us to know exactly when things are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the state and when they are not.

The WITNESS: I agree with that, but that is not a question which arises in connection with the bill.

Mr. Low: Oh, it has a great bearing on the very bill which we are considering.

#### By Mr. Knowles:

Q. It seems to me that article 41 gives the Security Council the right to ask

member nations, Canada, to take certain steps?—A. Correct.

Q. This bill is simply a case of the Parliament of Canada working out the details as to how we will carry out those steps. If there is anything in this bill which interferes with provincial rights—which I for one do not see—it is not a decision that the United Nations is taking. It is an internal matter and is a decision we are taking. We can do it this way or some other way, but you certainly cannot say that article 41 or the United Nations has, in this situation, interfered with provincial rights in this country.

Mr. Fleming: That was not said.

The Witness: It is a decision which we would take here as a result of treaty obligations contained in the Charter, by virtue of article 25, which has been approved by the Canadian parliament, and which says that the member nations undertake to carry out the decisions of the Security Council in enforcement matters.

Mr. Graydon: That brings us to another point. The United Nations does not care how we do it as long as we carry out the obligations we have under the charter. It is our job to see that it is constitutionally done by our properly constituted authorities in Canada.

The WITNESS: That is right.

Mr. Graydon: May I ask this question? Have the provinces been consulted, or any of their legal advisers, with respect to the constitutional position of the dominion in this matter?

The CHAIRMAN: That is quite a question.

Mr. Croll: I think that is an unfair question to ask him. It is a matter of policy.

Mr. Graydon: I do not think there is any policy involved in it.

Mr. Jaenicke: Do you seriously believe there is a constitutional question involved in this?

Mr. Graydon: I am only quoting them.

Mr. Jaenicke: Surely we can make a treaty with another country.

Mr. Graydon: Let us keep on the ground in this matter. I am only raising one point which was raised by a prominent senator in the Senate. For that reason I think it deserves some attention here. He is a pretty able and competent counsel.

Mr. Croll: Has Mr. Hopkins not just said that there is not the slightest doubt in their minds about jurisdiction?

Mr. Graydon: There is never any doubt in the government's mind about anything they do.

Mr. Croll: We are bound by what the government thinks in this case. He says there is not the slightest doubt about it. It may be that the senator may be wrong.

Mr. Graydon: It is possible but we ought to know.

Mr. Croll: He said he is wrong, and he is our authority at the moment, not the senator.

Mr. Graydon: Why should I not be allowed to ask the question as to whether or not the provinces have been consulted?

The Witness: I would be pleased to answer that.

Mr. Graydon: If it is as ticklish as that I begin to get suspicious.

Mr. Croll: Do not get so suspicious. Give me the reason why. I do not think the dominion government should be put in the position at any time of having to consult the provincial governments as to what is the jurisdiction of the dominion government. That is the point.

Mr. Knowles: They consult the Parliament of Canada.

Mr. Croll: Right. They interpret the jurisdiction and consult the parliament of Canada. That is my point. I think generally that is the attitude of the government.

Mr. Graydon: Let us suppose that the situation arises where the enforcement of these sanctions touches an individual or corporation in some province. Then they go to the court and they say, "You have not any right to do this." Have we got to wait on this matter and have a reference to the Privy Council again like we did in 1935 when it was some two or three years afterwards before we knew where we stood? Do we have to do that before we know what our position is so far as our respective jurisdictions are concerned in regard to this matter? I do not think that is quite right. In a matter as important as this, if there is any doubt at all—apparently there is doubt in some members' minds and at least in one senator's mind—I should have thought there would be nothing suspicious about suggesting that the provinces might be consulted.

The Witness: I think it is correct to say that Mr. St. Laurent replied to Senator Roebuck, and I understood that Senator Roebuck was satisfied with the explanation given by Mr. St. Laurent.

Mr. Graydon: We have no evidence of that because they do not report the committee.

Mr. Jaenicke: It seems to me the only way these sanctions can apply and interfere with mercantile business is by export and import control, and surely that is within the jurisdiction of the dominion parliament.

Mr. Graydon: It cannot always be export and import control because under this Act there are a lot of other matters outside of export and import, things that may not be normally under dominion jurisdiction which are covered in this.

## By Mr. Low:

Q. There may be some property and civil rights:

Mr. Croll: Let us assume, as you point out, that corporation A has imposed upon it certain sanctions, fines, or penalties; until such time as the courts of the country say otherwise they would be bound by whatever this parliament did, and therefore it would not hold it up at all. It is a matter of being bound by the law of the land until such time as some court says it is not the law of the land.

Mr. Knowles: The concurrence of the provincial premiers would not be necessary.

Mr. Graydon: I think that is over-simplifying it.

Mr. Croll: I must say we are going far afield.

Mr. Coldwell: As a matter of fact, you people are lawyers but as a layman I would say that if the legal advisers of the government and of this committee are satisfied that there is no difficulty in this regard we have to accept their opinion pretty well until such time as a case is decided, as Mr. Croll says,

which upsets that opinion. I cannot see the force of asking the provinces to express an opinion on what is considered to be within the jurisdiction of the federal parliament. We would be running to them all the time.

Mr. Croll: We would never get anything done.

Mr. Graydon: You might get a lot of things done better.

Mr. Coldwell: I do not think so. You know better than that.

Mr. Low: I did not bring up this question on clause 7 of article 2 for that purpose at all, not to put forward the view that this bill might encroach on provincial powers.

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. Low: But I am interested particularly in finding out if possible if there is anything at all, if there is even the slightest evidence that can be brought from any document under the United Nations charter that would tend to show that there is any legal or constitutional binding upon the Security Council or any other legislative or executive or judicial body under the United Nations organizations that would bind them. What I am trying to get at is, if I may put it this way, that the charter has been drafted in such a vague way when you try to bind any legislative, judicial or executive body under U.N.O. in a legal constitutional manner you just cannot do it. Am I right or wrong? Can the witness bring anything from the charter itself to show that there is anything binding upon the Security Council in the application of any sanction or any measure in which they have to intervene for the purpose of keeping the peace?

The Witness: The Security Council is charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Is there anything that binds them?—A. In the discharge of their duties?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, there are the provisions in the charter governing procedure, and so on. It is provided, for instance, that there are three courses that the Security Council may take; first, settlement by negotiation; second, the possible imposition of so-called economic sanctions, and finally, as a sort of last resort, the calling out of troops. The Security Council is charged with the responsibility on behalf of all the members of the U.N. and it is its job to proceed to do it. It is for any organ to do its duty. It is the same for the General Assembly.

Mr. Knowles: The governing clauses certainly have the word "shall" in them repeatedly, 39, 40, 44, 45.

Mr. Low: That is not the question at all.

The Witness: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat", and so on.

Mr. Low: Take that one. What is there that is legally binding on them to do it? Where is it?

Mr. Knowles: What is there that is binding on Canada to carry out the provisions of the B.N.A. Act?

Mr. Croll: Is that not section 25?

The Witness: I think I can try and develop what jurisprudence there is on this. The ultimate sanction behind any international organization is the states which are members of the organization and which have agreed, by a treaty in the nature of a constitution to establish it on certain terms. It is a treaty of a special character, a "constituting" treaty. The member states

have an obligation *inter se* to see to it that the provisions of the Charter are carried out by these organs, the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the others. It is not much more than that at this stage. There is no such thing as an international legislature at the present time.

Mr. Low: That is right.

Mr. Croll: Let us discuss a particular case and see where we get.

Mr. Low: I think Mr. Hopkins put his finger on the answer when he said that there is at present no international legislature, and therefore no responsibility whatever and no constitutional or legal binding.

Mr. Graydon: There could not be.

Mr. Low: I agree. I just want to bring out that point because it is important.

Mr. Graydon: May I suggest that any nation has the right to withdraw from the United Nations. I think that touches the root of the whole thing. This country could walk out to-morrow without any obligations whatsoever to the United Nations.

Mr. Low: Is that correct, without any obligations?

Mr. Graydon: Yes. So far as I know there is not even a notice needed under this charter as there was under the League of Nations.

Mr. Marquis: This matter concerns international affairs. Therefore it is not provincial business. I want to compare it with the Criminal Code. The federal government has jurisdiction on criminal matters, but in some cases there are sanctions concerning civil rights. You have in the Criminal Code certain sections which deal with damage to property. The judge is entitled to fine the accused, and to oblige him to pay an amount for the purpose of repairs, if I may say so. Here we have an international agreement, and I think it is up to the federal government to apply the rules which concern the matter, not the provincial governments. Naturally I would not venture to say if that bill is passed where it should apply. That is a matter of jurisdiction, but I think the provincial governments have nothing to do with it because you would be giving jurisdiction to the provincial governments to enforce an international agreement. As to sanctions and the application of the rules that is perhaps quite a different matter.

Mr. Coldwell: Was it not debated very extensively at San Francisco? Is there not a difference between the United Nations Charter and the League Covenant? The League Covenant, as I understand it, gave power to the council of the league to decide whether something was solely within domestic or international jurisdiction. At San Francisco, as I recall it, it was proposed that a provision should be inserted in the document which would refer such matters to the Court of International Justice. That was not done. As a matter of fact, is it not true to say that in the final analysis the decision is left almost entirely in the hands of each individual nation to decide what is essential within its domestic jurisdiction? As far as I know there is no authority anywhere for any reference to the international court or for the Council or Assembly to decide it. It is left open at the moment to the individual nations to decide themselves what is essential.

Mr. Croll: Are you right on that?

Mr. Coldwell: I think so. I do not know whether I am right

The WITNESS: Not quite.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

- Q. Would you explain where I am wrong?—A. You have the correct historical background, but I think the conclusion at the end might have been expressed somewhat differently. There is no provision in the charter for compulsory reference to the International Court of Justice as to the meaning of the domestic jurisdiction clause. There is nothing in the Charter which says the General Assembly shall decide that. There is nothing in the Charter which says the Security Council shall decide that. On the other hand, the International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, and that is provided in the charter.
- Q. There is nothing in the charter which compels reference to that body.— A. Therefore it is open to the General Assembly or Security Council to refer the matter, if they so desire, for a definitive judicial determination by the International Court should either of those organs decide to do so. Further, it is not quite correct to say it is up to each state to decide because it would be open to the Assembly at the next regular session to say, "We have had enough of this fooling around."

#### By Mr. Marquis:

Q. A reference can be submitted to the International Court of Justice to decide such a point?— A. Yes, a reference may be made to the International Court of Justice by the General Assembly of the United Nations on any point affecting its jurisdiction or any other legal question.

#### By Mr. Graydon:

- Q. And the Security Council?—A. And the Security Council has a corresponding right by virtue of the Charter. The Economic and Social Council has not that right by the charter but was given that right by a resolution of the Assembly passed pursuant to the Charter at the last meeting.
- Q. It was argued very strongly in London, but the Economic Social Council was finally not given that power. Then, later a resolution was passed.—A. That is right.

## Bu Mr. Marquis:

Q. Who will decide if it is a domestic or international affair?—A. There is a precedent about that, of a kind, and that is in connection with the India-South Africa dispute at the last meeting of the General assembly. It is always open to any organ to decide, ad interim and tentatively, the limits of its jurisdiction. It might be right or it might be wrong. No organ can function unless it has formed a conception of the extent of its jurisdiction. So, it was open to the General Assembly to decide in a preliminary way whether it had a right to pass resolutions expressing doubts as to whether the conduct of South Africa, for instance, was or was not within the terms of the charter and to decide whether they were obstructed in that by reason of paragraph 7 of article 2 about domestic jurisdiction.

There were those at the Assembly who entertained some doubt as to the application of the domestic jurisdiction clause to the particular circumstances of the India-South Africa dispute. The Canadian delegation, rightly or wrongly felt it was sufficiently doubtful that the matter should have been referred to the International Court of Justice. On the other hand, two-thirds of the General Assembly did not feel such misgivings. They felt there was nothing to prevent a resolution. I do not know how much of this should go on the record.

 $\operatorname{Mr},$  Coldwell: It is a matter of public record.

The Witness: The majority felt that there would be nothing contrary to paragraph 7 of article 2 if they were to pass a resolution in the form in which it finally was expressed. It was in a somewhat watered form as compared with the original proposal of the Indian delegation.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. Let us follow that up. Mr. Coldwell and I were just discussing it. The dispute finally landed before the court?—A. No.

Mr. Fleming: It was South Africa's proposal that it go there.

#### By Mr. Croll:

Q. It did not go beyond that?—A. No.

- Q. Assuming it would have landed before the court, could South Africa have refused the jurisdiction of that court?—A. I think the answer is no. If I may explain two kinds of jurisdiction the court has; one is the kind of jurisdiction which it exercises as between two disputing parties, but that is not the sort of question which was in argument in this case. This was a question of the jurisdiction of the General Assembly to take a certain course. The General Assembly, as a body, has the right to refer that issue to the International Court, certainly by a two-thirds majority, regardless of the attitude of any dissenting member. That would not be tantamount to setting the dispute. It would settle a preliminary question of jurisdiction which depended upon law and facts, and mixed questions of law and facts. It seemed the sensible thing to the delegation so far as Canada was concerned, to refer that question of jurisdiction. The South African government, as I recall it, was prepared to have that preliminary issue referred to the court.
  - Q. In that case?—A. In that case.

## By Mr. Low:

Q. Would there be any appeal from a penalty applied under this bill to the

International Court?—A. Any right . . . ?

Q. Any right of appeal to the International Court from a penalty applied under this bill?—A. There is no penalty applied because the General Assembly—

Mr. Knowles: Mr. Low is thinking of the penalties Canada might apply to her citizens.

The Witness: Because the General Assembly, as a body, cannot impose penalties.

Mr. Marquis: If the penalty is imposed here, the International Court of Justice has no right whatever. No appeal could be lodged with the court from such a decision.

Mr. Knowles: No, those penalties would be imposed internally.

## By Mr. Low:

- Q. In the case of a penalty applied against a nation, would you say there would be an appeal?—A. It seems to me if both parties to the dispute are parties to the statute, and have excepted unconditionally the jurisdiction of the Court, it would be feasible to have the International Court look at the whole of the matter, including the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. However, I must say that I have not briefed myself in perpetuity on these things. We have to consider them as they may arise.
- Q. I have not quite finished that clause under article 2. I do not want to labour the point, but there is some information I should like to secure which would give me a background upon which to judge whether or not this

bill which we have is a good bill. I wonder if the witness would mind giving me the benefit of his legal advise on that word "intervene" in the second line.

Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene—"

The CHAIRMAN: Where is that?

## By Mr. Low:

Q. It is in clause 7 of article 2 of the charter?—A. I would hesitate in attempting a definite interpretation of that, as any lawyer is in answering a hypothetical case in the absence of a particular set of facts to which his opinion is to relate. I think I can say this that the keynote speech of the Canadian Delegation in New York has something to say in general about the construction of the Charter which might be put in the Record. Have you read it, or would you like to have it read into the record?

Mr. Coldwell: I think it might be a good idea, because we took the view that the jurisdiction in the charter should be a matter of resolution.

The Witness: Here is the extract from Conference Series No. 3, the Report on the second part of the First Session of the General Assembly, on page 166. This is an extract from a statement by the Chairman of the Canadian delegation which was made at that time. It has a bearing, in so far as general observations can bear, on the questions which Mr. Low has asked.

This Assembly will be required to give a practical interpretation of some of the most important provisions of the charter. In establishing these precedents, it is necessary to remember that it is a constitution which we are interpreting and not a domestic statute. I venture to suggest that the charter, to be successful, must be interpreted in such a way as to encourage its growth and adaptation to changing circumstances. The peoples of the United Nations have a right to expect that, wherever the meaning of a provision of the charter is doubtful, this Assembly will interpret it in the way best calculated to strengthen the authority and prestige of the United Nations. We would like to see provisions which add to the authority of the United Nations or of its organs and officers broadly interpreted and those which detract from the authority of the United Nations given a restrictive interpretation.

Mr. Coldwell: That is a very good statement.

# By Mr. Low:

Q. In the last clause of that same section it says,

This principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under chapter 7.

What is meant by "this principle"?—A. I think it refers to intervention in domestic jurisdiction, whatever that phrase might mean.

Q. Then it is quite possible, is it not, that intervention could be made in domestic affairs under the enforcement measures of chapter 7?—A. Oh, I think so. There is no doubt about that.

# By Mr. Knowles:

Q. That would be by decision of the Canadian government?—A. Yes, it would be by decision of the Canadian government to implement a decision of the Security Council which we are required to do by the terms of the United Nations Charter.

The Chairman: If I may be permitted, I will ask Mr. Low if he will enlarge upon what he had in mind when he spoke of intervention in provincial matters.

Mr. Low: I do not think provincial matters enter into this, I am speaking of federal domestic matters.

The Chairman: At the beginning of your remarks, you said there may be danger of overlapping of jurisdiction between the provinces and the dominion.

Mr. Low: Yes, but that was cleared away.

The CHAIRMAN: It was cleared away to your satisfaction?

Mr. Low: Oh yes, I am not now thinking of that point at all, Mr. Chairman. I am trying to follow another line which is so vague that it means this whole charter needs considerable discussion and exposition in order to get

anything like a picture of what would happen.

If you refer to article 39 of chapter 7, you have a statement that the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with articles 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security. I am puzzled a bit about the precise meaning of that term, "any threat to the peace". The Security Council has the responsibility of deciding what constitutes a threat to the peace. What might that involve?

Mr. Knowles: There have been months of argument over that.

The Witness: That might involve the Security Council deciding that there was a threat to the peace.

By Mr. Low:

Q. You see how that is relative to the bill we are discussing. "Any threat to the peace"; I should like to get, if I can, some clearly comprehensive statement on what they would consider a threat to the peace.

Mr. Marquis: I understand, Mr. Low, your point is this; the members of the Security Council may decide that something is a threat to peace when it is only an internal dispute. That might be so, but I think we are bound to accept the jurisdiction of the Security Council on that point. Perhaps they may abuse it.

Mr. Coldwell: Is that right? Take civil war, for example; it is specifically excluded from the jurisdiction of the Security Council unless that civil war has a bearing on the international situation.

Mr. Marquis: Yes, but that is the point. It is up to them to decide whether it has a bearing or not.

Mr. Coldwell: Of course, the decision is one for the Security Council.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Have many decisions been made on that point? I believe the cases of Iran and Greece are cases in point. The powers which brought these matters before the Security Council contended they were threats to the peace and the powers on the defensive said they were internal matters.—A. I am a simple lawyer in the worst sense of the term. Mr. Reed and Mr. Riddell, who are known to the committee, are our experts on what has happened in the Security Council. I think discussions were held on that subject by the committee when Mr. Reid was interrogated on the Report, so that I am somewhat hesitant at professing to be a historian on the exact procedures followed.

Mr. Coldwell: You are not here as a historian, you are here as a lawyer.

Mr. Knowles: There is no standard, in answer to Mr. Low, set down as to what would be a threat to the peace or an act of aggression; that would be a matter for the Security Council.

The WITNESS: It is for the Security Council—I cannot decide it.

Mr. Coldwell: Does not the paragraph you read from what the minister for External Affairs for Canada said at New York pretty well explain to Mr. Low what all of us feel about the matter, that it is vague and it had to be vague because the nations which set up the charter sharply disagreed on many particulars and consequently there are compromises throughout this whole thing?

The Witness: Yes, it had to be vague at the commencement. It is hoped that a sort of jurisprudence will grow up around it as it has grown up around the British North America Act.

Mr. Marquis: I do not think all this discussion is very practical because we cannot change the sections of the Charter of the United Nations. We have to take the Charter as it is laid down and try to find out what kind of sanctions we may impose upon our citizens in order to carry out the principles elaborated in the charter. No matter how we may discuss the matter, those are the powers of the General Assembly and we cannot change those powers to-day. We cannot amend this Charter at all. These are the general rules and we have to find out what kind of regulations or sanctions we may apply on such particular occasions.

Mr. Low: Would not Mr. Marquis admit that it is wise to find out some of these things and their possible effect before we tie our hands completely?

Mr. Fleming: I wonder if our hands were not tied by our adherence to the charter, by the decision which was taken a year and a half ago? After all, we are not purporting to change article 41, nor are we purporting to change article 25. The only question, as I see it, before the committee is this; is what we are being asked to do now necessarily and properly done in pursuance of the obligation we have assumed? That will give rise, it seems to me, to two questions: first of all, is this the proper way and, secondly, is there a better way?

Now, I do not know that we have heard Mr. Hopkins fully. He was making a statement and he got about two sentences of his statement made when this barrage of questions began. Has he anything more to say to us? I do not want to discourage discussion in the committee, but it seems to me we have been batting the ball around the table since Mr. Hopkins started his first few sentences.

Mr. Coldwell: I agree with what Mr. Fleming says that we should hear Mr. Hopkins. After all this Charter was adopted by the United Nations and by votes in both the House of Commons and Senate we expressed our adherence to the Charter.

Mr. MacInnis: I think there is a word which should be said there in fairness to Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins is not in a position to say there is a better way because this is the way the government has adopted. Consequently, Mr. Hopkins cannot state that the government has done wrong and he has a better way.

The WITNESS: I would be hesitant to say so.

Mr. Coldwell: Let us hear what Mr. Hopkins has to say.

The CHAIRMAN: No doubt I have been lenient, but I have been lenient because I think it has been a good discussion. However, I think it would be a good idea to hear Mr. Hopkins now so that we may try to pass this bill at this sitting, if we can.

The WITNESS: I believe my limited fund of knowledge has been well drawn upon by the committee. There is nothing more I have to say except to suggest that we might go through the bill section by section. I think all the general jurisprudence has been gone over.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall clause 2 carry?

Carried.

Clause 3? I do not believe you expect me to read these clauses.

Mr. JAENICKE: No, but what about the last three lines,

—and any such Court may make rules governing the procedure upon any proceedings taken before such Court or a judge thereof under this section.

Have we not got rules of procedure?

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. That would give the legislation a black eye to start with.—A. I am prepared to withdraw that remark, then.

Mr. Croll: What he undoubtedly has in mind is—you see the words, "upon proceedings in the Exchequer Court of Canada, or in any Superior Court, and any such Court may make rules governing the procedure upon any proceedings—". It is quite possible that these being unusual proceedings, they would have to lay down some rules. Allowance has been made for this to avoid having their hands tied by the present procedure under which the courts operate.

Mr. Jaenicke: This refers to the procedure in the case of goods, wares or merchandise, most likely import goods. Why not apply the procedure which we have under the Customs Act?

Mr. Marquis: It is a case of the provincial government being the proper authority to handle court rules. The rules will be made by each court in its own field. I think this is the proper way to give jurisdiction to these courts.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall clause 3 carry?

Mr. Fleming: So far as the rules are concerned, I think the rules would better be made by the courts than by order in council because the courts have a good deal to do with making their own rules. I should like to ask a question about the terms of this penalty section. I think it is the feeling of most members that we have a certain revulsion against vesting in the Governor in Council power to prescribe penalties, especially where those penalties may be quite drastic. For instance, the penalties here may go up to \$5,000 and five years imprisonment. They can be drastic penalties. Parliament historically reserves to itself the right to prescribe penalties. Now, has Mr. Hopkins anything to say on that? Is there any way in which this could be reserved to parliament without vesting the power of prescribing penalties in the Governor in Council. It seems to me the only occasion which could justify our handling that power over to the Governor in Council is that emergencies may arise. Apart from the emergency features, if there is going to be some settled method determined by the Security Council for applying these sanctions that, in turn, is going to be part of the government's concern. It would be a simple matter for the governments concerned to legislate in terms of penalties for violations. Is this always going to be within the realm of emergency?

The Witness: I certainly think it is within the realm of the unpredictable for the moment. There might come a time when the procedure of the Security Council was so settled and fixed it would be possible to anticipate the variables. This bill prescribes the limits and it is difficult "to make the punishment fit the crime" until you know what the crime is. You cannot know that until the Security Council has acted. However, there might well come a time when the area of the unpredictable would be considerably diminished.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Would there ever come a time when these sanctions could ever possibly come into effect with the widespread veto powers which the five nations have? Every little nation will have a friend at court amongst the big five. If there is any talk about sanctions it will be a very dull and stupid little power which will not have a friend in one of the big five to put on the veto. I can only conceive of about one case in a thousand where a little nation would not have a friend to put on a veto and would permit the United Nations to walk in on it.

This would seem to cover one case out of a thousand, and I am not sure we will even have that one.

Mr. MacInnis: I do not think there is much to be gained in raising the point Mr. Graydon has raised. If we are going to stay in the United Nations, we have to accept it with its limitations. In regard to Mr. Fleming's point, I think this should be a fairly easy matter for lawyers as those fines will be imposed after a conviction in some court. Those need not be left to the discretion of the Governor in Council, they could be put in the section and imposed by the court. Could not that be done?

Mr. Croll: It is being done. They prescribe the limit and the court does the fining.

Mr. MacInnis: There is only one way to get out of it and that is for parliament to prescribe the limit.

Mr. Fleming: Parliament has fixed the limit but given the Governor in Council the power to prescribe. Then, when it comes to the actual imposition, that is the function of the court. What I was getting at is this; I hope the time will soon come when the offences can be so defined and the procedure be so settled that the offences can be defined and parliament can say what will be the penalties attached to particular offences.

Mr. Low: I wonder if Mr. Hopkins would take a hypothetical case and follow it through in order to show us what would happen? What would the offences be and how would they be dealt with?

The WITNESS: That is rather speculative.

# By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Could I offer one as a conjecture?—A. Yes.

Q. Suppose there is a threat to the peace of the world involving an act of aggression on the part of nation A.

Mr. Low: Let us leave aggression out of it and take the shipment of some material.

Mr. Fleming: I am coming to that. The Security Council takes jurisdiction and says Nation A has committed aggression. There is a threat to the peace of the world involved and therefore we will call upon all member nations to take economic sanctions. One of these sanctions shall be an embargo against the shipment of iron, oil and coal to the aggressor nation. Then, Canada, in compliance with article 41 is called upon, and is bound under her commitment to comply with that call. Under this bill this government says anybody in this country who ships or is a party to shipping oil, coal or goods out of Canada shall be liable to a fine not exceeding \$5,000 and a term of imprisonment not exceeding five years.

John Jones says this is an interference with my rights. I am going to ship. I have friends over there and I do not approve of the decision of the Security Council, so I am going to ship. He does ship and he is arrested by

the R.C.M.P. and charged under the order in council passed. Under the terms of this bill the Governor in Council will prescribe the penalty which is attached to the offence.

Mr. Graydon: The penalties might be graded, having in mind the seller of the goods or perhaps the carrier of the goods. Perhaps one of the railway companies might come under a thing of that kind. You would have different penalties for different types of crime.

Mr. Croll: You apply the same thing to-day in your regulations concerning gold. We are not permitted to export gold yet, from time to time we catch people who take gold and carry it across the border. We apply what is a sanction, in a way, against those people under our Criminal Code.

Mr. Low: Under this clause there would be no way of getting at a group of fellows, let us say from country A, who go to the Geneva Trade Conference and insist on throwing away, at any rate, abolishing let us say, Empire preferences. Would not they be a threat to the peace of the world?

The WITNESS: That would depend on views of the Security Council!

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the clause carry?

Carried.

Mr. Jaenicke: I do not want to be a nuisance but I am not satisfied with the rules and regulations section. The Exchequer Court has jurisdiction and the Superior Courts in the nine provinces have jurisdiction. According to this section there could be nine different rules and regulations. I would say we should say the Exchequer Court should make the rules instead of the nine Superior Courts and then the rules would be uniform throughout Canada.

Mr. Fleming: Surely the Exchequer Court cannot make the rules for all the provincial courts. These courts are making their rules now. The B.N.A. Act quite specifically gives the provinces the power to make rules for their own courts. It would surely be *ultra vires* for this parliament to say the Exchequer Court could make rules for the provincial courts.

Mr. Graydon: By passing this section, I do not think you would be putting yourself in any different position than you would be, if you committed any offence because you would now follow the rules of the provincial courts. By this section you would follow the rules of the provincial courts just the same as you do now.

Mr. Croll: There is some variation in the rules between the various provinces, but not a great deal. There is some variation in the rules of the various provincial courts now, so you would be in the same position as you are now.

Mr. Fleming: Certainly, the provinces would never submit to having the rules of their own provincial courts laid down by a dominion court.

Mr. Croll: No, but they make them uniform throughout the provinces dealing with this particular thing.

Mr. Fleming: You have this conference on the uniformity of legislation.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the clause carry?

Carried.

Clause 4?

Mr. Graydon: Under the British Act, I have not a copy with me, there is a difference between the British Act and the Canadian bill. Under this bill,

Every order and regulation made under this Act shall be laid before parliament within fifteen days after it has been made if parliament is then sitting, or if parliament is not then sitting, within fifteen days after the commencement of the next ensuing session—

and so on.

Now, the United Kingdom Act says, "Forthwith", and I suggest to the committee we might properly insert that in this bill because these are matters which I think parliament, if sitting, will want to have immediate information upon.

Mr. Croll: Instead of the fifteen days after commencement, you want it forthwith after commencement or after the next ensuing session?

Mr. Graydon: In both cases it should be forthwith.

The WITNESS: I do not think there is a comparable provision to section 5 in the United Kingdom legislation.

Mr. Graydon: No, because that very point was debated in the United Kingdom parliament. The reason they took number five out, if my memory serves me correctly after reading the debate was, under the parliamentary regulations there you have to publish in the *London Gazette* so many days before you bring in the order in council. In this case, you publish afterwards and in the other case you publish before. Naturally, it was desired to make it as expeditious as possible, so they left that out altogether.

I was going to ask a question on No. 5, as to whether or not this publication in the *Gazette* could be accomplished quickly. How quickly could that be done?

The WITNESS: Very quickly.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. How quickly?—A. Well, we broke a world's record, I think in one instance in connection with an order having to come into force. It could come in within twelve or twenty-four hours. A supplementary *Gazette* may be issued if it is urgent. This is not the sort of thing which will require instantaneous action. You have to develop your offences and so on. Once the Security Council has made a decision, you still have to develop your order and so on. It could be done sufficiently fast, I think.

Mr. Graydon: Those who took part in the debate in the United Kingdom House were all, apparently, in agreement on this one point, that in giving His Majesty in Council the right to deal with it quickly they did so because they felt this might not be a matter of weeks or days, it might be a matter of hours or minutes. That being the case, I do not think we should be held up in moving as quickly as may be necessary by any publication in the Canada Gazette, if it would hold us up any length of time, particularly if parliament is sitting, parliament should have the information at once. I think "forthwith" should be inserted in there instead of the fifteen days.

The Witness: I could not take exception to that.

# By Mr. Knowles:

Q. I do not know whether it was considered or whether this fifteen day clause was borrowed from other measures as a standard clause?—A. Yes, I think so.

Mr. Coldwell: I think Mr. Graydon's suggestion to put in the word "forthwith" is a good suggestion.

Mr. CROLL: Carried with that recommendation.

The Charman: Shall the clause carry as amended? Carried.

Clause 5, publication in the Canada Gazette.

Carried.

Shall the Schedule carry? Carried.

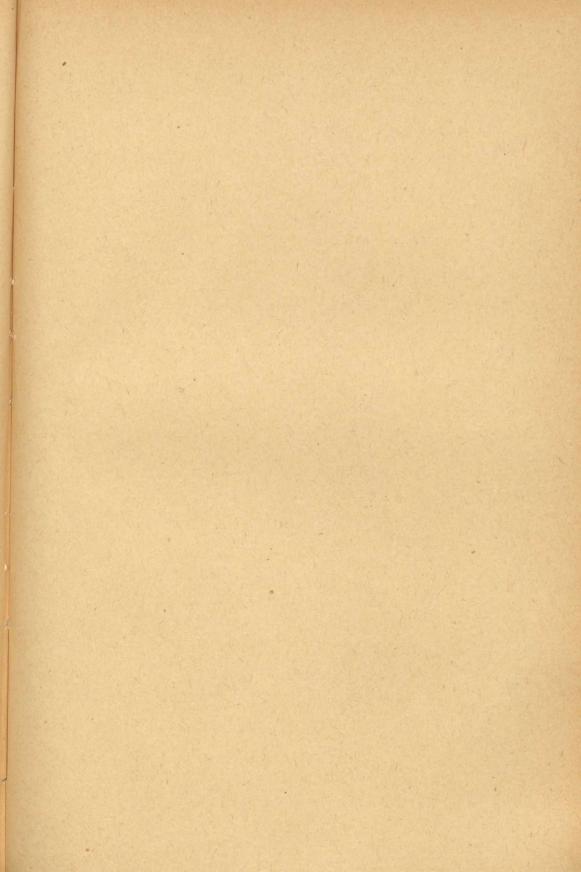
Shall the short title carry? Carried.

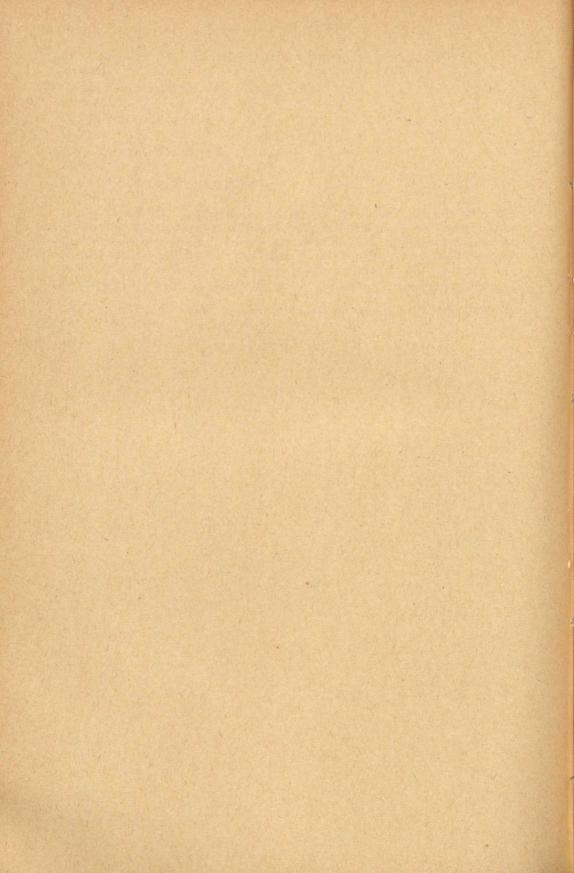
Shall I report the bill as amended? Carried.

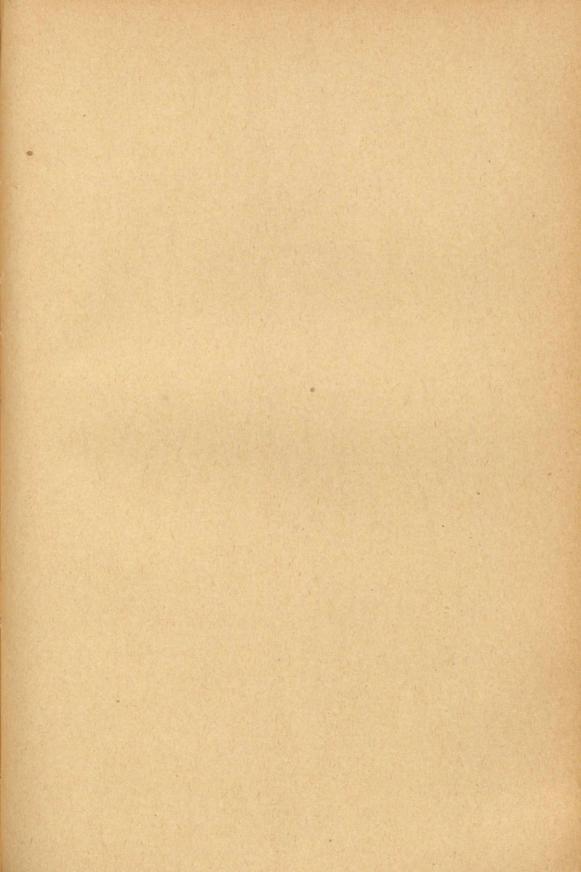
Before we adjourn, I should like to ask the press and officials from the department not to be present until fifteen minutes after the official opening time of our next sitting on Friday. I have a very important matter to bring to the attention of the committee which has arisen since we began our sittings this year, so I should like our sitting to be in camera for the opening fifteen minutes.

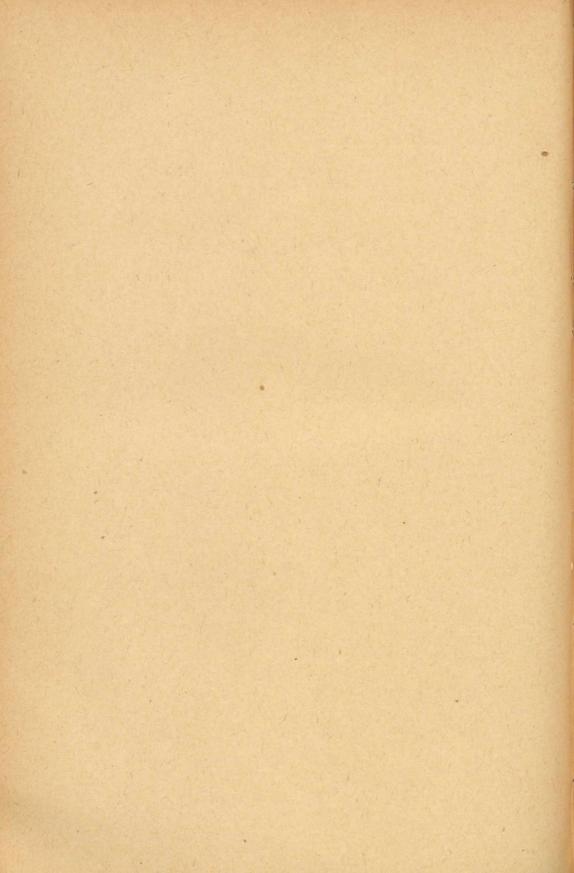
The WITNESS: I should like to thank the committee for bearing with me.

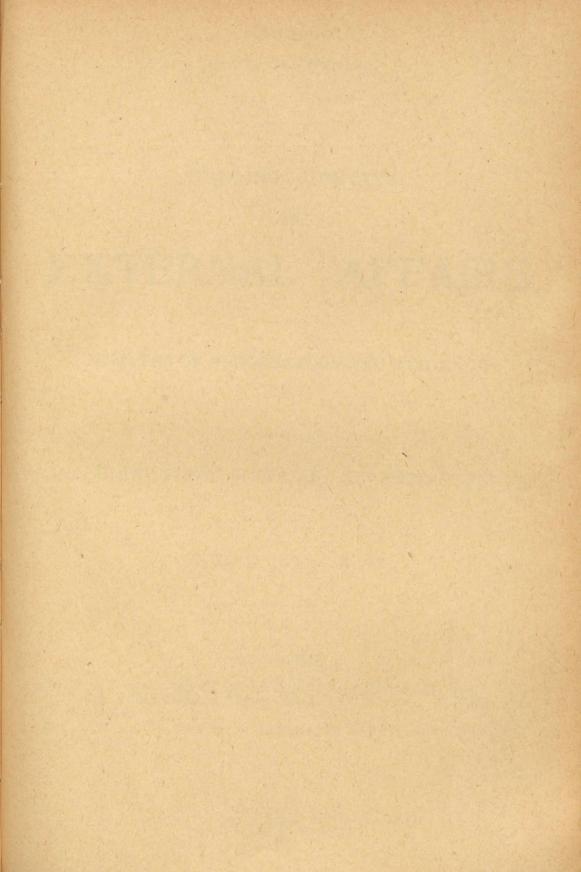
The committee adjourned at 12.05 p.m. to meet again on Friday, June 13, 1947, at 10.30 a.m.

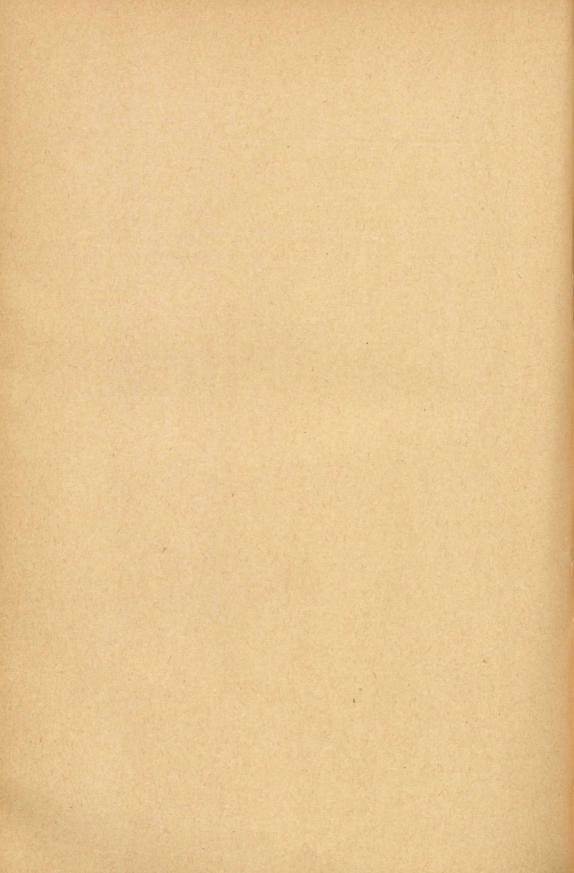












SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

## STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 11

INCLUDING FIFTH, SIXTH AND SEVENTH REPORTS

FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1947

#### WITNESSES:

Mr. B. G. Sivertz, Passport Officer, Department of External Affairs. Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, Deputy Minister, Department of Mines and

Resources.

Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources.

OTTAWA
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PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
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1947

#### REPORT TO HOUSE

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

#### FIFTH REPORT

Pursuant to an order of reference of the House dated March 26, your Committee has considered the First Report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council of the United Nations dated December 30, 1946, at Lake Success, New York.

This report contains five headings:—

- (a) Proceedings.
- (b) Findings.
- (c) Recommendations.
- (d) First report on scientific and technical aspects of the problem of control.
- (e) First report on safeguards required to ensure the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes.

Your Committee has heard General A. G. L. McNaughton on the substance of this report and the evidence taken is contained in the appended printed minutes of proceedings and evidence, viz:—No. 9.

Your Committee is aware of the interim nature of this Report, and is in general agreement with the attitude adopted by the Canadian delegation in the negotiations in the Atomic Energy Commission to date.

Your Committee has noted that on completion of the Commission's work a draft treaty will be available for submission to Parliament for its consideration and approval.

Your Committee recommends that the House take cognizance of the interim nature of the First Report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council and consider that it is of the utmost importance to Canada and to every other nation to reach an early agreement on the international control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to exercise its use only for peaceful purposes.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE, Chairman.

#### REPORT TO HOUSE

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

#### SIXTH REPORT

Complying with an order of the House dated March 31, 1947, your Committee has considered the Report on the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held in New York from October 23 to December 15, 1946.

Three meetings of your Committee have been devoted to the subject matter, and Mr. Escott Reid of the Department of External Affairs was heard in relation thereto.

Your Committee appreciates that the report in question was drafted by the Department of External Affairs to inform Parliament and the people of Canada respecting the activities of the United Nations, and to indicate the problems which our country faces in the fulfilment of its obligations to the United Nations. The attitude taken by the Canadian delegation at the General Assembly is noted with satisfaction.

At their own expense, some of the members of your Committee attended the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held in April of this year, and thereby familiarized themselves with the proceedings. It was the privilege of these members to meet some of the delegates. Your Committee was favoured by a recital of the views and impressions gained by this unofficial visit.

It is recommended that the Government consider the advisability of providing every available means for publicizing to the people of Canada, and particularly to young Canadian citizens, the said Report on the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly. In this regard, it would seem to be desirable that schools, colleges, universities and libraries be provided with copies, free of charge.

A copy of the relevant printed proceedings and evidence of your Committee—Nos. 1, 2 and 10—is appended.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE, Chairman.

#### REPORT TO HOUSE

Monday, June 16, 1947.

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

#### SEVENTH REPORT

On Monday, May 12, 1947, the following Order of Reference was issued by the House, viz:—

That Votes 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55 and 56 inclusive, of the Main Estimates 1947-48, dealing with External Affairs and referred to the Committee of Supply on March 4, 1947, be withdrawn from the Committee of Supply and referred to the Committee on External Affairs.

Your Committee approves of the above estimates and commends them to the consideration of the House.

Your Committee desire to express its thanks to the high officials of the Department of External Affairs, and to other witnesses for their cooperation.

Appended is a copy of the printed proceedings and evidence taken before the Committee.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE, Chairman.

## MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, June 13, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Benidickson, Bradette, Coldwell, Fraser, Graydon, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Knowles, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis and Winkler. (13).

The Committee received in camera and accepted a report of the Steering Committee dealing particularly with drafts of the Fifth and Sixth Reports, respectively on the Atomic Energy Commission and on the United Nations.

The words "or at a modified cost" were deleted in paragraph 5 of the Sixth Report. The Chairman was authorized to present to the House the Fifth report as read and the Sixth Report as amended.

The Committee resumed its study of the External Affairs estimates referred. Consideration of Vote 42—Passport Office—was concluded.

Mr. B. G. Sivertz, Passport Officer, Department of External Affairs, was called and interrogated. He was assisted by Mr. John K. Starnes. The witness undertook to furnish the Committee with samples of diplomatic and official passports.

Arising out of an answer of Mr. Sivertz, the Committee decided to have a delegation visit the Passport Office in Ottawa on Monday, June 16 next.

Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources and formerly Ambassador to Mexico, was called and examined on Immigration methods for immigrants and displaced persons.

Mr. Sivertz was recalled, questioned on consular offices and retired.

Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources, was called, examined and retired.

Mr. Jaques brought to his attention the individual case of a stateless displaced person, as did Mr. Coldwell.

Dr. Keenleyside was retired.

The Committee having concluded the study of the estimates i.e. Votes 41 to 56, both inclusive, the Committee approved them. The Chairman was authorized to report them back to the House.

The Chairman expressed his thanks to the witnesses. He extended to the officials of the Department of External Affairs the appreciation of the members of the Committee for their willingness and eagerness in answering questions and for their co-operation throughout the whole proceedings. He added a special word of thanks to Mr. John K. Starnes, assistant to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, for the efficient manner with which he attended all sessions of the Committee as liaison official.

At 12.50, the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.



# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, June 13, 1947

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Charman: For the benefit of the persons who were not here during our closed session we have just passed the fifth and sixth reports of the External Affairs committee. We had a very fine discussion of a very important question. We have the pleasure of having with us this morning Mr. B. G. Sivertz, Passport Officer. He has been called here because there were certain questions that the members wanted the Passport Department to answer. We were told we had to bring some official of the department to answer them. I believe it is the intention of Mr. Sivertz to make a general statement first.

#### Vote 42—called

# B. G. Sivertz, Passport Officer, Department of External Affairs, called

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, supposing that the committee would be interested in the general picture I think it proper to say that the passport office is issuing passports at the present time at the rate of something like 60,000 a year. This is a change since the 1st of January, 1947, which is probably caused by the termination of the war during which travel control was on, and during which passport issuance was markedly diminished. At the beginning of the year 1947 changes were made whereby the wartime practice of issuing passports for two years only was discontinued and a reversion to the pre-war practice of issuing passports for five years was made.

At the same time the Canadian Citizenship Act made changes in the description of national status that Canadian citizens use, and the department made those changes of description of national status in the passports. That has caused a large number of people to request new passports that would describe

them as Canadian citizens as well as British subjects.

The peak of a considerable increase in volume of applications for passports has now passed. Whereas it is normal for a small number of passports only to be issued during January and February, in this particular year, due to the changes to which I have referred, a very large number were issued. I think we are now on what should be thought of as a normal basis. This means we issue passports at the rate of something like 60,000 per year.

The passport office therefore has an income of something like \$300,000 per year. A staff of 65 persons is employed there. Salaries and other expenses in connection with administration amount to what appears to me at the present

time to be close to \$100,000 a year.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. That is for staff and office administration?—A. Staff alone on the present basis is responsible for a cost of something like \$90,000 a year. I am estimating from the 1946-47 estimates plus a small increase proportioned by the staff.

The work of the passport office is under the Consular Division of the Department of External Affairs which division is headed by Mr. Leslie Chance.

The Division was newly established in January of 1947.

Certain other work is carried on in the passport office besides the issuance of passports. We receive close to an average of two letters for each passport that we issue. A considerable proportion of those are simple inquiries requesting information which we endeavour to supply. We also issue in the passport office certificates of identity on occasion to persons in Canada who are aliens and who are unable to obtain national passports for one reason or another.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. That is to stateless persons?—A. That is to stateless persons.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. What about stateless persons in Europe? Does your department handle that?—A. No, we have not issued any travel documents to stateless persons in Europe for nearly a year now. It was done through Canadian agencies to a certain extent, particularly to war brides who were not Canadian citizens to enable them to travel to Canada. The volume of that business is small now. We have issued something like 50 of those since I took charge of the passport office in November. It seems to me there are something like 60 to 70 of them being issued per year at the present time. They are issued for sharply limited periods of validity, usually six months, and for a specific journey only. This work is handled in the passport office. Mr. Chairman, that is all that I supposed the committee would be interested to hear.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. What is the staff now?—A. 65.

Q. And the total of the salaries is \$90,000?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are not over-paid.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you want a breakdown of the salaries paid?

Mr. MacInnis: No. I made a rough calculation myself. It averages about \$1,385.

Mr. Coldwell: Which seems very, very low.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask Mr. Sivertz if there have been many applications in recent times for passports for children of a very tender age, such as babies, from Canada to the United States, and if so, what is the general policy with respect to allowing these very small children to go from here to the United States?—A. In answer to the first part there is a constant proportion of our applications for passports that are for children of tender years.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Under 16.—A. I mean infants.

Mr. Graydon: I am speaking of infants.

The Witness: And I have not any reason to think that it is larger at the present time or in the recent past than it has always been.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Are these infants going over with their parents or are they being adopted by American parents in some instances?—A. There are all categories, of course. When they go with their parents it is more usual for their parents to ask that they be included on their own passports, so that the majority of separate passports requested for infants are requested because of adoption. In answer to

the second part of your question the practice of the passport office is to issue a passport when the application is made by a natural parent of the child or by a legal guardian, legal guardian including the adoptive parent when adoption has been fully completed.

# By Mr. Kidd:

Q. Are there many of these children going over the border? Take, for instance, children who are wards of the Children's Aid Society or wards of any other society. The press made some comment on that a short time ago. You said a moment ago there would be about 60,000 passports issued in a year. About how many passports would be issued for that type of applicant? I mean children under two years.—A. We do not actually separate our statistics in that way. I will offer an estimate if that would be of information to the committee.

Q. That question should probably be put to the minister of immigration. It is really emigration. You should probably have the statistics in your office. There is no other source where he would get them.—A. There is no exit permit in Canada, and there is no source that I know of from which you may get that

figure.

## By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Perhaps Mr. Sivertz would be able to give some kind of a reasonably accurate estimate?—A. Yes. Since the scrutiny of the documents certifying guardianship involves a lot of difficulties I see them all myself, and I would estimate that there are three per week in that category.

Q. Would that three per week be infants who are going over with their parents or infants who are going over without their parents for adoption in the

United States?—A. I refer to the second category.

Q. They are being adopted?—A. Yes, because I do not see the straightforward cases of parents who request passport facilities for their own children.

# By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. You say you have about a normal volume of passport applications now?

—A. That is what I think.

Q. You think it will remain at that level?—A. Yes.

Q. Supposing an application is received in the proper form, how many days will elapse before you issue the passport based on present volume?—A. One day. With the exception of the odd case that has to be held over. We clear our incoming mail each evening.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Of the 60,000 passports, how many of those would be renewals?—A. The

rate of pre-war renewals was one to six.

Q. Is it greater now?—A. It is somewhat greater now because passports that we issued two years ago were good for only two years. When they were good for five years the rate was one to six.

O. The 60,000 might diminish somewhat on account of the five-year period. Passports are good for five years so the renewals will not be coming in every

two years as before. That 60,000 might be cut down.

# By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Are the renewals included in the 60,000?—A. No, sir. We are issuing 60,000.

Q. New passports?—A. Yes.

# By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In a previous session of this committee—I am depending entirely on my memory at the moment-I think this committee made a recommendation for a wider distribution of passport application forms. There have been in the past quite a number of criticisms coming to members of parliament about people not being able to have their passport forms at convenient places for the purpose of making their application. I wonder what the department has been doing in view of that report?—A. Mr. Chairman, during the war passport application forms were made available only on the application of the person who intended to complete the form and asked for a passport. That was discontinued after the war.

## By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. Where did he apply to?—A. To the passport office.

Q. In Ottawa?—A. Yes. That was discontinued about two years ago. When the new passports were issued with the accompanying new forms of application, at the first of this year every endeavour was made to distribute them as widely as possible. We distributed them into every class A and class B post office, I believe, and also into the hands of the railway companies, travel agents, the banks and whoever else asked for a supply of application forms.

#### By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Was that on the recommendation of this committee?—A. Yes.

Q. There was a regulation that went out not long ago with regard to special passports for cabinet ministers and government officials. Now, to whom do these new passports go? They are a different colour, are they not?—A. I did not mention them because the memorandum concerning them has not been distributed to the various departments, but it will be within the next day or two. Authorized by order in council in November last, the department is now in a position to issue diplomatic passports and official passports.

## By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. Does the diplomatic passport differ from the official passport?—A. Yes, they are distinctive in colour and have the legend "Diplomatic" on the outside or "Official". The reason for this is that most countries in the world make use of these to request special consideration for diplomatic officers, and alternatively for government officials not on diplomatic missions.

# By Mr. Fraser:

- Q. The reason I brought this matter up was that in getting a visa for the states last fall the American official knowing that I was a member of parliament marked "Government Official" on my visa. I told him I was not a government official and he said, "Well, you are a member of parliament, and we put that on".—A. Yes.
- Q. I wondered whether the members of parliament would come in under the special official passports?—A. Yes.

Q. Personally I think they should.

Mr. Graydon: Rather than as government officials.

The Witness: The order in council listed the categories of persons to whom diplomatic and official passports are to be issued.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Members of parliament would come under——A. Official passports.

Q. All right. My next question is this: Members of parliament then who have passports can turn them in and get the new ones, can they?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the charge for that?—A. Diplomatic and official passports are issued gratis in all cases.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Would the member of parliament when travelling on his own affairs be entitled to use that sort of passport?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Have you a sample of these passports?—A. I did not bring them with me, but shall gladly send samples for the examination of members of the committee.

Mr. Fraser: Personally, I feel that members of parliament should have a special passport because if they are travelling in any foreign country and have that passport it helps a great deal.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Are those passports issued to the members of provincial legislatures?—A. The department does insert a special inscription at the request of provincial governments for members of provincial legislatures or officials of provincial governments when travelling abroad.

Mr. Marquis: Should a member of parliament receive a passport of that kind and should he be defeated within a year or two months what would happen then; is he obliged to return his passport?

Mr. Fraser: He is unofficial then.

Mr. Marquis: Yes, but he has his passport which is good for five years and it may happen that he may not be a member for five years.

Mr. MacInnis: They might put "discarded" in his passport.

The Witness: The diplomatic and official passports contain an inscription which provides that the passport is only valid so long as the holder remains in the office which appears in the passport as his description—the description of his status or office.

Mr. Knowles: One can get defeated quite safely now.

The CHAIRMAN: Does any privilege accompany this special passport? Is any benefit derived?

The Witness: It means quite a lot in some countries; such as a more ready availability of visa facilities, immigration acceptance and customs examinations.

Mr. Fraser: It means a lot if you are standing in line and perhaps there are 200 in that line. If you are waiting to get through the immigration line and they see you are an official they will jump you up, perhaps ahead of 40 or 50 others.

The CHAIRMAN: That is special privilege.

Mr. Knowles: That depends upon whether the members seeks to get that privilege.

Mr. Fraser: No, I have seen that done.

Mr. Knowles: Do you look like an official when you are 200 down the line?

Mr. Fraser: I have not done it myself, but I have seen it done in different countries. The officials see that you are an official and they immediately jump you up to the head of the line or near the head of the line.

Mr. Kidd. Are there any instructions concerning people visiting Canada or entering Canada issued by the Department of Immigration as to procedure on entering? I went through an experience of that nature in New York. For instance, in coming in from New York, just when you are showing your passport of entry they will call out different groups: members holding diplomatic corps passports; all American citizens; all foreigners. Being a British subject I was a foreigner. You wait your turn. Will our Department of Immigration officials at Halifax have instructions along the same lines?

The Witness: I am sorry I cannot answer for the Department of Immigration.

The Chairman: May I say that if we get through with this witness in good time this morning—I am not trying to hurry anybody—but if we do we will call Mr. Keenleyside and Mr. Jolliffe. We will do that this morning if possible. They are very busy but they will come if we call them.

Mr. Jaques: I would like to ask the witness to tell us what privileges—extra privileges—the diplomatic and official passports give.

The Chairman: The witness has explained that, Mr. Jaques.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, it is merely an assurance to the foreign government that this person is not in the category of a business man or a tourist, and that the facilities for travelling in other countries are requested by the Canadian government for this person and not that the request is merely made for a private individual.

Mr. Jaques: That did not hold good during the war. I was in England in 1944, and coming back to New York, before I left Liverpool, I was fingerprinted. Now, if I had had a diplomatic passport that would not have been necessary, would it?

Mr. Coldwell: A group of members of parliament went to Britain during the war and they had their passports inscribed as to who they were, but they were not fingerprinted anywhere. I remember particularly going to Lisbon. At the moment the passports were handed to the officials we were put in a car and shot to Lisbon—perhaps I should say conveyed into Lisbon.

Mr. JAQUES: I was handled by Canada House in London. They knew who I was, and they knew who I was in Liverpool. It required half a day for me to get through the United Kingdom customs. I have always resented that treatment. I was told that all members of parliament were treated that way; but I did not believe it.

Mr. Coldwell: If one goes on official business he has an official inscription on his passport. If you were on an ordinary visit you would not have that.

Mr. Jaques: I understood the witness to say that members of parliament have enjoyed these privileges for five years.

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, the new arrangement has only been effective during the last two weeks. The recent changes in the issuing of diplomatic and official passports have only been instituted during the past few weeks.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. May I ask another question? A member's wife or an official's wife or a diplomat's wife and family, their passports would be similar and marked, "Wife of an official"?—A. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Before we proceed, if you will pardon me, do you think we could call Mr. Keenleyside and Mr. Jolliffe now?

Agreed.

# By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. I should like to refer back to a matter which was touched upon a few moments ago, referring to the issuance of passports to stateless persons. I recall the witness said there had been no passports issued by our department for a year. Are not all these displaced persons stateless persons? If they wished to come to Canada do they not have to get a passport from our officials in Europe?—A. The movement of stateless persons to Canada which has already taken place has been done without the issuance of these documents.

Q. They carry no passports?—A. No.

- Q. No certificates of identification?—A. Certificates of identification, but not what I referred to as a technical "Certificate of Identity." That is the term we use for the passport issued by Canada for non-Canadians. We do not refer to it as a passport, we refer to it as a certificate of identity. Doubtless the immigration branch made provision for supplying people who have already come to Canada as stateless persons, and unable to obtain passports, with some means of identification. Usually these are documents whereon may be affixed the Canadian visa.
- Q. I refer to the document which is referred to in our regulations for immigration. I presume it is the certificate of identity. Your department does not issue that?—A. I think the question must refer to the immigration visa which is normally placed on the passport.

## By Mr. Marquis:

Q. You have no record or list of these persons? That is kept by the immigration branch?—A. Yes, sir.

## By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Those certificates of identification have the picture of the person upon them and do they have the fingerprints as well?—A. No, sir.

Q. Just the picture?—A. Yes, sir.

## By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Are there any circumstances under which Canadians are refused a passport?—A. They may be refused passports at the discretion of the minister. They are currently refused in certain cases, the minister having indicated his wishes in this matter. The cases I have in mind are certain Canadians, at present in occupied countries, who have served in the forces of the enemy voluntarily but who are, nevertheless, Canadians and admissable to Canada should they arrive here. The department is not currently furnishing travel facilities to these people.

# By Mr. Marquis:

Q. What about those who have served time in a penitentiary? Have they the right to get a passport?—A. The department has issued no instructions concerning the refusal of passports for any such considerations as character or morals or political views.

Q. What do you mean by that?

The CHAIRMAN: Order, please.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. When a man is going to be married, his intended wife gets a passport under her married name and that passport is sent to the minister who gives it

to her as soon as she is married?—A. Yes.

Q. A case has come to my attention where these people have their passage booked but they will have to do a lot of rushing around to get visas from the American consul in Toronto after they are married. They only have a matter of a day in which to do it. Is there any way by which a passport for the wife could be given to her or some steps taken by which she could get the visa before she is married so as to save time?—A. By all means, sir, but the problem as I understand it is not that. The problem is that it is not possible to issue the document in the married name before the marriage takes place. Therefore, it is post dated when it is issued. There would be no objection whatever to the

clergyman handing the document to the intended bride so she might obtain visas. I understand that foreign consular officials in Canada usually refuse to

issue a visa until the passport date has actually arrived.

Q. I am going to ask you another question. I have two applications in this morning similar to those of which I spoke. I am supposed to know the clergyman's name, but I do not know the clergyman's name. The passport is to be issued in the married name. Before it can be issued, shall I have to know the clergyman's name or can the passport be handed to me and I can give it to the young lady as soon as the marriage takes place?—A. In as much as the passport will bear the date of the intended marriage, the precaution of handing it to a second person is not a tremendously important one. It is simply a safeguard against the going astray of the document in case the marriage plans do not go forward, as has frequently happened.

By the Chairman:

Q. Mr. Sivertz, would you care—

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, sir, may I say we always accede to the request that the passport be handed to any responsible person.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. In this case could it be handed to a member of parliament?—A. Yes.

By the Chairman:

Q. Mr. Sivertz, would you care to answer the following question? Could you describe the location and conditions of work of the passport office at the present time?—A. The passport office is housed at 38 Bank Street on the second and third floors of two separate buildings with communicating doors between. The quarters are, in my estimation, disgracefully inadequate.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Any one who has been there will agree with that?—A. And inappropriate as an office in which the public should be met. The quarters are also not conducive to good morale of the staff which works in them. They are, however, adequate in size. They are inadequate as to security in that the interior of the building is freely accessible to other tenants in the same building who are not, however, free to enter the actual offices in which the passport work is carried on.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. It is a real fire trap, too, is it not? There are wooden stairways and wooden floors. If you had a fire there your application forms and records would go up in smoke before you got the fire out?—A. I am not competent to estimate its relative fire hazard with other buildings. It is, I imagine, superior to many wooden buildings, Mr. Chairman, but it is not a modern building.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Do you know what rent is paid for it?—A. No.

By Mr. Fraser:

- Q: The rent is not included in your estimates, I suppose; that is taken care of by Public Works, is it not?—A. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, I do not know. I have not examined the estimates.
- Q. It is a Public Works building and the rent goes in the Public Works estimates, not yours.

Mr. Coldwell: Is it owned by Canada? I think it is rented.

Mr. Fraser: So, that has to be taken into account in checking up your estimates.

Mr. Benidickson: Is it open to us to make a recommendation in the light of this evidence?

The Chairman: I believe we can make a recommendation. We have your statement, Mr. Sivertz, I believe it would be in order for a deputation of the committee to go and visit that building.

## By Mr. Fraser:

Q. You have a special chart before you. Is that something you want us to see?—A. I brought graphs of the passport office business in case the members of the committee wished to ask for information regarding its work. It is not of general interest. I covered most of the points here in a general way in my statement.

Mr. Coldwell: I see Mr. Keenleyside is here, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Yes, I believe we are through with questioning this witness. I believe I am voicing the sentiments of the committee when I thank you for your

kind presentation.

I now have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Keenleyside. I understand Mr. Keenleyside has no statement to make but he is entirely at the disposal of the members of the committee for questioning pertaining to the matters which we discussed.

# H. L. Keenleyside, Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources, called:

Mr. Fraser: I would suggest Mr. Kidd ask his questions.

By Mr. Kidd:

Q. I did not know this was coming up this morning, but it has to do with the closing of the consular office in Kingston. There may be similar cases across

Canada so I am drawing it to your attention in the public interest.

Shortly before the war, probably you are better acquainted with this matter than I am, the American consular office had a small staff in offices at various places. If I am creditably informed these offices were maintained. They had a balance budget like any other office by certain collections which came in. In any event, in due course, this office was closed along with other offices, and the public in this area was greatly inconvenienced. I do not think any fault could be found with our own officials.

To make it clear, may I put it this way: A person who applies to get these documents has now to go, we will say from the Ottawa-Toronto area, Kingston being about halfway—there are nearly a million people in that area—but a person who is making application to enter the United States has to go to Toronto or Montreal Actually, I do not think Ottawa handles this.—A. May I ask a question? You are referring now to the consular offices of the United States?

Q. Yes.—A. Not the Canadian offices at all?

Q. Yes, and the result is that the person who makes the application is given about 15 or 20 forms to fill out. I was instrumental in trying to help out one or two friends in this connection who came to me. I was handed a set of the immigration forms. You have to go to your clergyman, the chief of police and all these people. There are about 20 forms or so. A person may have to go to Toronto. I went along with this lady. I am not finding fault with the American officials but everybody knows a civil service office is more or less run

on time. People who are not familiar with entering a civil service office (do not always) come when they are told. A person may arrive at eleven o'clock in the morning by 'plane and, around the noon hour be told to come back in the afternoon.

In any event, people from distances of 50, 60 or 100 miles have to go there. It means quite an expense to stay over. One form is for a medical examination and you have to have the medical officer certify as to your health. With that background, you are familiar with it, I was hoping representations might be made through this committee or I do not mind taking it up on the floor of the House or bringing it to the attention of the Minister of External Affairs, that the Canadian citizens should be given more convenience in the matter. I think, probably the same conditions obtain in western Canada as in eastern Canada. Is there any possibility of a little better service being given? I am, more or less, advocating it on behalf of Kingston at the moment. We had an office in Kingston which served the people of that locality. I do not know what influence you have, but I might have brought it up before the press yesterday and made a personal appeal. I did not go that far.—A. This is really a matter for the Department of External Affairs rather than for the Department of Mines and Resources. The relationship of consular offices of the United States to Canada is handled through External Affairs rather than through the immigration service.

As a matter of fact I do recall, during my previous days in External Affairs, this question came up on a considerable number of occasions. The United States has about 26 or had at that time, about 26 consular offices in Canada pretty well scattered across from coast to coast. They did open some new offices during the period of the war. I presume they have been closing them down since the war because of the decline in the quality of the inspection which was needed on the borders. It is not so important who goes back and forth now, from their point of view, as it was at that time. They checked up much more closely during the war than they do now as to persons going back and forth, as is the case with other countries as well. I presume what has happened is that they closed down a number of the offices in different parts of Canada, including the one in Kingston. Just how far the Canadian government would be prepared to go in suggesting to the United States authorities that they should reopen offices or establish new offices at different points in this country is, of course, a matter for the Department of External Affairs to decide.

The Chairman: I would request Mr. Sivertz to say a few words on that matter. I should have prefaced my remarks to Mr. Keenleyside, whom you all know, by saying that he was our Ambassador to Mexico. I should have said that. We are all very proud of the very able way you represented us in Mexico where you certainly made a name for yourself in that high position.

Mr. Sivertz: Mr. Chairman, the Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources has answered the question better than I could in its chief aspects. Two things, however, present themselves in connection with that matter. There are several places in Canada that are possibly as sparsely served with United States consular offices as the locality referred to. I am not competent to say how far the Department of External Affairs would be prepared to go in approaching the United States government with a view to having additional consular offices opened in Canada, and would refer the committee to the under-secretary. I would point out that at the present time Canada maintains only one consular office in the United States. The opening of further consular offices in the United States is contemplated at the present time by the Department of External Affairs. I might also point out that it is the universal experience of all countries that the maintenance of consular offices is expensive. They never pay their way. Possibly the United States authorities could make a counter request of Canada

that perhaps we do not transact all of the business as expeditiously as they would like in our offices in the United States.

Mr. Fraser: Their office in Toronto closes at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It does not close but they will not take any more after 4 o'clock. Saturday is a curtailed day for them also. I believe they are checking now on people going into the United States just as strictly as they were during the war. In fact, I thought last fall that it was more so because they not only checked at the consular office but then they shot you up Bay street near Bloor to the immigration office and you had to wait there a couple of hours to be checked by the immigration authorities.

Mr. Siverz: May I refer to one matter that has come to my notice in connection with this question, at least in the form in which it has appeared before in this committee. I think reference is being made to applications of Canadian citizens who wish to go to the United States for permanent residence to become American citizens. That does not refer to the ordinary international traffic of Canadian citizens who wish to visit or transact business in the United States Admission of immigrants to the United States or any other country is really entirely the concern of that country. It is in quite a different category from the question of making representations to the other government concerning the handling of normal business between the two countries. It is strictly a United States concern how easy they make it for Canadian citizens to leave Canada and become American citizens.

The Chairman: Mr. Jaques had a special question to ask Mr. Keenleyside.

Mr. Jaques: I think the answer would come from Mr. Jolliffe.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jolliffe is here so we can hear him now.

# A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources called:

The Chairman: I do not believe Mr. Jolliffe needs any presentation. He is well known to all of us. Proceed, Mr. Jaques.

Mr. Jaques: Mine was a private question.

Mr. MacInnis: This is a bad place to take up a private matter.

Mr. Fraser: I think in that case Mr. Jaques had better take it up after the meeting.

Mr. JAQUES: I did not mean to say it is private. I meant to say it is individual, and I do not want to take up the time of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: If the committee agrees then there is no objection.

Mr. Coldwell: If Mr. Jaques wants to take it up that way it is all right.

Mr. MacInnis: If it is a matter that covers a number of cases it may involve a principle.

Mr. Coldwell: There may be a principle involved.

Mr. Jaques: There may be. It is simply an application for entry into Canada by a man who is at the present time in Camp 4 in the American zone in Germany. He was born in 1898 at Kaminsk, Russia. His profession is a civil engineer. He attended the University of Prague, and later worked in the city department of Prague. His nationality is formerly Russian but now stateless, having escaped from Russia in 1920 after the revolution. This man lived in Prague until the red army entered Prague. His religion is orthodox. His parents

were Russian. He is married to a Czech who lives in Prague, religion, Roman Catholic. He speaks Russian, Czech, English and German, and he desires an entry permit into Canada.

Mr. Benidickson: To whom is he related in Canada?

Mr. Jaques: I cannot say. Must he have a relative in Canada?

The WITNESS: Where is he now? In Germany?

Mr. Jaques: Yes, he is in this No. 4 American zone camp. The WITNESS: He is apparently a stateless displaced person.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. That is right.—A. If he has relatives in Canada of certain degrees of relationship he will be admissible on that basis.

Q. But not otherwise?—A. He might come in under the 5,000 displaced persons for whom authority has just been issued. I did not catch his occupation.

Q. His occupation is civil engineer.—A. He could come in.

Q. He worked in the city department of the city of Prague and is formerly a Russian.—A. He is undoubtedly a displaced person.

Q. Pardon?—A. He is undoubtedly a displaced person.

Q. If I leave this description with you will you see what you can do?— A. We will deal with it.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. May I ask Mr. Jolliffe a question? Do you know when the application forms for the Chinese to get their families in will be ready?—A. They are now in the hands of the King's Printer being printed.

Q. You do not know when they will be ready.—A. They should be ready

within the next week or ten days, I would hope.

Q. Mr. Kidd asked the Passport Officer a few minutes ago with regard to Canadians returning to Canada as to whether they were given preference over others in passing through customs and immigration. If Americans are going to enter the United States from Canada they are all given preference, and then the foreigners come afterwards. Is that same procedure carried on in Canada?—A. You mean at ocean ports?

Q. At ocean ports or airports?—A. At ocean ports, yes. At airports the number of persons coming on a plane is very small, and the passengers are dealt

with as they come out of the plane.

Q. Do you not think at airports also Canadians should be given preference?

—A. I think it could be done very readily.

Q. The reason I say that is I know of one case where a party had to get to a person who was dying and was held up for some length of time owing to the fact there were other people ahead who were not Canadians and they were haggling over various papers.

Mr. Knowles: Would it not be better to consider the circumstances, as Mr. Fraser has indicated, as to whether a person is a Canadian or a foreigner?

Mr. Fraser: In this case they would not do it. They called out the names and they had to stand in line as they were called out. It was just the way they were listed on the passenger list.

The WITNESS: The difference between a ship and a plane is when a ship arrives there are large manifest forms, and they are divided into various classes, Canadians, transient people and then immigrants. It is a very simple matter before the inspection starts for the stewards to get these people into the various classes. A preference, the same as in the United States ports, is given to the Canadian citizen, the Canadian resident. His examination takes place first. Naturally the immigration examination takes longer than that for a Canadian citizen. A few questions usually establish citizenship or the right of the Canadian

to come in, and very often it is a long process with immigration. On the plane owing to space, the time of transit and so forth, it is not possible to have that kind of manifest. The only manifest that is presented is a sheet with the name of the person on it. The rest of the information is obtained by the examining officer during his examination. That is really the difference. That is why it is a little more difficult to deal with them in the same way. Now, no doubt some procedure can be worked out. It is certainly preferable to give preference to the Canadians. We will see what we can work out.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. May I ask another question? On a plane the stewardess generally—in fact, I have never seen it fail—comes along with a list and says, "you are a Canadian"? If you are not, it is marked down what you are. That goes on her list. When the stewardess hands in that list she should go to the immigration officer and then he could check immediately—A. It is a matter that can be worked out, and I think it is worth while.

Q. I think it is a courtesy to our own people if you do that.—A. We will

do something.

By Mr. Kidd:

Q. When you come into New York from Southampton this is the procedure they use. I am not critical at all. I was wondering if we use the same thing here. When you arrive the American immigration officials first call out, "All members of the diplomatic corps", then "All American citizens", and then "All foreigners." There is quite a long passenger list. Then everybody has to be sorted out again. I do not know whether our immigration officials are instructed in the same way at a port of debarkation, say at Halifax?—A. On the ships we definitely deal with Canadian residents first.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I have forgotten the situation. I have crossed the line a number of times by plane. I know the Americans present you with a mimeographed sheet which you fill in with all kinds of particulars about yourself. Do we do that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Both ways?—A. We use an individual form for the individual passenger.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. When you land at LaGuardia field the Americans are all taken first.

—A. I think we can do as well as the Americans.

Q. I hope so, and I know we can.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. In the case of displaced persons whom we bring to Canada, such as the 5,000 who have been authorized recently, may I ask whether they have to have any kind of identity certificate? If so, is it one that is issued by the refugee authority in Europe or is it one that the immigration department or the Department of External Affairs issues?—A. It is issued by the refugee authorities in Europe. It is a travel document establishing their identity.

Q. At the present time is that authority the I.G.C.R.?—A. Yes, they issue

a travel document.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. If at some future time one of these stateless persons gets into trouble and you are going to deport where would you deport them?—A. There is not any place to deport them.

Q. Would they go to the country of former nationality?—A. They would not accept them. They are stateless persons. Once we take them we have

them.

Q. We have the responsibility from then on?—A. Yes.

## By Mr. Knowles:

Q. When they arrive here on the basis of an I.G.C.R. identity document is their arrival here in the nature of a permanent landing?—A. Yes.

## By Mr. Winkler:

Q. In regard to displaced persons is there any preference shown? Does the department establish an office in displaced persons camps? How is contact made?—A. We have teams operating in Germany. They operate in conjunction with the I.G.C.R., the inter-governmental committee on refugees. The machinery is briefly this, that when the applicant is in Canada he files his application with the immigration authorities and through headquarters here a number of names are put on a master list. That list is sent overseas by airmail to the I.G.C.R. headquarters who distribute copies to their field officers. The field officers contact the prospective immigrants and they are brought to centres where our floating teams, so to speak, appear when there are a sufficient number to be examined, give them their medical and civil examinations and then grant them their visa if they are found to be admissible. Therefore, these teams may to-day be in one part of Germany and next week in another part of Germany. As these people can be got together in centres in certain numbers, then our teams immediately proceed to those centres to examine them. They are not in set places because it would be impossible to operate that way.

## By Mr. Knowles:

Q. That seems to cover the case where an application emanates from Canada for a particular displaced person, Mr. Jolliffe. Could you indicate how these teams will work in carrying out the provisions of the new order in council for 5,000 people who, I understand, do not have to have relatives in Canada or even have to be applied for from Canada?—A. They will have to be brought into centres in exactly the same way.

Q. Probably that is what Mr. Winkler had in mind; how does the decision get made or who makes the decision as to whether a person will be brought in on

this basis or not?

Mr. Keenleyside: Perhaps if I may, I could interrupt to answer that question and Mr. Jolliffe will correct me if I go astray. The recent decision of the government to admit 5,000 persons who have not relatives in Canada involves a new procedure which has to be worked out. Mr. Jolliffe is going overseas in the near future with a representative from the Department of Health and Welfare to make sure the decision which is adopted is a good one from the point of view of making sure the people are screened properly and sent on their way.

I think the question involved in who is to do the selection can be answered in a general way by saying it will be done by a representative of the Department of Mines and Resources with the assistance of a representative from the Depart-

ment of Health and Welfare and of Labour.

Mr. Coldwell: Who pays the fares of these people?

Mr. KEENLEYSIDE: The I.G.C.R.

# By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I was wondering, since a representative of the Department of Health and Welfare is going over there, do you x-ray the people there or when they arrive here?—A. Over there. They are x-rayed over there before they are brought here. The people have to produce the x-ray film to the medical officers.

Q. I brought this up in the House and was told the x-raying would cost too much. I suppose this will save Canada money by having the people x-rayed over there.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What we are doing is bringing over the people who are healthy and will be of value. What about the people who, because of incarceration in these camps and under feeding are in bad health but who might be rehabilitated if given a chance to live in healthy conditions; has any consideration been given to that particular point?—A. These people we are bringing will require to pass a medical examination. For instance, if a person is tubercular or a mental case, he is not admissible under the law. It is a statutory provision and the medical examination will eliminate entirely those classes.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. When you brought the first group of Poles, there was T.B. in that group and also V.D.?—A. Yes.

Q. This will eliminate that danger?—A. This will eliminate that.

Mr. Keenleyside: Perhaps I might just add a word to what Mr. Jolliffe has said in reply to Mr. Coldwell's question. I think you have to admit there has not been any consideration given to the question of what to do with persons who are in bad health physically in the D.P. camps. What one would hope would happen is, as pressure on the persons who are handling these camps decreases with the gradual efflux of persons from the camps, the authorities then will be in a better position to try and rehabilitate those who are in bad shape.

Up until now, there has been no national agreement and nothing has been done by individual countries as it would be impossible for an individual country to do anything. It is a very serious problem. I imagine a considerable percentage of those people, after what they have gone through, are in bad physical

shape.

Mr. MacInnis: It would have to be done by international organization and co-operation?

Mr. KEENLEYSIDE: Quite so.

Mr. MacInnis: Has any decision been made yet in connection with the 5,000 who are to be brought in here, as to whether industrialists may go over to select the persons they want?

Mr. Keenleyside: The answer to that question, Mr. Chairman, is this: in the case of woods workers who are going to be part of the 5,000, we are accepting the advice in Europe of representatives of some of the companies who have asked for workers to come to their woods operations who are prepared to grant employment at reasonable wages in this country. Whether that policy will be followed with the others who come later in the 5,000 I do not know. I would hope it would because it gives a definite promise to the individual concerned that when he gets here he will have something to go to right away. I would not make that an absolute rule that a pre-arrangement such as that had to be made. I would hope it could be worked out in a great many instances. If the representatives of industrial organizations here who can provide employment wish to go over at their own expense to advise the representatives of the three departments concerned as to the type of person they want who would be most successful in their employment, it seems to me the sensible way of handling it.

Mr. Benedickson: I was going to ask a similar question. I was going to ask whether the bulk of the 5,000 were going to come over here by that means or are they going to endeavour to find a close relative of the people in those camps and bring them over by some kind of application?

Mr. Keenleyside: We are doing that all the time now. If anyone indicates he has a relative in these camps we make every effort to find him and get him out.

## By Mr. Benidickson:

- Q. Since we are on this question how many people have been brought over from the displaced persons camps to relatives in Canada?—A. There have only been, from the displaced persons camps, about 150 who have arrived.
- Q. And the other movement—does that include the Dionne movement?—A. No, you were talking about relatives.
  - Q. That is what I had in mind.—A. There are about 150.
- Q. So it is infinitesimal, yet?—A. The difficulty has been in locating these people and getting them together and in transport.

## By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. There have been a number of applications made?—A. There are a large number of applications and those cases are before the I.G.C. and our own officers in Germany now. They are locating these people and bringing them forward.

## By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. I am hoping there will be some way of merging the two, that your department will follow up the applications where you have been given the specific location of relatives of Canadians in displaced persons camps and that you, in turn, might provide some of these names to the industrialists so the industrialists may be given an opportunity of saying whether the person would be brought by those guaranteeing the work, if the relative himself has not guaranteed the work as has happened in many cases?—A. The relatives about whom we are now talking are coming to Canada assigned to a relative in Canada.

# By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. May I ask another question in connection with the bringing over of persons to definite employment?

Mr. Keenleyside: May I interrupt just a moment on this point concerning what has been said in regard to the finding of these people? The Canadian teams in Germany cannot pick up and go to Munich, say, to find the relative of a person who is here because under the agreement with the I.G.C.R. that is the duty of the international organization. What we do is give all the information we have to the I.G.C.R., then they bring the people to the centre where they can be screened by our representatives. The delays which have taken place so far have not been in our offices after the people come to us, but have been in the procedure by which the I.G.C. locate the people and bring them to a point where we can look at them. The delays are not on our part at all, they are delays which have been caused by the I.G.C.R. getting those people and getting them to a point where we can look at them.

Mr. Benidickson: The industrialists are not going to waste much time. They think they can pick up people quickly.

Mr. Keenleyside: That is a different procedure; that is not a matter of getting people out, it is a matter of getting people out in the 5,000. I think the procedure will have to be changed to something like this. I do not know, I am only guessing, as I do not know what we can do. Supposing we wanted a thousand carpenters; we will have a look at the list the I.G.C.R. has prepared which might show there are 1,000 carpenters in a camp at Hamburg. Then, our people would go there possibly with a representative of the industrial organization as well, take a look at the people and find out whether they wanted to come to Canada or not. Then, we would screen them. However, as I say,

that is something which still has to be worked out. It is for that purpose Mr. Jolliffe and the other officers from the departments concerned are going overseas.

Mr. MacInnis: I was going to follow up the question I asked re the industrialists selecting persons in displaced persons camps and guaranteeing employment in Canada. If the employees in those industries where these displaced persons will come to work have an agreement with the employer covering wages and working conditions, are they consulted in the matter of bringing these people in and concerning the way these people will fit into the general scheme? I think that question is important because if they are not consulted I doubt if their absorption into the industry will be as smooth and satisfactory as it otherwise might be.

Mr. Keenleyside: The question has arisen in the case of the needle trades where the employees and the employers both sent representatives here to talk about getting in new persons from the camps in Europe to work in their industry. That is the only industry so far which has sent a joint representation to us here to talk about it. I think the situation is covered pretty generally by the fact we are bringing these people into industries in which they will work in the provinces. They would naturally have to be employed under the laws of the province. It would be manifestly impossible for us to say to one province, "You cannot have immigrants because we do not like your laws".

Mr. MacInnis: I understand representatives of the lumber workers from the Ontario lumber operations were in Ottawa quite recently and I believe they have made representations to the Department of Labour in regard to this matter. I do not know what provision was made.

Mr. Keenleyside: Applications which come in this category are referred to us here to an inter-departmental committee on which there are representatives of the Department of Labour and of the Department of Mines and Resources. That inter-departmental committee looks at the situation as a whole. If there is an application, for example, for workers to be brought into an industry which, according to the records of the Department of Labour already has a surplus of labour or has enough labour to take care of its immediate needs, then we would not agree to bring in more people for it. The whole thing is screened by that committee and it operates on the basis of the reports which it gets from the Department of Labour about conditions in the industry concerned.

Mr. MacInnis: My information is that the representatives of the lumber workers are in agreement that more lumber workers are required, but for their own protection they would like to have some say in the arrangements by which

these people are absorbed into the industry.

Mr. Benidickson: My information is that the organized woodsmen have not got that opinion.

Mr. MacInnis: Pardon?

Mr. Benidickson: My information is the organized woodsmen have not got that opinion. They came here and made representation to the contrary, that people should not be brought in here to cut timber, but there is fair support now, as I understand it, from the millworkers' union who see that their work may be cut down because there is not an adequate supply of timber. They are in support of bringing in people to cut timber.

Mr. MacInnis: You may have had some information of that kind. My information is in the opposite direction.

Mr. Jaenicke: Let us take the case of this engineer; Mr. Jaques mentioned. Mr. Benidickson: I am speaking of the Ontario area, not British Columbia.

Mr. MacInnis: So am I.

#### By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. How would he go about being included in the 5,000? Has he got a chance at all unless he is sponsored by some industrialist or union or something of that nature? Mr. Jaques mentioned an engineer. How would he go about it to be included in the 5,000 or in any other group that might be authorized later?—A. As Dr. Keenleyside mentioned just now we have to work out the details of this. I suppose one of the easiest ways to do it is by occupations. There will be lists of various occupations available to our officers over there.

#### By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Here is a man in Roumania with relatives in Canada. I am thinking of an actual case. I think I wrote to you about it. How can he come to this country? Where can he get medical examination and the necessary authority by way of documents to come to the country? Where would he have to go?—A. That is a man coming to a relative, an admissible person?

Q. A. relative.—A. He would have to go to our nearest office where visa

facilities are available.

- Q. If he can get out of the country where can he go in order to get to Canada?—A. He could go to Prague. He could go to Lisbon. He could go to Berne, Switzerland.
  - Q. Prague would be the nearest.—A. Athens, Greece.

## By Mr. Benidickson:

- Q. Would he not have to have a passport from Roumania?—A. He would have to get out of Roumania.
  - Q. If he went out without a passport would we accept him?

Mr. Coldwell: He would be stateless then.

The WITNESS: Yes, if he were stateless we would deal with him. Naturally he would have to be examined.

Mr. MacInnis: Is that not the chief difficulty? I made an appointment with the Minister of Mines and Resources in connection with some people who came here in regard to a similar person except in this case it was in Hungary. It was with reference to the sister of a woman who is married and lives in northern Ontario somewhere. The Department of Immigration investigated the circumstances of the family and their ability to look after her and found them quite satisfactory, but the difficulty arises because she cannot get out of Hungary to a point where a medical examination can take place.

The WITNESS: That is right.

# By Mr. MacInnis:

- Q. The suggestion was made that if she had some sort of Canadian visa and she could pass the medical examination she could come to Canada. She would be able to get out. I do not know whether that sort of thing would be feasible?—A. The difficulty there is the only document that would be of value to her in that predicament would be some document showing she would be admitted to Canada.
- Q. Sure, and that is what you cannot get.—A. The attitude of the department is that you cannot give a guarantee of admission to Canada to some person you have never seen. In other words, this lady or any other person in these circumstances might arrive at Prague and be found to be a mental case or to have tuberculosis. If she has a guarantee backed by the government of Canada, Canada has to admit a person who is not admissible under Canada's law.

Mr. Keenleyside: The practical answer to that is that these people really cannot come in at the present time. In the first place in the circumstances you have mentioned they would both be enemy aliens, and enemy aliens are not admissible to Canada under present regulations unless they can first of all prove they were opposed to the enemy government. That is a very difficult thing to do.

Mr. Coldwell: The person I have in mind is a Czech who fled when Hitler came in and kept moving until he found himself finally in Roumania.

Mr. Keenleyside: If he is still a Czech national—

Mr. Coldwell: He is not a Communist. He is opposed to the regime.

Mr. Keenleyside: —he is not an enemy alien so he does not fall into that category.

Mr. Benidickson: Somebody would have to certify him as not being an enemy alien.

The Witness: If they are enemy aliens they not only have to prove they were opposed to the enemy government but they then have to get out.

Mr. Coldwell: Did I say he was a Czech? He is a Pole.

By Mr. Kidd:

- Q. I should like to ask a question of Mr. Jolliffe. It has to do with British immigrants coming to Canada. I had a question on the order paper a short time ago and the answer I received was that about 1,100 single men and about 1,900 single women have arrived in Canada since January, 1946. Is the government doing anything to aid single boys and girls to come to Canada at the present time? I understand they are not?—A. You mean—
  - Q. By way of transportation?—A. Paying their passage?

Q. Yes.—A. No, there is no assisted passage.

Q. Are they doing their best to help these people who want to come here? Here is my point. I mentioned it before in the House and probably will have to do it again. We had in Kingston the fleet air arm. In that community there were 100 classes of 50 boys to a class. Nearly 5,000 of these British boys were trained at Kingston, and that was only one of a hundred places across Canada. The war is over and these boys have gone back and have been demobilized. Most of them are single. A great many want to come to Canada and marry Canadian girls. I think I am correct when I say that up to July 1 last the applications of all people in the British Isles wanting to come to Canada were handled by Canada House. After that date it was handed over to the transportation companies. Then these boys had to fight for themselves. The result is that some of them are not out to Canada yet. I am not saying anything against Poles or displaced persons who want to come to Canada to-day, but you would have to find a job for them whereas these boys want to come and marry a Canadian girl and have a job. They are British subjects. They know the conditions. They have already been in Canada. Only a week ago last Saturday a boat arrived at Halifax from Southampton with one or two of these boys whom I happened to know and was instrumental in bringing here. On that boat there were 500 Poles from Great Britain. These Poles took the place of British subjects who wanted to come to Canada and would have made better citizens. I am trying to urge the department as strongly as I can to do what we can to get these single girls and men here. I do not know whether the department is doing very much to help them .- A. We are endeavouring to get all the transportation that is available.

Q. It is a matter of transportation?—A. It is a matter of transportation.

Mr. Benidickson: Canada did not pay in any way towards bringing in these 500 Poles.

Mr. Kidd: Yes, Canada did pay. It said so on the order paper.

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. Kidd: I am sorry, but we had better have that corrected because I put the question on the order paper and it was answered by the minister himself.

Mr. Keenleyside: They did pay from the port to their destination in Canada.

Mr. Kidd: As I remember the question Canada paid a part of the transportation and Great Britain paid a part of it.

The Witness: Ocean transportation?

Mr. Kidd: I do not know. I say transportation.

The WITNESS: Transportation from the port of entry.

Mr. Kidd: I am not finding fault except to say that there are a great many single boys and girls in Great Britain who are being held up by the lack of transportation. The transportation these boys and girls should be getting is being given away to these other central Europeans, people who were never in Canada before.

Mr. Fraser: The British should have the preference.

Mr. Coldwell: You have got to consider the humanitarian side. I should like to see people from Great Britain coming here for more than one reason.

Mr. Kidd: I think Mr. Coldwell should be fighting for the cause I am fighting for now.

Mr. Coldwell: I should like to see Britishers come here for more than one reason but the fact is that this is a humanitarian business. The Britishers do have homes and food and all the rest of it.

Mr. Kidd: I will say this jokingly. It is going on the record. Somebody said to me, "The people in Great Britain sort of put one over the Canadians. They are getting rid of 500 Poles around Glasgow whom we do not want over there and Canada is taking them."

Mr. Coldwell: Somebody may have said that jokingly.

Mr. Kidd: There are quite a lot of Poles around Glasgow. All you have got to do is read the article in the Toronto Star a short time ago.

Mr. Coldwell: The British have given a great deal of refuge to these displaced persons.

Mr. Benidickson: They have been paying the cost of supporting them.

Mr. Keenleyside: The British government is anxious for us to help them in the matter of the Poles. They have had this burden on their hands for a great many years. They are extremely pleased to get some help in handling it. We made some contribution towards that. On the other hand the British government is not anxious to have their own people leave there. It wants them to stay home.

Mr. Kidd. If you followed what happened after the last war there were 250,000 left Great Britain and it is going to happen again. You cannot stop it. One out of every five who left Great Britain came to Canada. The other four went elsewhere. We should have had them. They went to the United States. That is what I am fighting for now. If Canada does not insist on these boys coming and giving them transportation they are going to go to the United States or Australia or New Zealand in the next 12 or 15 months if we do not help them now.

The Witness: They cannot get to Australia, New Zealand or the United States any faster than they can get to Canada.

Mr. Kidd: Apparently they are fighting their own battles. If they get the money they will fly.

The Witness: That same condition applies to Canada. They are doing that to Canada. The regulations with regard to British subjects could not be any easier or simpler than they are to-day. It is a matter of good health, character and arriving in Canada where they are not likely to become any public charge.

Mr. Kidd: I am hoping somebody—I guess it is the Minister of Transport—will see that we get transportation for them. I am not finding fault with your department. I am finding fault with the transportation companies.

#### By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. Mr. Fraser raised the question of Chinese immigration which I was going to raise myself. I was rather disappointed at receiving a letter to-day saying that one of these applications could not be received, although we have passed the bill. Supposing the application forms did come in next week, have we set up in the Orient examining centres for the examination of the proposed dependents of our Chinese Canadian citizens?—A. They are not set up, but they are in the process of being set up.

Q. Could Mr. Jolliffe estimate when they will be set up?—A. Within the

next few months, I should think.

- Q. We are just back to about the same kind of doubts as we had concerning the European set-up for the last two years?—A. In the first place, there is not the transportation. It is an old story I know, but there is not the transportation for these people to come to Canada. If we had 40 officers in Hong Kong to-morrow, we would not be able to move those dependents who, presumably, would be admissible under the law as it is now. We would not be able to reach them any faster than if the officers were not there for six months because transportation is not available. This does not mean to say we are not going to deal with them. We are going to deal with the applications and investigate them. Then, as soon as transportation is available these people will be able to move.
- Q. I have not got the evidence to argue against you in respect to the oriental immigration set-up, but history may repeat itself. We may find ourselves in the same position as we did in respect to European immigration, when there were times when we could not supply an adequate number of examining officers but there was transportation available. If your facilities had been available to examine the people in Poland, for instance——A. Are you referring to a recent occasion, sir?

Q. A year ago.—A. When was the transportation available to move immigrants from Europe last year?

Q. They were moving freely from Poland to Great Britain and from there by air transportation and any other means available. The relatives would be paying for the transportation?—A. Air transportation?

Q. Yes.—A. We did deal with people who travelled from Great Britain

by air.

Q. There was not a man of ours in Poland to medically certify these Polish relatives who were prepared to make their own way to Great Britain and even-

tually by air to Canada?—A. There is now.

Q. There is now, but I am saying there was not at the time that form of transportation was available. I suspect history may repeat itself and that even now, air transportation could be found from the Orient to the United States and up into Canada if we had a medical set-up in China to examine the proposed immigrants.

Mr. WINKLER: In regard to the continental figure of 5,000 persons, I should like to know what is behind the figure and what will happen when the figure is exhausted?

Mr. Keenleyside: If I may try to answer that, I would say that the figure was selected just as a round figure to get the principle established that we were going to make an effort to move on our own on this matter without waiting for the International Refugee Organization to work out an international agreement on it. There was not aything particular in the amount when we selected 5,000. It is just a nice, round figure.

As to the last part of your question, that is a question of government policy. When the 5,000 are out, the whole situation will be canvassed again. If we are close to an international agreement we will probably wait for it, but if we are

not the government may want to bring another 5,000.

Mr. Coldwell: I think it is a fine gesture. I am glad to see the government doing something before the International Refugee Organization is set up because I am doubtful as to whether it will be functioning very soon.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions?

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I should like to ask Mr. Jolliffe if they have offices set up in Norway and Sweden?—A. Yes.

Q. They are set up there?—A. Yes.

Q. There was another case I had, of a French woman who was brought into Canada some months ago as a governess. I do not know what the regulations are, but I just heard this morning she has no right to stay in Canada?—A. I did not quite catch what you said.

Q. This French woman came into Canada as a governess and now she is not allowed to stay. Why would that be?—A. Is she applying for permanent

residence?

Q. Yes.—A. And been rejected?

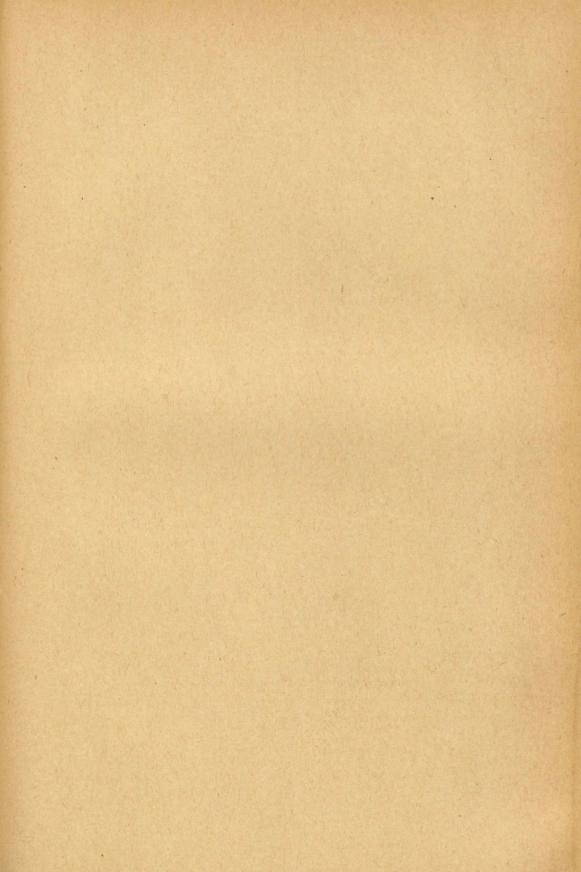
- Q. And been rejected, yes.—A. I presume she has not any relatives in Canada?
- Q. That would be the reason?—A. Presumably she does not come within the admissable class.
- Q. She would have to have relatives here in order to stay?—A. She would have to have a certain degree of relationship to someone in Canada or to belong to a certain class of employment.

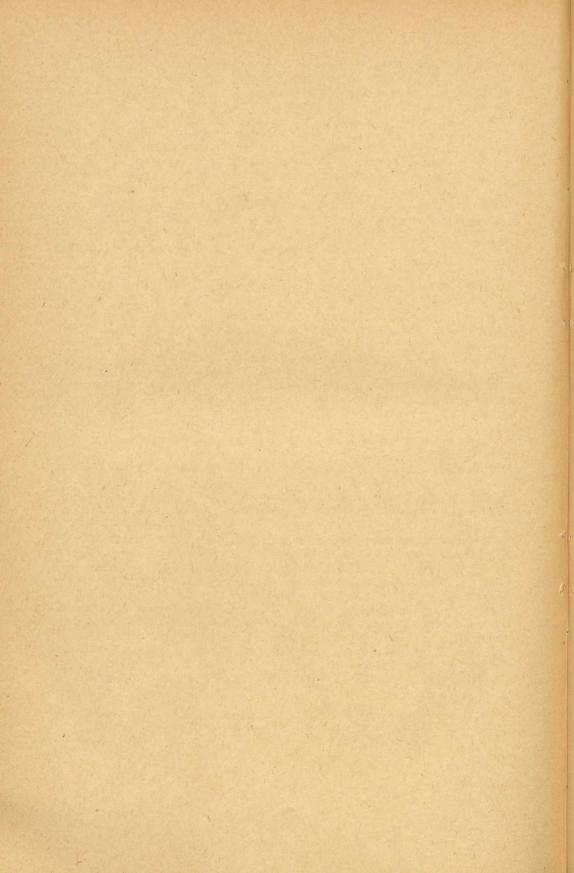
The Chairman: Are there any further questions? Are you satisfied that we are through with the estimates of External Affairs? I want to thank Mr. Jolliffe and Mr. Keenleyside as well as Mr. Sivertz for their very fine presentations. There is a young man who has been at most of our sittings, Mr. Starnes. He has shown fine cooperation in his work as a liasion man between our department and the Department of External Affairs. As we have now concluded the examination of the External Affairs estimates 41 to 46, it is imperative we refer them to the House at an early date. I should also like to remind the members of the committee that the fifth and sixth reports are to be released this afternoon.

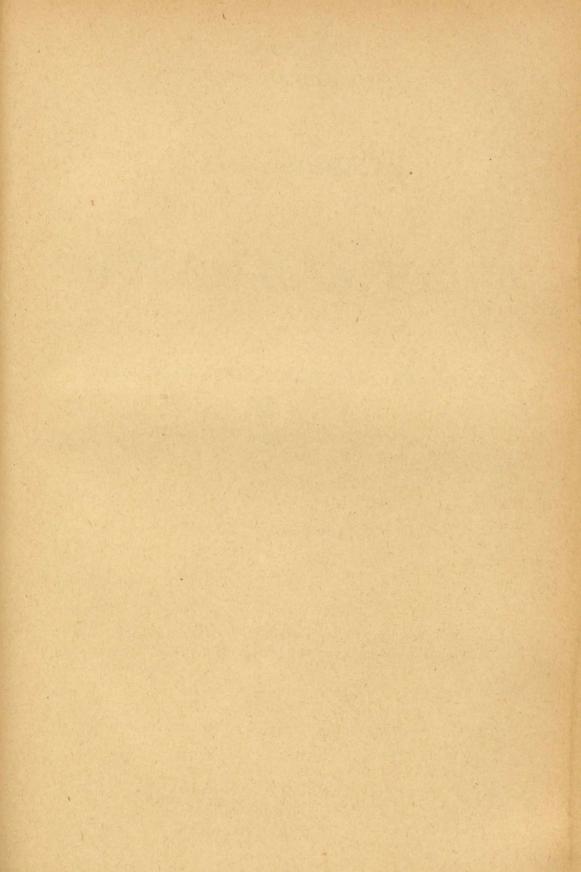
As to the visit we are to make to the passport office, is it satisfactory to convene at my office at eleven o'clock next Monday? The secretary will notify the

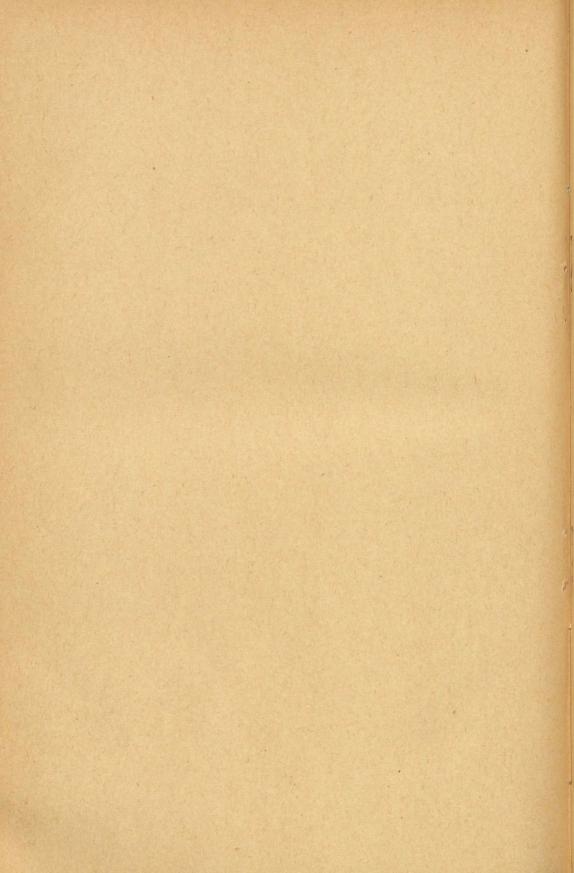
members to that effect.

The committee adjourned at 12.55 p.m. at the call of the chair.









#### SESSION 1947

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

#### STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE No. 12

INCLUDING EIGHTH REPORT

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1947

Bill No. 272, An Act to provide for Privileges and Immunities in respect to the United Nations and related International Organizations.

#### WITNESS:

Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
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1947

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# ORDER OF REFERENCE

TUESDAY, June 17, 1947.

Ordered,—That the following Bill be referred to the said Committee:—Bill No. 272, An Act to provide for Privileges and Immunities in respect to the United Nations and related International Organizations. Attest.

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE,

Clerk of the House.

## REPORT TO HOUSE

FRIDAY, June 20, 1947.

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

#### EIGHTH REPORT

Your Committee has considered Bill No. 272, An Act to provide for Privileges and Immunities in respect of the United Nations and related International Organization, and has agreed to report it without amendment.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE, Chairman.

# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, June 20, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Bradette, Coldwell, Côté (Matapedia-Matane), Croll, Fleming, Isnor, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Winkler—17.

In attendance: Messrs. John K. Starnes and E. A. Côté.

The Chairman read the order of reference of June 17, 1947 on Bill 272, An Act respecting Privileges and Immunities in respect of the United Nations and related International Organizations.

Mr. Lester B. Pearson was called and questioned. He was assisted by Messrs. E. R. Hopkins and E. A. Côté.

A general discussion took place on the principle of the Bill.

Clauses 1, 2, 3 and 4 were adopted.

The title and the schedule were adopted.

Ordered,—To report the Bill.

At 12.15 the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE, Clerk of the Committee.

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#### MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons, June 20, 1947.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, I am very appreciative, indeed, of having more than a quorum so early. We all realize how hard it is because some of the members, like myself, went to bed at half past four this morning.

As you realize on Tuesday, June 17, 1947, we had the following order of reference:

Ordered that the following bill be referred to the said committee, bill No. 272, an Act to provide for privileges and immunities in respect of the United Nations and related international organizations. Attest, Arthur Beauschene, Clerk of the House of Commons.

This morning we are fortunate to have with us again Mr. Pearson and Mr. E. R. Hopkins. Personally I thought we were nearly finished with our work for this session but this Bill has just been referred to us. I know it will be the subject of very instructive and elevating discussion.

Mr. JAQUES: Have you an extra copy of the bill?

Mr. Low: I have one here.

The Chairman: I believe the best order of procedure would be to call first of all clause 2 of bill 272, an Act to provide for privileges and immunities in respect of the United Nations and related international organizations. Clause 2 reads:

2. The Governor in Council may authorize the accession of Canada to the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (in this Act called the 'Convention'), set out in the Schedule to this Act, with the reservation that exemption from taxation imposed by any law in Canada on salaries and emoluments shall not extend to a Canadian citizen residing or ordinarily resident in Canada, and may make such orders as appear to him to be necessary for that purpose and for the purpose of carrying out the obligations of Canada thereunder.

Mr. Fleming: Are we going to have a statement from Mr. Pearson or is he here to answer questions that may arise?

The Chairman: I will leave that to the discretion of Mr. Pearson and to the approval of the committee as to what he prefers to do.

# L. B. Pearson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, called:

The Witness: I had not expected to make a statement. I had thought possibly I might try to deal with any questions that arise of a more general character concerning this Bill while questions which concern more specifically its legal aspects could be dealt with by Mr. Hopkins or Mr. Cote, who are both very familiar with the background of this particular bill. I am not quite sure what kind of general statement from me would be of assistance.

Mr. Fleming: There are a few remarks I should like to make which may give rise to some questions that Mr. Pearson may answer.

The Chairman: Before we proceed, I believe you are right. If any of the members would like to make general remarks on the bill now that we have started on clause 2 that will be the proper place to make those remarks. Then we will proceed with the bill clause by clause after we have had that general discussion and general questioning.

Mr. Fleming: I want to make it clear I do not intend to make extended and general remarks. There are a couple of points in connection with this bill I should like to bring out if I can. In the first place I think there is some concern at the present time about extending immunities to officials of the United Nations and related organizations arising out of the somewhat general apprehension about the trend of international events.

I dare say if this particular convention had been presented to parliament for ratification a year and a half ago we would not have hesitated for a moment. We would have said, "Well, it is contemplated by the charter to which we have subscribed and follows necessarily from it, and what we are doing now

is simply carrying out the obligation that is implicit in the charter."

There is some uneasiness to-day that gives rise to the first point I should like to clarify. This may be put as a general question to Mr. Pearson. If things do not work out satisfactorily, and if officials of the United Nations or related organizations should be assigned to Canadian territory who prove not to be acceptable here for one reason or another I take it it would be a matter of government responsibility to make such representations to the United Nations or to the specialized organization which has accredited that official to duties in Canada, and that it would be then the responsibility of the government to ask the United Nations, or the particular specialized organization, to remove that official from Canada, and that if we came to an impasse on the subject either through refusal of the organization to remove that official on the request of the Canadian government, or so many officials are proven to be persona non grata here it might then be left for Canada to withdraw from the organization in question. Am I right in assuming with the withdrawal of Canada from the particular organization which has accredited that official to Canada his rights under the convention that we are being asked to ratify now would cease? That is the first point.

The Witness: On that point, as you know, the officials in question are officials of international organizations, and as such are not supposed to be responsible to, or have any special obligation or loyalty to, their own government in the discharge of their duties while serving an international organization. If, however, any official of an international organization took action of any kind or said anything which made him persona non grata to the government of the country in which the organization was located; if he did anything which was improper and which aroused suspicion in the mind of the government of the country in which the organization was located, I should think it would be open to that government to take the same action as it would in respect of a diplomatic official who acted improperly. It could ask for his withdrawal. In the case of a diplomatic officer his government is asked to recall him. In the case of an international official, while I do not think the situation has ever arisen in the past, no doubt the action taken would be to ask for his dismissal from the organization, or at least his withdrawal from the particular country. If the organization in question refused to take that action it would be open to the government, of course, to withdraw from the organization as you have suggested. and I take it that withdrawal from the organization would be followed by withdrawal from the obligations of the convention establishing privileges and immunities.

Mr. HOPKINS: By cancellation of the order in council.

The Witness: By cancellation of the order in council, in which case the Canadian government would have no obligations of any kind to extend any privileges to this particular man or to any other official of that organization. They could go even further if they so desired. They could ask the organization itself to locate some other place than Canada.

By Mr. Low:

Q. That seems to be at variance, does it not, with the last part of section 12 of the convention. I will read section 12. It says:

In order to secure, for the representatives of members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations, complete freedom of speech and independence in the discharge of their duties, the immunity from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts done by them in discharging their duties shall continue to be accorded, nothwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer the representatives of members.

A. I think, if I may say so, that is a rather different case. In the first place that section applies to the United Nations and not to the specialized organizations. In the second place it applies to representatives of member governments who are attending United Nations meetings and not members of the secretariat or the staff of the international organization.

Q. That is quite true, but I suppose what Mr. Fleming referred to would be covered by this?—A. It would, but if there is a danger it would not be nearly so great in the case of representatives of member states because they would be in the country for temporary purposes only, to attend the session. Then they would go back to their country. Any danger, if there is a danger, would be much greater in the case of permanent members of the secretariat of the organization who would be living in the country.

Q. Would you enlarge on the meaning of that last clause, "notwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer the representatives of members"? It would appear that we still have to grant them all these immunities.—A. I think Mr. Hopkins can probably explain the legal significance much better than I can. It seems to me, though, that it applies to members who are attending a conference or a committee of some kind, and who are given immunity while they are so attending; and this immunity, in so far as it concerns anything they may have said or done at the meeting, is extended after they leave the meeting and go back home. In other words, they could not be sued later on for anything they did at that meeting.

Mr. Hopkins: I think that is the sense of it.

The CHAIRMAN: After reading the bill I thought I might suggest an amendment. The amendment might start discussion on those words, "are no longer the representatives of members" in section 12. What I would suggest is that it should read "for all and any of their actions and activities while they exercise functions in the capacity and as outlined in this section." There would be safeguards there.

Mr. Hopkins: It only applies while they are discharging their duties. That is the point.

Mr. Low: That is not what it says. It said "notwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer the representatives of members."

The Chairman: I have the same thought as Mr. Low on that section. That is why I intended to bring in that amendment.

Mr. JAENICKE: You cannot amend this.

The Chairman: We cannot amend it but we could make that recommendation.

Mr. Knowles: Parliament cannot amend it.

The CHAIRMAN: It can be included in our report.

Mr. Knowles: To whom?

The CHAIRMAN: To parliament.

Mr. KNOWLES: Parliament cannot amend this.

The Chairman: It seems to me it would be the same as the extradition Treaty. That is the point I want to be clear on. When we dealt with the extradition Treaty we really had no judicial power, but at the same time we brought in recommendations that no doubt effected changes. I leave that thought for discussion.

Mr. Low: There is one other thought I might pursue on that very point. If you turn to section 16 you will find out what a representative is. It reads:—

In this article the expression "representatives" shall be deemed to include all delegates, deputy delegates, advisers, technical experts and secretaries of delegations.

He could have 10,000 if he wanted to and every one of them would be accorded immunities as outlined in section 12 even after they discontinued being representatives.

## By Mr. Côté:

Q. Is there such a thing as this bill in front of the parliament of the nations which have subscribed to the United Nations charter or is it only Canada that is doing something of this sort?—A. This bill is before all members of the United Nations. Some of those members have already accepted the convention without reservation, including the United Kingdom.

Mr. Côté: Therefore we are not stretching our neck any more than anybody else who has subscribed to the United Nations charter. It is more or less a gesture we are making in passing this bill.

Mr. Jaenicke: Does not section 14 more or less protect us? It reads in part:—

... Consequently a Member not only has the right but is under a duty to waive the immunity of its representative in any case where in the opinion of the Member the immunity would impede the course of justice, and it can be waived without prejudice to the purpose for which the immunity is accorded.

Mr. Low: Who decides whether it impedes the course of justice?

Mr. JAENICKE: We decide that.

Mr. Croll: Have we not done this sort of thing before? You remember the case before the I.L.O. some time ago where objection was taken to a man called Wald from France, and he was asked to leave the country and he did. Does that recall anything to anyone's mind. It is only a hazy recollection on my part.

The Witness: I think there have been one or two cases where a government has called to the attention of the I.L.O. certain activities of members of its staff which were considered undesirable. I think, in one case the I.L.O. was asked to remove an official from the country. I am not sure, however, and I may be wrong about this. Of course, the government can always take such action. It can go further along the lines I suggested to Mr. Fleming.

Mr. Jaques: Would there not be economic or other sanctions against any country that did that? I do not know what is going to prevent it. Somebody said they could ask for the representative to be withdrawn, but I do not see that we have any power to act upon it if they disregard the request.

The WITNESS: It will not be forgotten that this particular clause applies to the United Nations. There are no offices of the United Nations in Canada at the present time nor is the United Nations likely to be established in Canada.

It is, as you know located in New York.

Mr. Low: Specialized agencies.

Mr. JAQUES: But if Canada made a complaint against any or all of these officials and that complaint was ignored we could do nothing about it.

Mr. CROLL: Yes, we could. We could deport him. We could withdraw his recognition and deport him.

Mr. Low: I do not think you can do that.

Mr. Croll: Without his recognition he is no longer recognized.

Mr. Low: It might help to get a little information first of all on several phases of this. This deals not only with the central United Nations organization but also specialized agencies. I wonder if Mr. Pearson would mind telling us of what specialized agencies Canada is now a member?

The WITNESS: We have that list. I think it was given by the minister in the House of Commons and I would be glad to repeat it. As to these specialized organizations the list of which I will have in a second, not all of them, of course, have come into relationship with the United Nations.

By Mr. Low:

Q. I understand.—A. The list is as follows.

Q. While you are giving it would you mind indicating which of those have been brought into relationship pursuant to article 63 of the charter?—A. The International Labour Organization. That is now in relationship with the United Nations under article 63 of the charter. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations also has a formal relationship with the United Nations. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is also in relationship with the United Nations. The International Civil Aviation Organization, which as you know is located in Canada, in Montreal, is now negotiating arrangements which will bring it into relationship with the United Nations. I think those negotiations will probably be completed shortly. They are not yet completed, however. Then there is the Universal Postal Union which is also discussing with the United Nations ways of bringing it into relationship, but no final result has I think as yet been achieved. The International Telecommunication Union, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. International Bank?—A. Yes. None of them have made an agreement under article 63. The World Health Organization, the International Refugee Organization. The International Refugee Organization is not yet, of course, actually a going concern. It may well be so however within a few weeks.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Is that the list?—A. That is the list.

Q. I wonder if you could indicate there which of those are likely to be brought into relationship with the United Nations under article 63?—A. I have mentioned three that are already. I should think that it is very likely that the International Civil Aviation Organization will be and also the Universal Postal Union, although there may be some doubt about that. There have been no approaches made yet that I know of by the Bank or the Fund for association with the United Nations. I do not know what their views are, but there has been no proposal made by them to the United Nations.

Q. Has it not been indicated, however, they probably will be?—A. Up to the present they have shown considerable reluctance to associate themselves

as specialized agencies with the United Nations.

Q. But according to article 57, they would be eligible?—A. Yes, but they

have taken no steps under that.

Q. Did not President Roosevelt's speeches just about the time of the Bretton Woods conference indicate they would eventually become associated?— A. Yes. May I say there has been a difference of opinion in some of those specialized organizations as to whether they should adopt the procedure under article 63 and come into this formal relationship with the United Nations. The reason for that is that it is not yet clear to the United Nations itself whether they will attempt to exercise more than a sort of general co-ordinating and supervisory influence over the specialized agencies. If the United Nations goes further than that, tries to exercise a budgetary control, to set up one budget for all the United Nations organizations, and to exercise generally a control which is greater than some of the specialized agencies would like, that will probably keep some of them out. I think some of them are holding back to see what the United Nations itself intends to do. They are watching the working out of the agreements that have already been reached. I think that applies to the Bank and the Fund. It is not clear yet what they will do. May I also say that another reason is that some of the specialized agencies have a different membership than the United Nations itself. This is a rather delicate subject. Some of them feel that without full United Nations membership they can make greater progress in some of these technical matters. If they come into relationship with the United Nations they come under supervision and possibly under some form of control by an organization which has a different membership than their own. That may have an influence.

## By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Have you any information as to the number of members who have ratified this convention, and what would be the effect of non-ratification on a member nation?—A. As to the first question four states have already ratified the convention without any reservation. Two have passed the necessary legislation but have not yet deposited their instrument of accession as of May 31. It may have been done since then.

# By Mr. Low:

Q. Which are the four?—A. The four are the United Kingdom, Dominican Republic, Liberia and Iran. The two that have passed the necessary legislation are Honduras and Venezuela. France has approved a decree whereby the provisions of the convention come into force without reservation, but has not yet deposited its instrument of accession. It has passed the decree. Four countries have already by administrative action given certain privileges and immunities under the convention. They are Lebanon, Syria, Guatemala and New Zealand. Several other countries have notified the United Nations the matter of accession to the convention is under consideration by their governments. Those are Norway, the Netherlands, Turkey, India, Nicaragua, Panama and El Salvador. So far as the United States is concerned—and it is the most important country of all in this respect because the United Nations is located in the United States—they have notified the United Nations the matter will be considered, they hope, shortly by Congress, that the necessary action may be

taken, but there has been no action taken yet by Congress. However, by public law 291 the United States can already grant some privileges and immunities to the United Nations, and has done so.

#### By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Perhaps you cannot give any reply to my second question. What effect would non-ratification by a member nation have on that nation with the United Nations and its agencies?—A. The position would be just that of failure to pass the necessary legislation to implement an international agreement which we have accepted.

Q. Delegates from those states could still come here but they would be here without any immunities?—A. Yes. It is just conceivable, however, that if we take no action any United Nations organization located in Canada may consider leaving Canada for a country which would give them the privileges

and immunities which they had expected to receive.

Q. Are there any organizations now in Canada and if so what are they?—A. The I.L.O. is in Montreal although it may not remain permanently in Montreal. Its permanent site before the war was in Geneva, and some of the I.L.O. has already moved back to Geneva. The Civil Aviation Organization is in Montreal.

Mr. Fleming: Mr. Chairman, a while ago I asked questions with reference to the case of an accredited representative of one of the organizations becoming persona non grata. I should like to take a slightly different case this time, and refer to a specific situation. I am thinking about some individual who is persona non grata to start with but is nevertheless appointed here. That brings to mind a specific case. I should like to see how such a case is going to stack up under this convention if it is adopted. I am refering to the case of Mr. John Grierson who was formerly commissioner of the National Film Board in Canada. I asked some questions that went on the order paper on March 4th of this year. I should like to refer to them and a couple of passages in Hansard where the matter has since been the subject of oral questions in the House. This is the first original question.

1. Is John Grierson, former Commissioner of the National Film Board, a Canadian citizen?

The answer was:

If he had Canadian domicile, by at least five years' residence in Canada, on the first January, 1947, he is deemed to be a Canadian citizen under the Canadian Citizenship Act.

I think we are all aware of that fact but there is still no answer to the question of whether he is a Canadian citizen.

The second question was:

2. Is he entitled to enter and reside in Canada?

The answer again was rather meaningless.

If John Grierson is a Canadian citizen or in possession of Canadian domicile within the meaning of the Immigration Act he is entitled to enter and reside in Canada.

The third question was:

3. Has the government any information concerning the refusal of the United States authorities to grant him a quota visa for residence in the United States, and any information concerning the reasons for such refusal?

The answer to that was "No".

The fourth question was:

4. Would such reasons affect his right to enter, reside in, or depart from Canada?

The answer again was "No."

It has subsequently appeared that Mr. Grierson was appointed an official of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. There was an appointment announced not long after that by Mr. Huxley, the Director General of that organization.

There was a question asked in the House on that subject on April 2 at

page 2028 of Hansard. The question was asked by Mr. Fulton.

I should like to ask a question of the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Has Mr. John Grierson applied to the Canadian government for a diplomatic passport, as adviser to the director of UNESCO, or has he made any approaches to any department in that regard? If he has, what will be the government attitude with respect to such application?

Mr. St. Laurent answered. His answer is:

The answer is "No." There has been no application for a diplomatic passport, but it is customary to accord diplomatic immunities to officials of the United Nations, and Mr. Grierson will be treated in that regard in the same way as other officials of the United Nations.

On April 28, at page 2530 of *Hansard* Mr. Fulton again asked this question. I believe this was a question on the order paper.

1. Has Mr. John Grierson asked the government or any member or department thereof, for help in obtaining a visa to enter the United States?

The answer was "No."

2. Has any decision been made with regard to such request? If so, what was the decision?

The answer was "Answered by No. 1."

3. Was Mr. Grierson's appointment as adviser to the Director General of UNESCO recommended by or on behalf of the Canadian government, or by or on behalf of any member, department or official thereof?

The answer was "No."

4. Was his appointment subsequently approved by or on behalf of the Canadian government, or by or on behalf of any member department or official thereof?

The answer was "No."

5. Did the United States delegation in UNESCO make any representations against this appointment either before or after it was officially approved by UNESCO?

The answer was: "No information is available."

Before asking Mr. Pearson to comment on the case this, of course, is not a case of a United Nations official coming into Canada. It is a question apparently of whether he should be admitted to the United States, but the same thing could happen here. What rights is Canada going to enjoy if some one has resided in Canada, has left for some reason or other, and is subsequently appointed an official of the United Nations or one of its related organizations? Is he going to enjoy the complete right to come into Canada if accredited to Canada by one of the organizations?

Mr. Côté: I should like to interrupt. The Chairman: Order, there is a question.

Mr. Fleming: I should like Mr. Pearson to deal with that.

The Charman: As to that question will you clarify it? Did that gentleman lose his citizenship when he left Canada?

Mr. Fleming: We are not told whether or not he did. We are not told whether he was a citizen, but this case has provoked a good deal of interest and I think it illustrates a problem which is troubling a good many people with reference to this present convention.

Mr. Côré: I think the answer is right there. You have just proven the necessity for us or for any other nation which has subscribed to the United Nations charter to pass this bill because as I understand it you leave the responsibility where it should rest. Instead of leaving it with individuals, politicians and other people, who would take issue and fly at one fellow and not at another, in this bill you say to the proper organization, whether it is UNESCO or I.L.O. or any organization connected with the United Nations, "We assure you in advance of immunity for all your personnel as long as we do not find anything serious enough to make representations to you." If anything serious enough is found then representation is made in due course as representation is made to a nation when the ambassador of that nation is not behaving properly.

In my estimation this bill will leave entirely to the organization the responsibility for its personnel and on the other hand will protect the personnel from

attacks below the belt, shall I say.

If representations are made in a serious case and the organization, whatever it may be, does not comply with the requirements of Canada, or any country subscribing to the United Nations charter, then it is up to the country to make a direct appeal to the United Nations and say, "Such and such an organization has a representative in our country who is not behaving properly and we ask you to see that proper correction is made."

This bill is a safeguard for personnel of these various organizations which may be established here or elsewhere in the world, and who may be abused for various personal, political or other purposes. I think what Mr. Fleming has just

brought up has proven the necessity of such a bill.

Mr. Low: Is there not a very great difference between a diplomatic representative of a nation and a technician who might come here for observation purposes or to get information? What I mean is an ambassador or a diplomat is of no value whatever to his country within Canada if Canada does not recognize him and make available certain things. They know that so they withdraw him more quickly, but if he is a technician and somebody takes objection to the things he is doing quite a time might elapse before action is taken by his home country, and in the meantime the damage may be done.

Mr. Fleming: I do not want to be turned aside from the question.

Mr. Coldwell: I was going to comment on Mr. Fleming's question.

The Chairman: Very well, as long as it is relevant to that question.

Mr. Coldwell: I think it is an unfortunate thing that you are going to discuss this on the basis of a personal case. I think it is regrettable that is being done. After all if we are going to discuss the case of Mr. John Grierson I think we should ask Mr. Pearson, "Has Mr. John Grierson been accused of anything that would prevent his entry into Canada? If he has been has he been tried? Was he given an opportunity to defend himself? Has he been convicted?"

Mr. Côré: I should like to suggest that the questions are not relevant to the proceedings of the committee. We are not discussing Mr. Grierson's status.

Mr. Coldwell: It is unfortunate.

Mr. Côré: I do not think this should be put on the record.

The CHAIRMAN: If the committee do not want this on the record, very well.

Mr. Knowles: Oh yes, we do.

Mr. Coldwell: I have no knowledge of anything Mr. Grierson has done.

Mr. JAQUES: I have.

Mr. Coldwell: Mr. Jaques says he has. Let him lay a charge and give Mr. Grierson an opportunity to defend himself.

Mr. Fleming: This is not a new matter. It was raised before and has a direct bearing on this very matter. There are some of us who are troubled about some of these provisions in the light of what may arise, and it bears on what action is likely to be open to governments to be taken under such a convention in the light of such a case. The point is this. Mr. Grierson left Canada. May I use this for illustration? I was introducing this for illustration because it has been before the House and was a direct illustration. He left Canada, and according to information that appeared in the Canadian press he applied for entry to the United States, and permission was not given. Then there was a suggestion, again in the Canadian press, about his making application through Canada. That gave rise to the first questions. Then the next stage was that he was appointed an official of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and because of that fact was otbaining or seeking to obtain entry into the United States. What I want to get at is this. If that situation were applied to Canada, if there were someone who under the present laws of Canada is not admissible, but gho gets himself appointed as an official of one of the organizations and wants to come into Canada, is it going to be the responsibility of the Canadian government at that stage to say whether he shall or shall not be admitted to Canada and enjoy immunities simply because he has been appointed an official of the United Nations or related organizations?

The Chairman: I really believe we could get some elucidation from Mr. Pearson.

Mr. Côté: I do not think it is fair to ask Mr. Pearson such a question because it is obvious first of all that Mr. Grierson is a British subject. Therefore he is as such persona grata in Canada.

Mr. JAQUES: Not necessarily.

Mr. Côté: There is nothing in the law against him. In the second place there are in this country plenty of so-called Canadians who are only British subjects because they have not made application for their Canadian citizenship.

Mr. MacInnis: Perhaps it is regrettable that this point was raised in this way, but I think the question is a reasonable one and I think Mr. Pearson should answer it. I do not think we are getting anywhere by raising technical objections to it. If Mr. Pearson does not want to answer it that is his business.

The Chairman: If I understood Mr. Coldwell's point it was a question of procedure. It was the fact a personal matter was brought to the attention of the committee.

Mr. Coldwell: Had it been a hypothetical case it might have been different.
Mr. MacInnis: I think he is using the personal aspect of it as a hypothetical question.

Mr. Fleming: I used it as a concrete illustration as something that has already happened, that has been in the papers.

Mr. Knowles: Let us give Mr. Pearson a chance. He cannot get in.

The Witness: I am not particularly looking for a chance here, but two points have arisen which have a bearing on the question. The question of ambassadors and diplomats has been brought up. It is, of course, within the power of this government, as of any government, to indicate to a government

it does not desire to admit the ambassador into the country. He has no right as such to admission into the country, nor has any diplomatic official. That power of refusal has been exercised by governments in the past. They have been kept out.

The second point bears on the question as to whether it is not easier to have an ambassador withdraw from the country than what was referred to as a technical official of an international organization. That is a matter of opinion. I would say myself it would be much easier to get an international official out of the country than a diplomatic representative of a government because if you want to get a diplomatic official out you have to go to his government, and governments are particularly sensitive about diplomatic privileges and prerogatives. It is always a very ticklish business. It would not be nearly so difficult to go to an international organization and say, "One of your officials has been misbehaving. We would be glad if you would have him leave the country."

#### By Mr. Fleming:

Q. You are talking about getting him out. What about the case of preventing him from coming in in the first place?—A. As to the situation concerning admission to the country I suppose there are two cases, the case of a Canadian citizen who may be a member of an international organization or the case of a non-Canadian. There again I think you have divided those cases into persons who are members of the secretariat of the United Nations and those members of specialized organizations.

If parliament accepts this convention, under section 24 they are asked to recognize the laissez-passer of United Nations officials. I do not think however, that this imposes any legal obligation to admit them to the country, but I should like to ask Mr. Hopkins to deal with this legal point.

Mr. Hopkins: I think the committee is aware that there is, you might say, a juridical difference between the United Nations as such and the specialized agencies. The convention is a convention which relates to the United Nations and not to the specialized agencies. The legislation before the committee is enabling in character.

With regard to the specialized agencies—in the case of ICAO, for instance—it would be within the authority of the Governor in Council either to grant or to withhold these immunities, the convention providing a sort of ceiling or maximum within which the General Assembly of the United Nations has indicated that the status of these organizations should be established.

There is a provision to which Mr. Pearson has adverted concerning laissez-passer. It is contemplated that if the convention itself is acceded to, and if the necessary legislation follows, a United Nations laissez-passer would be recognized as in the nature of a passport when the holder thereof is travelling on the business of the organization.

Mr. Low: Are there any cases, Mr. Hopkins, under article 4, such as often happens where representatives and members of the principal and subsidiary organs attending a conference convened by the United Nations will be entitled to these immunities?

Mr. HOPKINS: There is sometimes confusion between the subsidiary organs and related agencies. By the organs is meant the General Asembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of the Secretariat.

Mr. Low: If a conference is called to set up another international organization and if that conference happened to be in Canada, representatives and members could be sent here and be entitled to that immunity?

Mr. HOPKINS: No, this legislation would have no application in those cases. It applies only to the United Nations and to existing organizations, as and when Canada becomes a member and the organizations are brought into relation with the United Nations. It does not go beyond that.

Mr. Knowles: I should like to suggest that the committee note the wording of certain sections in the convention, in particular sections 14, 20 and 23. The wording is the same in each of these sections but they apply to three different categories. Section 14 applies to representatives of members. In other words, a representative of Canada going to one of these gatherings. Section 20 applies to officials of the United Nations. Section 23 applies to experts. In all cases, these words appear:

— in the interests of the United Nations and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves.

This is in order to safeguard the individuals in the exercise of their functions in connection with the United Nations.

Now, in addition to the wording of these three sections, 14, 20 and 23, the

members should note the wording of section 21.

The United Nations shall co-operate at all times with the appropriate authorities of members to facilitate the proper administration of justice, secure the observance of police regulations and prevent the occurrence of any abuse in connection with the privileges, immunities and facilities mentioned in this article.

I might point out further that, at the end of sections 14, 20 and 23, it is specifically stated that the responsible person in each case has not only the right but the duty to waive immunity if there is any abuse at all.

Mr. Hopkins: That is entirely correct. It is a responsibility that these immunities and privileges be not abused. If they are abused, it is not only the right but the duty of the responsible official to waive them. In that case, I should think it would not only be the right but the duty of the receiving states to suggest, in no uncertain terms, that such conduct is not acceptable.

Mr. Knowles: You may say, further, that Canada had something to do with this wording.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I should like to go back to Mr. Pearson for a moment. He raised the principle applicable to the accrediting of ambassadors to a state, that they must be acceptable to the state to which they are accredited. Now, does the same thing apply in the case of an official accredited in some capacity or other by the United Nations to a state? Is his name and are his qualifications first submitted to the state to which he is accredited before he is sent to that country or, in the case of the United Nations, is he simply sent forward without specifically being accredited?—A. I think the later is the situation. The government, in the case of an international official, is not asked to approve his appointment to an organization situated within its borders.

Q. In the case of which I spoke, the government would have had an opportunity of passing on him as an individual if, for instance, he were proposed as an ambassador but would not be asked to pass upon him if he were

accredited by the United Nations?

Mr. Croll: They could reject him in the same way.

The Witness: Approval is asked in advance only for the head of the mission. There might be a mission of 50 diplomatic officials and the government is asked to approve in advance only the head of the mission. The other 49 come in automatically just as international officials would. In so far as the

head of the mission is concerned, he is in a different position than an international official, but all the rest of the mission would be in the same position.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. May I ask whether the procedure would be the same in those cases where the head of the mission would have the status of an ambassador, minister or chargé d'affaires?—A. No, where a chargé d'affaires happens to be the head of a mission, the same formal approval would not be required. We do not have to get prior permission from the government before receiving a chargé d'affaires.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. When a Canadian becomes an official of the UN, does he lose his Canadian citizenship?—A. No, he does not, Mr. Chairman. He retains his

Canadian citizenship.

Q. I thought you or Mr. Hopkins said that when a person became an official of the UN, he ceased to have a loyalty to his own country?—A. No, I think I said earlier that when a national becomes an international civil servant, his responsibility is to the international organization and his loyalty as a civil servant is to that organization.

Q. Exactly, then he has defaulted his citizenship.—A. No, he still has

loyalty to his own country.

Q. But no man can serve two masters.

Mr. MacInnis: Pardon me, but may I just say at this point—

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Mr. Chairman, this is to my mind a very important point. I think Mr. Coldwell made one of the most important statements and one of the most enlightening statements this morning when he said we were not dealing with individuals but we were dealing with institutions. Of course, that goes to the root of the matter. When you talk about all these strings of alphabetical letters they, in themselves, do not mean anything. When you talk about the UN, what is the UN? If it is not made up of individuals and if you are not going to deal with individuals, who is going to be responsible for anything that is said or done? The UN is not responsible. It is an abstract idea, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN: An abstract what?

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. It is an abstract idea. My whole point is on this question of loyalty.—
A. Perhaps I should not have used this term, "loyalty" as it might be misinterpreted. I meant to explain that when a civil servant of Canada joins the United Nations secretariat, he is responsible to the United Nations Secretary General and to the organization. He takes his instructions from the United Nations organization. He does not take any instruction of any kind from his former government. He becomes an international, as servant from a national, civil servant in that sense.

Q. Even if it conflicts with his conscience? Even if his conscience tells him it conflicts with the real interest of his own country, he still has to serve

the organization?

Mr. Coldwell: If that happens he should resign.

The Witness: In the past, in the League of Nations Secretariat there were occasions when members of the secretariat could not conscientiously carry out some of their duties and they did resign. I should think that is what would happen again if there was this conflict of loyalties. You can see the impossibility of building up an international secretariat, the members of which were all subject to instructions from their national governments. It would not be a very effective organization.

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By Mr. Jaques:

Q. My point is this, I see the impossibility of building up international order and, at the same time, retaining the idea of sovereignty. I understood Mr. King to say the other afternoon that the peace of the world depended on our survival as a Christian nation. If the nations are going to cease, as they do cease when they cease to be sovereign, then it seems to me this is a contradiction of Mr. King's statement.

Mr. MacInnis: Are we going to try to bring a little sweet reasonableness into this discussion and find out just exactly what we are attempting to do? Canada is a member of the United Nations and just because Canada is a member of the United Nations, we have not given up entirely our duties and rights as a nation. As a matter of fact, we have extended them. I think that is the purpose of this whole thing. One of the purposes of the United Nations is to allay the suspicions between nations and try to increase cooperation. If we approach this question of ratifying this convention with the idea that we are so suspicious of other nations and the representatives of other nations that we cannot accede to them the privileges mentioned here, then I think it puts us into a position where we no longer trust the United Nations and the proper thing would be to withdraw from it.

What we should be concerned with here is, does this bill give adequate protection to Canada after the Charter is ratified? In view of the fact that the United Kingdom has already ratified it without reservation and that, politically, I imagine the United Kingdom is one of the most experienced countries in the world today, the most mature, I do not see much reason why we should not ratify it; that is, if we believe in the principles of the United Nations and the organizations which are associated with it. If we are not going to treat it

in that light, we cannot deal with it effectively at all.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Was this convention considered by any conference of the British Commonwealth Premiers or representatives?—A. There was, so far as I know, no formal consideration given to it by any conference of Commonwealth governments. I have no doubt that in New York where it was considered there might have been informal discussions.

Mr. Knowles: This was drafted at London.

The WITNESS: At London, there might have been informal discussions before it was adopted.

By Mr. Low.

Q. I noticed in that list which you gave, only the United Kingdom had formally acceded.—A. New Zealand has already, by executive action, given certain privileges and immunities.

Mr. Coldwell: New Zealand is not as important in this picture as Canada.

The Witness: No, there are no international organizations there.

Mr. Coldwell: New Zealand is so remote from the centres it is very unlikely there will be any organizations there.

Mr. Croll: I think the important point here was made by Mr. MacInnis who has the conscience of the House with him even in this committee. He has said that the United Kingdom, with years of experience in this sort of thing has seen fit to enter into this agreement. It would seem to me that would be a good guide for us, a point from which to work.

Mr. Low: The same government has made some bad blunders, too.

Mr. CROLL: I would not admit that.

Mr. Low: You would not admit that?

Mr. CROLL: No.

Mr. Knowles: The United Kingdom does know the meaning of freedom, anyway.

Mr. Croll: We have this further knowledge, too. We know that the United States has extended this courtesy to the various delegates who have come there as missions and officials. I can recall no such difficulty up to the present time. For all purposes, it has no effect in the United States. Is not that our lead? It seems to me that is an excellent beginning.

#### By Mr. Jaques:

Q. May I ask a question about UNESCO? That is part of the UNO now, is it not? I think Mr. Pearson included UNESCO in the list of organizations

which are already connected or related to the UNO?—A. Yes, it is.

Q. I understand that is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. This organization, if I understand it, is to undertake to sort of re-educate the civilized world. If we are a part of the United Nations then I suppose that organization will have a certain control over the educational system of this country. I am going to name three people and I am going to say if those three people are to have, more or less, control of the education of this country I want to register a most vigorous protest. Those three names, there may be others, but those three names are, Grierson, General Chisholm and Julian Huxley. If those people are to take a part in education in this country, I want to make a vigorous protest.

Mr. Coldwell: We will leave it to Mr. Jaques.

Mr. CROLL: Put me on the other side, then.

Mr. Low: Since a general discussion has taken place, could we not now proceed to take the various clauses of the bill and the convention?

The Chairman: I think we have arrived at the stage now where we can do that. Shall clause 2 carry?

Carried.

Clause 3, organization; shall clause 3 carry?

Mr. Low: I should like to ask a question in respect to subsection (2) (a) which reads as follows:—

An organization shall have the legal capacities of a body corporate;

Just what is meant by "legal capacities" there? It is beyond me to understand

that, not being a lawyer.

Mr. Macinnis: Will you allow me to make a suggestion at this point? Are we not proceeding in a wrong manner? Since the purpose of this bill is to ratify the convention, should we not read the convention first and ratify or approve of it and then read the bill? If we read the bill and give it our approval, we are approving thereby the convention.

The CHAIRMAN: You mean the schedule to the bill?

Mr. MacInnis: Yes.

The Chairman: I do not see the point there because after all, we are dealing specifically with the bill.

Mr. MacInnis: After you read the convention, you will find out if there is anything to which you object or that you cannot accept. Then, if there is, you cannot pass the bill—at least those who find things in the convention that they cannot accept will not pass the bill.

The Chairman: Of course, we have to deal with this bill which has been referred to us by parliament. We shall go through it clause by clause and discuss the clauses. Then, we shall approve the schedule before the title and the preamble.

Mr. Low: We are in your hands, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: In so far as procedure is concerned I am in the hands of the committee.

Mr. MacInnis: Perhaps I am not right. I notice the convention is a schedule to the bill.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. In regard to taxation, there is that provision that a Canadian working for the organization in Canada shall not be immune so far as Canadian taxation is concerned. What is the general provision in regard to taxation of salaries of members of the United Nations Organizations, if Canadian, in the United States? Are they subject to any taxation by any taxing body or is this going to be a discrimination against a Canadian serving on a United Nations Organization in Canada?—A. If this bill carried the effect would be that a Canadian, serving with a United Nations or related organization in Canada would be liable to taxation whereas a non-Canadian serving with the same body would not be liable to Canadian taxation. So, in that respect, he would be in a different position. The effect in the United Nations in New York would be that all Canadians and the others, apart from the Americans, would be on the same basis of immunity from taxation.

By Mr. Croll:

Q. So, it is just a matter of location?—A. Residence and citizenship. Q. Then, it may change from time to time?—A. Yes.

Q. I recall a report when Chisholm went there that one of the inducements. in addition to others, was the fact he was tax free. If Chisholm should move back to Canada, he is a Canadian - A. He would be taxable.

Q. That would be contrary to his agreement or the contract he had when

he went there, would it not?

Mr. Côté: The American is taxable in the United States.

Bu Mr. Croll:

Q. That may happen?—A. It is not likely to happen because each of the organizations is located in one country. If the man you mentioned, Dr. Chisholm, were Director General of the Health Organization of the United Nations in the United States and his contract covered that position, it is not likely he would move back to Canada. He is director-general of an organization located in the United States and so is not likely to move back to Canada.

Q. There may be others in the lower categories who may be moved to whom that would mean considerable?—A. This immunity from taxation applies only to the permanent staff and not to the locally employed staff. I would also point out that the United Nations in New York is contemplating a system of

taxation for its own employees.

By Mr. Low:

Q. I had not finished with that term, "legal and corporate bodies" in subsection (2) (a). What I should like to know is, does it mean that an organization can be sued as in the case of an ordinary corporation?

Mr. Hopkins: That in effect gives it juridical personality. There are other provisions in the convention which affect its position and give it immunity from process.

Mr. Low: In other words it is given juridicial personality so far as being able to sue is concerned, but it cannot be sued?

Mr. Hopkins: That is right, subject to reservations and subject to waiver.

Mr. Low: I can imagine a number of particular cases in which an organization of the United Nations could do definite damage to property, say around a farmer's farm and he might want to take action. The organization would deny him the right to sue.

Mr. Croll: Suppose one of the organization's trucks or cars killed somebody?

Mr. Hopkins: That will be reached in due course.

Mr. JAQUES: We are not dealing with individuals; we are dealing with organizations; that was my point.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. May I ask what the situation is with regard to an American citizen working in the organization in New York. Is he subject to the American tax laws?—A. He is, yes. This tax position is one of the difficult things in a convention of this kind. One consideration which is important is that, if a national government taxes the salaries of international officials, such govern-

ment would be taking money which came from other governments.

Q. I am just wondering if the effect of this will not be that the nationals of a country who are attached to a United Nations Organization will seek employment in a country other than his native country? Is that the situation, and is that desirable?—A. I would not think that would be a very undesirable position because the tendency has been to have the great majority of the employees of the organization from the country in which the organization is located. It hinders, somewhat the international character of the organization, so it is rather a good thing for the employees in some cases to leave their own country and work for an international organization elsewhere.

Q. Let us take the case of ICAO. Will it not happen that a Canadian who is serving on that organization will be severely discriminated against as compared with an American, since that organization is located in Montreal?—A. That is true, but steps are being taken to remove that discrimination within the organization. There are ways in which it can be done. In that case, all the officials, Canadian and non-Canadian, would be on the same basis in so far as

income is concerned.

Q. The general result is that those who are serving the United Nations Organizations will not be tax free?—A. Canadians serving on these organizations in their own country will not be tax free.

Q. You said a little while ago that the United Nations Organization, itself, is setting up some kind of tax schedule?—A. Yes, that is right. They are working

out a scheme of internal taxation.

Q. In other words, an employee of one of these organizations will pay a tax no matter where he is located?—A. The idea is that all the employees of the United Nations should pay some kind of income tax in some form so they would be on a general basis of equality in that respect, whether the tax is to a national government or to the organization itself.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall clause 3 carry?

Carried.

Shall clause 4 carry?

Carried.

I should just like to say another word about the schedule. This thing baffles me, in a way, although I follow the line of argument advanced by Mr. MacInnis. We are the committee for External Affairs and no doubt we will have a lot to do with the Charter of the United Nations. If you make a study of the Charter, you may find some things which are not entirely acceptable to our parliament. Some things may prove to be that way. We have no power, within our reference, to change them, but I still maintain this committee after a thorough study should make some kind of a recommendation in our report. I do not believe we are ready to do that yet. I believe the members of our committee should make it a point to study very thoroughly the Charter of the United Nations Organization. In some instances the members will find, as I have found in the last paragraph, things which will seem a little baffling.

Section 36 of the convention reads as follows:

The Secretary-General may conclude with any member or members supplementary agreements adjusting the provisions of this convention so far as that member or those members are concerned. These supplementary agreements shall in each case be subject to the approval of the General Assembly.

The paragraph ends there and, so far as I am concerned, it does not go far enough.

Mr. Low: What power has the General Assembly?

The Chairman: I do not mean reporting from day to day; they should report from day to day, but they should give opportunities to democratic parliaments to deal with matters of that kind. That is only a thought I want to leave with members of the committee at the present time. We can go no further with it. I wanted to bring it to the attention of the committee early in our deliberations.

Mr. MacInnis: It is my opinion we can approve of this bill which ratifies the convention without reservation or we can make our reservations as amendments to the bill, if we are so inclined.

Mr. Knowles: Clause 2 of the bill did make one small reservation.

The CHAIRMAN: We all realize that we cannot change the schedule.

Mr. MacInnis: We can amend the bill.

The Chairman: Yes, I know that, but I believe it would be difficult to make amendments to the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. MacInnis: You can change the bill and that is all.

The Chairman: Reverting to clause 4, are you satisfied to allow subsection (2) of clause 4 to stand as it is? You will remember that we put the word "forthwith" instead of "fifteen days" in another bill.

Mr. Knowles: It seems to me it is not nearly so necessary in this provision as it was in the atomic energy matter. There, the matter could be urgent; minutes could count. Here, I think that provision is all right.

Mr. Jaenicke: With respect to the position you took with regard to section 36, we could perhaps amend section 2 of the bill by saying the Governor in Council should have authority to make orders and conclude agreements with the Secretary-General as may appear to him to be necessary for that purpose.

Mr. Croll: Let us leave it up to parliament. I think section 36 is one of those catch-all clauses to take care of something which may crop up which will have to be fixed up. I think it is one of those omnibus clauses, like the regulations under one of these bills. I think we ought to leave it as it is. I do not know what it means, myself.

Mr. Jaenicke: By agreement, we may make some reservations.

Mr. Croll: Not by order in council, no.

Mr. Fleming: Leave it up to parliament. We are sitting half a year now.

Mr. MacInnis: No agreement will have any effect unless it is agreed to by the General Assembly.

Mr. Hopkins: And by parliament. I would say, in accordance with present constitutional usage, an agreement of this character, which would have the effect of changing the coverage of the bill in particular, would be such an international agreement as would require under constitutional practice the approval of parliament, regardless of what is done in this bill. It would be an international agreement. As you know, the practice is to seek the approval of parliament before the conclusion of an agreement. It seems to me that the

importance of this agreement would be such as would require the approval of parliament in any case.

Mr. Knowles: It would be a two-sided agreement. The signature of the Secretary-General would have to be approved by the General Assembly and the signature of the Governor General would have to be approved by parliament.

Mr. Low: In section 2 of the schedule, the final sentence is,

"It is, however, understood that no waiver of immunity shall extend to any measure of execution."

Could Mr. Hopkins explain to me what that means, 'measure of execution'?

Mr. Hopkins: I suppose it would refer to an actual levy by a court on the goods of a judgment debtor. That would be by court action once the judicial process had been completed.

Mr. Low: So that the process could not be carried on unless there was a waiver.

Section 3 reads,

The premises of the United Nations shall be inviolable. The property and assets of the United Nations, wherever located and be whomsoever held, shall be immune from search—

Could you tell me who might hold the assets or property of the United Nations outside of the United Nations itself?

Mr. Hopkins: It is conceivable, I suppose, but it is unlikely—it is conceivable that they might authorize some organization within the country to hold certain funds or property.

Mr. Low: Subsidiary organizations of some sort?

Mr. Hopkins: There might be, perhaps, some branch or commission or subordinate organ or organization.

Mr. Jaenicke: Who holds the property at the present time in Flushing Meadows?

Mr. Hopkins: The secretariat has custody, I am sure.

Mr. JAENICKE: Do they have title to it?

Mr. Hopkins: Here is the strange thing about international organizations. The ideal solution would be to have them on an island in the ocean, but this would obviously not be feasible. The organization is in the United States and is subject to United States law, as covered by their constitution and as affected by any agreement which may be entered into between the U.N. and the United States.

Mr. Macinnis: Would not this waiver mean something like this; that the property or premises of the international organization, if it were affiliated or became a part of the United Nations, one of its specialized agencies, then its offices and premises in Montreal could be held by that organization and it would get the benefit of the clause?

Mr. HOPKINS: That is a conceivable application of the article.

Mr. Low: In section 5, why should it be necessary for the United Nations to have immunity from financial controls, regulations or moratoria of any kind, as set out in that section? I have in mind, for instance, the fact that the Foreign Exchange Control Board in Canada makes a regulation that all gold should be turned over to that board immediately. Now, that is a financial control or a moratorium of some sort. The United Nations would be immune and need, not comply with that. Why shouldn't they?

The Witness: I would say that if an international organization situated in the United States was not given this right and privilege and was subject to

the ordinary legislation of the United States in these matters it would be almost impossible to carry on effectively as an international organization.

Mr. Croll: Would not the international organization, in addition to that, be subject to different sorts of regulations at different times dealing with the same thing? Let us take, for example, the monetary regulations of this country with respect to American currency. Such regulations are different in the United States and different again in Britain. The international organization never would know where it stood.

Mr. MacInnis: It would also be placing part of the affairs of the United Nations under one government.

The WITNESS: It would also be subjecting the United Nations to the pressure of that one government which had that organization within its boundaries.

Mr. Low: That sounds like a clause Mr. Pasvolski would draft.

Under subsection (e) of section 5 of the schedule,

The United Nations shall be free to transfer its funds, gold or currency from one country to another or within any country and to convert any currency held by it into any other currency.

The question I wanted to ask was, would they have that right and privilege even against the will of the country into whose currency the conversion is to be made?

Mr. HOPKINS: I think that was probably not the intention.

Mr. Low: It says so. It says they shall be free to do so.

Mr. KNOWLES: Free on its part.

Mr. Croll: How could it be done against the will of that country?

Mr. Low: You have your international monetary fund which is controlled by the international organization.

Mr. Knowles: It is not a specialized agency as yet.

The Witness: I would hesitate to pit my amateur opinion in these matters against Mr. Low but I should think, even under this particular clause it would be possible for the government of the country to prevent the transfer if it so desired. It is free to the Secretary-General or the organization to try to do this, but I think it would be quite within the banking facilities of the country in question to prevent it.

Mr. Low: I wonder why it was not worded, "free to try".

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the schedule carry?

Carried.

Shall the preamble carry?

Carried.

Shall the title carry?

Carried.

Shall I report the bill?

Carried.

Mr. Low: Register me as against all of them.

Mr. Knowles: Register all the rest of us as for it.

The Chairman: I want to thank you, gentlemen, for your fine cooperation in this matter. I also wish to thank Mr. Pearson, Mr. Hopkins, and the others for their fine cooperation in this matter.

The committee adjourned at 12.05 p.m. to the call of the chair.

