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CANADA'S ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR WORLD PEACE

PAUL MARTIN
Ottawa

In recent years Canadians have been increasingly aware of a developing consciousness as a nation and the growth of a Canadian point of view in respect to International Affairs. In recent months discussion of this nature has come to the fore in connection with the ceremonies which commemorated the Canadian Citizenship Act. The growth of a Canadian consciousness seems to offer two important challenges. The first demands a realization of what nationhood means. The second requires a clear understanding of our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations.

Whether we like it or not, the future of Canada is allied with the future of other countries. The extent to which we in Canada have an unusually high degree of dependence on the international situation cannot be too often noted. It is worth remembering that to the extent of about 35% of our national income we are dependent on what we are able to sell to other nations. Our Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent, had this in mind *inter alia* when he was dealing with the establishment of Canadian diplomatic missions abroad. In an address at the University of Toronto a few weeks ago he said:

We have not taken this step merely through a desire to follow a conventional practice, or to advertise ourselves abroad. We have done so because our geography, our climate, our national resources have so conditioned our economy that the continued prosperity and well-being of our people can best be served by the prosperity and well-being of the whole world. We have thus a useful part to play in world affairs, useful to ourselves through being useful to others, and to play that part we must have our own spokesmen amongst our neighbours.

Recognition of the interdependence of nations is one of the great factors in world politics today. If it is sufficiently realized by all of us, it can lead to orderly change and progress instead of chaos and new world wars. The world of 1947 is not the world of 1914. Canada is about the last country in the world that

could be indifferent to or insulate itself against the condition of other countries and of the international scene in general. Profound changes have taken place which have made necessary a reassessment of both our national and our international standing.

Significance of the Canadian Citizenship Act

The Canadian Citizenship Act illustrates that we are aware of the relation between citizenship and nationhood. In introducing this legislation to the House of Commons the writer described its purpose in these words: "For the national unity of Canada and for the future greatness of this country, it is of the utmost importance that all of us, new Canadians and old, have a consciousness of a common purpose and a common interest as Canadians; that all of us be able to say with pride and say with meaning: 'I am a Canadian citizen'."

Formerly, there were three Canadian statutes which dealt with various aspects of nationality or citizenship — the Naturalization Act, the Canadian Nationals Act and the Immigration Act. All of these statutes contained limited definitions of nationality. But until the Canadian Citizenship Act there was no general definition of Canadian citizenship for all purposes.

The Naturalization Act of 1914 grew out of the Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911. Historically it was part of the general trend toward autonomy. The Canadian Nationals Act of 1921 was necessary in view of our membership in the League of Nations. Under the League it was necessary to define Canadian nationals in a way which would mark them legally apart from the nationals of any other part of the Commonwealth.

The broad significance of the Canadian Citizenship Act is that we are treating Citizenship in the light of our position as a responsible nation. For the first time, we have a clear definition of who and what a Canadian citizen is, how one becomes a Canadian citizen, how that status may be maintained. Our citizenship is not confined merely to the boundaries of Canada. It is a national citizenship and a world citizenship. Just as we desire to work for unity in international affairs, so we seek to promote unity at home through the recognition of a basic common Canadian citizenship.

Canada in International Affairs

The changes of the last quarter century have affected virtually every aspect of our economic life. When the war ended Canada had risen to fourth place among the industrial nations. Our

economic stability enabled us to extend substantial credits to many other nations.

It was in our interest to do so for the resumption of international trade is essential to the maintenance of that stability. In the same manner, our increasing interests abroad required an extension of our diplomatic and trade representation in overseas capitals. In keeping with our prestige and growing influence, Canada now has missions in some twenty-two countries.

Few nations are respected as Canada is respected. It is amazing how a country of twelve million population has managed in so short a time to gain and to maintain the high regard Canada has achieved in international councils.

Our geographical position in North America, as well as our status as a member of the British Commonwealth, makes us both interpreter and link between the new world and the old. In this role we have an advantage which few nations possess. That is the advantage of being a bilingual country. Because we are a country of dual culture, we can act as interpreter between Great Britain and the United States, and between France and the Anglo-Saxon nations. Our Latin affinities have won for us the understanding and sympathy of the Latin-American republics and the development of our excellent and growing relations with these countries is a natural outcome of this understanding and this sympathy.

But let us not for a moment forget that, with these associations and affinities, we have a point of view that is distinctly our own and is distinctly Canadian. Our attitude toward other nations must be shaped by the same considerations that have brought about the union which has created Canada.

Out of our experiences with each other, we have developed a fundamental faith in the values of human freedom. Unity in Canada is based on religious and civil freedom and a belief in the rights of minorities. Rule by force or the suppression of criticism is alien to that tradition. In world affairs we stand for the Christian principles of justice, tolerance and understanding which have been tried and tested here and have largely governed our development.

The United Nations

The League of Nations proved unsuccessful in preventing the outbreak of a second world war. Despite its failure, we have profited by the lessons of the past in setting up the new organization of the United Nations. In the new body we

have the United States, which was never a member of the old League, and the U.S.S.R. which was a member for only a few years. Nor did we wait for the end of the war to begin planning for the peace. The groundwork for the new organization of international co-operation was laid while the war was being brought to a successful conclusion.

To a degree hardly appreciated as yet, these plans have come to life in the framework of the United Nations and the many specialized inter-governmental organizations related to it. Yet it would be vain and unrealistic to imagine that a civilization gravely wounded by two wars within a single generation, with much of its social structure in ruin, could suddenly emerge from the darkness of war into the light of enduring peace.

A new world will not arise overnight. If we accept the fact that no great state wants war and no small state either wants war or is capable of waging on its own anything more than minor hostilities, then the first task is to provide machinery by use of which the occasions of war can be avoided and the conditions which lead to war can be eliminated. That first great task has been accomplished. The house of nations has been built and we must now get the human family to live at peace in it. We do not overlook the difficulties which confront the United Nations now and in the future. But neither do we ignore the consequences if failing to make the attempt.

The United Nations as at present constituted is not perfect. But neither mankind nor the institutions of man are perfect. We cannot change the nature of man by a declaration put on paper. There have been controversies and disputes in the various bodies of the United Nations. We may expect these controversies to continue and new ones to arise. We may expect many of the powers to hold out for their own selfish ends. We will have to find compromises and sometimes accept less than the best solution to problems. In accepting less than the best solution, we avoid risking a worse solution. But we cannot afford to lose what is good now in pursuit of what may be perfect later. We must not confuse "world organization" and "world order". While the various world organizations set up are extremely useful means to an end, we should not let ourselves be deluded into thinking that we have done more than create means that will be successful or not, depending on the way in which they are used.

In passing, I would like simply to observe that experience has shown that many international meetings have been held under too great pressure, which limits the possibility of careful

thought upon the measures being agreed on. It is not the number of meetings or the amount of discussion that will be the measure of our success, although these are important, but the attitude at the meetings and the thought that goes into them.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations, the others being the Security Council, the International Court of Justice, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretariat. It is significant that in setting up the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, the nations have recognized that security means not only military security but economic and social security as well. Canada has an especial interest in the Economic and Social Council since we had a great deal to do with shaping it at San Francisco. At the London meeting Canada was elected to this Council for a three-year period.

All members of the United Nations are represented in the General Assembly, which is the central body of the new organization. The General Assembly has been called the Town Hall of the world because it is here that *all* the nations meet to discuss their problems. We may summarize the work of the Assembly in 1946 in this way:

1. A difficult job of organization was successfully completed. The major organs of the United Nations and most of the special purpose agencies have been established and are at work.
2. Progress was made in a wide field of complex problems, such as the reduction and the control of armaments; the rehabilitation of refugees in the occupation zones, who do not dare return to their country of origin; the still indispensable relief in certain areas devastated by the invaders; the administration of territories under trusteeship or mandate as a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles; the elimination of acts or practices which are contrary to the rights of man and the basic liberties for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, and the control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes.
3. The Assembly, like the other main bodies of the United Nations, successfully survived the stresses and strains of the first and most important year of life.

4. The smaller nations have plainly shown that they do not intend to become rubber stamps for action, initiated by the big powers.

At the New York meetings of the General Assembly, a good start was made toward world disarmament, a new organ, the Trusteeship Council, was brought into being, an agreement was made to establish the International Refugee Organization and the use of the Veto in the Security Council was reviewed. Canada played a full and effective part in these discussions. A few days after the Assembly was convened, Mr. St. Laurent, as chairman of the Canadian delegation, called attention to the fact that the Security Council had failed, until then, to do the task entrusted to it. The Security Council has been used as a propaganda agency. Our stand was that it should be a means for promoting settlement of disputes as well as a means to reduce the occasions for such disputes. This responsibility rests on all members of the Security Council. Particularly it rests with the five big powers, since failure by any one of them to agree with decisions can prevent prompt and effective action.

Canada introduced the question of general disarmament. We pointed out the universal wish that immediate supervision be exercised to see that national budgets be devoted not to the purchase of arms and piling up weapons of war, but utilized instead for the welfare of people. It was after Mr. St. Laurent's statement that the U.S.S.R. submitted its resolution on disarmament.

The Canadian attitude was based on three considerations. First, we wanted to know what armed forces Canada will have to put at the disposal of the Security Council to enforce its decisions as her share of the International Police Force. Second, we wanted assurance that outlawing use of the atomic bomb would not be treated separately from the question of controlling atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Third, we wanted an effective system of inspection to be established to guarantee to us that all nations would faithfully discharge the obligation to disarm. We realized that no scheme of disarmament would be effective unless inspection was carried on without being subject to the veto of any nation.

In a later discussion the writer pointed out that progress toward disarmament could be made only by convincing the peoples of the world that their individual security need not depend upon large national armaments. While we supported the resolution on disarmament, Canada pointed out that this important decision of the General Assembly was only the first step toward

general disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

There are three more steps to be taken. The Security Council must formulate definite plans as to the duties of each nation and as to the manner in which the international organization must act to ensure the faithful discharge of such duties. There must be a study of these plans by all the members of the United Nations at a special session of the General Assembly. The final step is the ratification by each nation of the international convention adopted by the Assembly which should bring the actual disarmament under the control of the international organization.

Another example of the Canadian influence came during the discussion of relief which will still be necessary when UNRRA stops functioning. When an impasse was reached, Mr. F. H. LaGuardia, Director General of UNRRA and the former Mayor of New York City, paid an eloquent tribute to Canada. Mr. LaGuardia said he would accept, sight unseen, any compromise offered by the delegate from Canada. He appealed to Canada to bring forward a compromise that would break the impasse.

Britain and the United States wanted the determination of relief still necessary to be left to negotiation between individual nations. But in common humanity, we felt that relief for devastated areas could not be satisfactorily dealt with on that basis. Canada's compromise solution was adopted and led the way to the agreement through which the relief work will be carried on under a supervision responsible to the United Nations.

Canada took a responsible stand on the question of refugees and the establishment of an International Refugee Organization. Over the opposition of the Soviet Union a constitution for the I.R.O. was approved. The need for the I.R.O. is generally recognized. The immediate problem concerns more than one million displaced persons and war refugees in western Europe. At the September meeting of the Economic and Social Council, where the writer had the honour of representing Canada, we obtained general agreement regarding the I.R.O. on these principles:

1. The problem of refugees is an international responsibility.
2. Voluntary repatriation should be carried out to the fullest extent possible.
3. No genuine refugee should be forced against his will to return to his place of origin.

4. No aid should be extended to war criminals, quislings or traitors.

The use of the Veto in the Security Council by the major powers, and particularly by the Soviet Union, was freely discussed. The Veto right has been abused. Originally designed as a means for keeping the big powers united, it has become an instrument for dividing them. But we should never forget this all-important fact; unless the veto right for the major powers had been written into the Charter, the organization would never have come into being.

But despite the admitted abuse of that power, Canada agreed that this is not the time to attempt any amendment of the Charter in an effort to limit the use of the Veto.

To attempt to change one of the fundamental clauses of the Charter would be to imperil the future of the organization before it was fairly launched into its work. While contending that formal amendment of the Veto provisions of the charter was premature, Canada put forward an eight-point programme of reforms in the practices and procedures of the Security Council relating to the proper settlement of disputes.

Those who are cynical of the United Nations should think of the alternative. The alternative to the United Nations is reliance on a naked balance of a power which has always proved a precarious and, in the end, a false method of trying to preserve peace.

Let us not mislead ourselves about the difficulties of the task which lies before the United Nations. The way out of our present troubles will not be found solely in material concepts. A real and lasting peace must be based not on temporal values but on permanent spiritual values. If we are to succeed we must be resolute and display in our just cause a "holy obstinancy".

In the words of the Canadian Prime Minister at the Paris Peace Conference last August, "Canada seeks no territory, no special concessions of any kind, we seek only to build a lasting peace. Canada's interest in the peace springs from deep within the heart of Canada's nationhood."

The two great wars which have rocked civilization to its foundations were not of our making. But we know that this country, like all countries, cannot afford a return to the course which gave rise to those conflicts. The world has grown and the weapons of destruction are now so terrible that civilized society may not survive the shock of another such struggle.

We have set our feet on the way toward establishing the rule of law and co-operation among nations. One could liken it to a forced march, by a company whose members are strange to one another, undertaken in dark of night through an unknown country. We do not minimize the dangers along the way but we know that more terrible still are the consequences of failure to attempt the journey. We have organized our company and are now on the march.

Upon the achievement of our goal, the survival of our civilization undoubtedly depends. The road is long and the journey difficult but it promises for ourselves and our children not chaos and war — but peace and security without fear for the future.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

1. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

- a. the interpretation of a treaty;
- b. any question of international law;
- c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

3. The declarations referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states, or for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the parties to the Statute and to the Registrar of the Court.

5. Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed, as between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

6. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court. (Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice)