



CF Item = Barcode Top - Note at Bottom =
CF_Item_One_BC5-Top-Sign

Page 1
Date 26-Nov-2002
Time 12:30:27 PM
Login ask



CF/RAI/USAA/DB01/HS/2002-00100

Full Item Register Number [auto] **CF/RAI/USAA/DB01/HS/2002-00100**

ExRef: Document Series/Year/Number

Record Item Title

Excerpt - The cold war, Canada, and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child by Dominique Marshall pp 183-212, from book: Canada and the Early Cold war 1943 - 1957. Edited by Greg Donaghy

Date Created / on Item
01-Jan-1998

Date Registered
26-Nov-2002

Date Closed/Superceded

Primary Contact **Dominique Marshall (External Researcher)**
Owner Location **Record & Archive Manage Related Functions=80669443**
Home Location **History Related Records =60909132**
Current Location **Record & Archive Manage Related Functions=80669443**

Fd1: Type: IN, OUT, INTERNAL?
Fd2: Lang ?Sender Ref or Cross Ref
F3: Format

Container Record
Container Record (Title)

N1: Numb of pages
36

N2: Doc Year
0

N3: Doc Number
0

Full GCG Code Plan Number
Record GCG File Plan

Da1:Date Published

Da2:Date Received

Date 3

Priority

Record Type **A02a Item Hist Corr - CF/RAI/USAA/DB01/HS**

Electronic Details

No Document

DOS File Name

Alt Bar code = RAMP-TRIM Record Number

CF/RAI/USAA/DB01/HS/2002-00100

Notes

Print Name of Person Submit Images

Signature of Person Submit

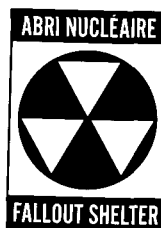
Number of images
without cover

K.A. BRISSON

K.A. BRISSON

36

Canada ^{and} ^{the}
Early Cold War
1943-1957



Le **Canada**
au **début** ^{de} ^{la} **guerre**
froide
1943-1957

Edited by/Compilé par **Greg Donaghy**

Données de catalogage avant
publication (Canada)

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication
Data

Vedette principale au titre :

Main entry under title:

Canada and the Early Cold War,
1943-1957/Le Canada au début de
la guerre froide, 1943-1957

Canada and the Early Cold War,
1943-1957/Le Canada au début de
la guerre froide, 1943-1957

Comprend du matériel préliminaire
et un article en français
ISBN 0-660-60748-4
N° de cat. E2-179/1998

Includes prefatory material and an
article in French.
ISBN 0-660-60748-4
Cat. no. E2-179/1998

1. Canada — Relations extérieures
— 1945-
2. Canada — Politique et gouverne-
ment — 1935-1957
3. Canada — Relations extérieures
— Histoire
4. Guerre froide
5. Politique mondiale — 1945-
I. Donaghy, Greg
II. Canada. Ministère des Affaires
étrangères et du Commerce
international
III. Titre : Le Canada au début de la
guerre froide, 1943-1957

1. Canada — Foreign relations —
1945-
2. Canada — Politics and govern-
ment — 1935-1957
3. Canada — Foreign relations —
History
4. Cold War
5. World Politics — 1945-
I. Donaghy, Greg
II. Canada. Department of Foreign
Affairs and International Trade
III. Title: Canada and the Early Cold
War, 1943-57

FC602.C32 1998 327.71'009'044
C98-980302-3F

FC602.C32 1998 327.71'009'044
C98-980302-3F

Copyright © of the collective work lies with the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada – 1998.

Copyright © of the individual articles lies with the respective authors.

Available in Canada through your local bookseller or by mail from Canadian Government Publishing – PWGSC
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9

Catalogue No. E2-179/1998

ISBN 0-660-60748-4

Le droit d'auteur © sur l'ouvrage collectif appartient au ministre des Travaux publics et des Services gouvernementaux – 1998.

Le droit d'auteur © sur chaque article appartient à l'auteur.

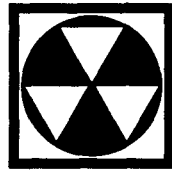
En vente au Canada chez votre libraire local ou par la poste auprès des Éditions du gouvernement du Canada – TPSGC
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9

N° de catalogue : E2-179/1998

ISBN 0-660-60748-4

Cover and interior design: Richard Bingham/Flex Media, Toronto

Canada ^{and the} Early Cold War 1943-1957



1998

Le Canada au début de la guerre froide 1943-1957

Edited by/Compilé par **Greg Donaghy**



Ministère des Affaires étrangères
et du Commerce international

Department of Foreign Affairs
and International Trade

contents

table des matières

Preface <i>Donald W. Campbell</i> 8	Préface <i>Donald W. Campbell</i> 9
Introduction <i>Greg Donaghy</i> 14	Introduction <i>Greg Donaghy</i> 15
Acknowledgments 35	Remerciements 37
The Cold War's Cradle: Canada, the Great Powers, and Germany, 1943-1948 <i>Angelika Sauer</i> 39	
Eyes West: Canada and the Cold War in Asia <i>Robert Bothwell</i> 59	
"A Fine Romance": Canada and the United Nations, 1943-1957 <i>John English</i> 73	
Realists at Work: Canadian Policy Makers and the Politics of Transition from Hot War to Cold War <i>Denis Stairs</i> 91	
« L'instant kantien » : La contribution canadienne à la création de la « Communauté nord-atlantique », 1947-1949 <i>Stéphane Roussel</i> 119	
<i>Kanada-Votchina Amerikanskogo Imperializma</i> : Canada and Canadian Communists in the Soviet "Coming War" Paradigm, 1946-1951 <i>J.L. Black</i> 159	
The Cold War, Canada, and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child <i>Dominique Marshall</i> 183	
The ABCs of Canada's International Economic Relations, 1945-1951 <i>Hector Mackenzie</i> 215	
Notes on Contributors . . . 252	Notes sur les collaborateurs . 253

PREFACE

Donald W. Campbell

"Although the foreign policy of any country must from time to time be adapted to changing circumstances, there are in it continuing threads which represent the ideals, as well as the interests, of a people. A knowledge of past policy is therefore of value not only to scholars who study and interpret Canadian history but also to those who seek a broader understanding than a knowledge of current events can provide."

Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs,
DOCUMENTS ON CANADIAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS, VOLUME 1

This book, and the conference that gave rise to it, underline concretely the value that we attach to our past and the inspiration that we draw from it. Initially established in 1909 as little more than a mailbox for diplomatic correspondence, the Department of External Affairs quickly came to occupy a prominent place in the machinery of government in Canada. Between its creation and 1945, it played an important role in the country's transformation from a small, colonial state on the periphery of world affairs into a confident middle power ready to shoulder its international responsibilities.

The people who oversaw this transformation were a remarkable group of men and women, who helped determine the values and traditions that define the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade today. One of the most important early influences on the Department was O.D. Skelton, a former dean of arts at Queen's University, who served as under-secretary of state for external affairs from 1925 until his death in 1941. During his 16 years with the Department, he established a tradition of rigorous recruitment standards that emphasized a distinguished scholarly

THE COLD WAR, CANADA, AND THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD¹

Dominique Marshall

RÉSUMÉ : *Cet article analyse les liens entre la guerre froide, l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les débats entourant la rédaction d'une nouvelle Déclaration des droits de l'enfant. Dominique Marshall montre en quoi les droits des enfants, qui avaient bénéficié d'un appui considérable à la Société des Nations en 1924, faisaient face, à la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, à des circonstances différentes. En dépit de la montée de professions et de bureaucraties déterminées à élargir les droits des enfants, l'élaboration d'une charte renouvelée s'est rapidement révélée difficile. Pour plusieurs, la Déclaration universelle des Droits de l'Homme, adoptée en 1948, rendait inutile toute déclaration distincte au sujet des enfants. Les tensions suscitées par la guerre froide, particulièrement lourdes après 1950, allaient déterminer l'issue des discussions. Jusqu'à la fin des années 50, le conflit bipolaire allait paralyser tout progrès vers la conclusion d'accords internationaux sur les droits de l'homme, mais ceux qui, au sein de la Commission des Droits de l'Homme de l'ONU, étaient à la recherche d'un terrain d'entente entre l'Est et l'Ouest, se servirent à cette fin des droits des enfants. Cependant leur décision de faire porter l'attention de l'assemblée générale sur les enfants n'était pas fortuite. Ils pouvaient compter sur l'acceptation de la notion de droit des enfants au sein d'une large portion de la sphère publique internationale.*

When the United Nations (UN) was established in 1945, replacing the defunct League of Nations, the new international forum showed little interest in endorsing the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which the League of Nations had adopted in 1924. Unlike the League's Covenant, the UN Charter included clauses designed to encourage "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all," language

which many observers thought made a specific declaration for children superfluous. Moreover, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), set up in 1946 to aid children left destitute by the Second World War, seemed to address the widespread sense of urgency and indignation that had helped secure the passage of the Geneva Declaration in 1924.

Even so, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959. Drafted and discussed during the late 1950s by the Human Rights Commission, a branch of the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the 1959 declaration extended children's rights to new spheres. It added rights to social security and a secure family environment to the list of rights outlined in the Geneva Declaration, which had guaranteed children a name, a nationality, an education, decent work, and priority for relief. The UN proclamation placed a heavier emphasis on measures against discrimination and it explicitly designated the agencies responsible for ensuring children's prerogatives.

Although one historian of children's rights has argued that an easing of Cold War tensions in the late 1950s created a favourable climate for the 1959 declaration, it remains unclear how children's rights became, to use his words, "a political priority."² The reasons advanced by UN officials for inaction in the mid-1940s remained valid 10 years later. For example, John Humphrey, secretary of the Human Rights Commission and a Canadian legal scholar, wondered about the relevance of a specific agreement on children's rights. Worried that a children's declaration might undermine the authority of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, he "doubted whether the purpose it would serve could possibly justify the time and effort the United Nations was devoting to it. There were certainly other more important matters that needed attention."³ The Canadian also thought "that there was something wrong with our priorities... It was easier to draft a declaration on the rights of children than to devise practical measures for the protection of human rights."⁴ Nevertheless, Humphrey understood that children's rights provided an issue on which most UN members could agree: "I suspected a stopgap which was being used to give the impression that the Human Rights Commission was doing something."⁵

This paper examines the events which led to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959. It argues that an emphasis on children's rights provided the UN's Human Rights Commission with a quick way around the state of paralysis within the commission created by the Cold

War. Children's rights represented an issue for which governments from both sides of the conflict could muster popular support in their respective countries. However, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child was not simply a product of the search by East and West for Cold War advantage. The process was more complicated. The postwar task of organizing a complex international bureaucracy had important consequences for the evolution of the Children's Declaration and the role played by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in this field.

In addition, by examining the evolution of Canadian policy toward the UN's efforts to define human and children's rights, this paper illustrates how the egalitarian demands for social security and changing conceptions of child welfare among citizens in the richer nations gave rise to commitments in New York and Geneva. A different set of pressures accompanied the appearance at the UN in the 1950s of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa, a development which also played an important role in defining the eventual shape of the Children's Declaration.⁶ Finally, this discussion tries to illuminate the current debate on children's rights by clarifying the meaning of the 10 principles of the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of Children and their relationship to the Cold War.

Children's Rights during the Transition from the League of Nations to the United Nations

The League of Nations adopted its Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924 with remarkable speed. The process was simple and straightforward. The British delegation presented a declaration drafted by Save the Children Fund International (SCFI), an NGO founded in 1920, and the League's Assembly voted quickly and unanimously in favour of the project. Britain's Labour prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, used his personal prestige to push through this project, the brainchild of Lord Noel Buxton, a friend and fellow member of Parliament closely associated with the SCFI.⁷

The process in 1945 was a good deal more complex. The London-based Save the Children Fund (SCF), the main affiliated branch of the SCFI, attempted to have the Geneva Declaration adopted by the new UN General Assembly. It met a barrage of stifling kindness from politicians and civil servants in the British Foreign and Home Offices, but no action. All supported children's rights, but no one who could command the General Assembly's attention thought that children's rights were

worth much time or effort. Hope flickered briefly in 1946 when Edward Fuller, secretary of the SCF and a member of the SCFI's executive committee, secured a promise from Philip J. Noel-Baker, Britain's minister of state with special responsibility for the UN, to "bring the Declaration of Geneva... to the notice of the General Assembly." In the end, however, Noel-Baker claimed that he was unable to find the time to interest the General Assembly.⁸

Fuller did not enjoy the kind of influential allies that the SCFI was able to marshal in 1924.⁹ During the interwar decades, the state's interest in international child welfare activities had increased substantially, pushing aside private charities. British officials suspected that the SCF was "not very important but struggling to keep itself in the public eye" rather than actively contributing "to the immediate and pressing needs of the world."¹⁰

Like their British counterparts, Canadian delegates to early UN meetings spent much of their time trying to reduce the status of voluntary agencies associated with the League of Nations. This reflected broader developments in the evolution of Canadian government. The central figure in Canada's international social activities was George F. Davidson. Although he served as head of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, he was not drawn from the volunteer community. Instead, as deputy minister of health and welfare, Davidson represented the interests and attitudes of the Canadian government.

Unable to adopt the strategy followed in 1924, Fuller and the SCFI were forced to follow the more usual and less privileged course of bringing the Geneva Declaration "before the appropriate Commission of the United Nations with a view [to] its being adopted as the United Nations' formal expression of their responsibility in regards to the interests of children."¹¹ Fuller sought advice from British officials on how to approach the UN. Children's welfare had not vanished from the world organization's purview, though the new structures for international social and economic cooperation did not provide for an agency devoted solely to children. On the creation of the UN, children's welfare and all other social activities were turned over to ECOSOC, which functioned as a large overseeing body. British officials thought that Fuller should bring his declaration on children's rights to ECOSOC's Social Commission, since it "covers the questions raised by the Declaration... such as welfare for children and adolescents, especially those deprived of normal family life; protection against neglect and

cruelty; treatment of juvenile offenders; protection of minors, etc." The Human Rights Commission, they thought, would be less interested in the project since it would "naturally tend to regard all rights as being equally applicable to children."¹²

In the Social Commission, Fuller's scheme was given short shrift. Sidney Harris of the Home Office, formerly a British delegate to the League's Child Welfare Committee, was now the United Kingdom representative on the Social Commission and its vice chairman. In a report on the "activities of the League in the social field" for its first session in April and May 1946, he reiterated the importance of the Geneva Declaration and its meaning for the postwar era:

the United Nations not only should concern itself with this important matter [the development of interest in child welfare], but must also make a bolder approach to it as part of a general social policy. This subject is of vital interest to every country. The welfare of children, physically, mentally, spiritually, must be the first concern of every nation, particularly having regard to the ravages of the two world wars. The terms of the Declaration of Geneva should be as binding on the people of the world to-day as they were in 1924.¹³

This was a backhanded acknowledgement, since Harris believed that the Declaration was "harmless enough but rather a nuisance." He saw "little value in general resolutions of this kind." On his return from the UN meetings, he attempted to convince Fuller that it was enough that the Social Commission had taken note of the 1924 Declaration. He advised him against bothering a busy General Assembly with the matter.¹⁴

Fuller found no support during 1946 and 1947 for his efforts to persuade British representatives to move a resolution in favour of the Geneva Declaration during the discussion of the Social Commission's report to the General Assembly. The Human Rights Commission was busy drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,¹⁵ and like Humphrey, the Foreign Office considered this declaration "broad enough in its terms to make further declarations in favour of particular sections of the community unnecessary."¹⁶ By then, as the Foreign Office also pointed out, the debate had moved in entirely new directions. ECOSOC's Social Commission was already exploring the possibility of "a new and better Declaration [on children's rights]."

ECOSOC, Children's Rights and the Changing Conceptions of International Child Welfare, 1946-50

Although it abandoned the idea of adopting the 1924 Geneva Declaration, the Social Commission welcomed the idea of drafting a declaration on the rights of children that would take into account recent developments in child welfare. At its session in 1946, it proposed broadening the Geneva Declaration by adding an article on "[r]espect of the family as an entity," together with a provision on "race, nationality or creed," a concern that rose directly from the atrocities of the Second World War. It pressed ahead with this project and in September 1947, at its second session, it asked for documentation on the Geneva Declaration and possible modifications.¹⁷ The Social Commission presented its work as a continuation of the League of Nations' efforts in this field. In so doing, it paid little attention to pressure from the International Union of Child Welfare (IUCW), the SCFI's successor.¹⁸ In addition the Commission insisted on the need to resume action on child welfare, activities which had been interrupted by the war: "[d]uring the later years of the war... child welfare matters resumed the place of importance from which they had been expelled by the disruption of international relationships and war catastrophes." It was time for the UN to coordinate the "intensive, excellent... activity by several bodies in respect of child relief and child welfare in general."¹⁹

In the spring of 1947, the Social Commission decided to give priority to child welfare. The Commission's 14 members were anxious to press ahead with a "United Nations Charter of the Rights of the Child." In the autumn of 1948, the UN issued a preparatory statement to governments as well as interested NGOs and other UN agencies, drawing parallels between the 1924 Geneva Declaration and drafts of possible new charters.

Encouraged by the Social Commission's work at the United Nations, the IUCW changed its strategy and began to consider how to revise the Geneva Declaration. In the summer of 1948, it held an information conference on the declaration at its main office in Geneva and a meeting of its General Council in Stockholm to begin elaborating a new text.²⁰ Members expressed a greater need to explain why children needed a special charter to be able to benefit from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The international NGO also wished to incorporate greater commitments toward social security in any declaration. In October 1948, the chairman of the IUCW, Mrs. Gordon Morier, visited Lake Success where the UN Secretariat was at work.²¹ Early the next year, the UN established a committee to draft a declaration on children's rights. The IUCW's initial

response to this development was hostile. Its jealous executive insisted that any changes to the Geneva Declaration could not be adopted by the UN without its consent. However, as the UN widened its circle of consultation and the ICUW saw "a new impetus to child welfare in all parts of the world," it abandoned its leadership ambitions.²²

The Social Commission's interest in children's rights reflected the considerable popular support children's causes enjoyed in most Western societies throughout the postwar period. Indeed, the IUCW continually argued that the UN's approval of a declaration on children's rights "would have a useful effect on public opinion," since in many countries the 1924 Declaration had led directly to legislative action benefiting children.²³ The IUCW stressed how important a simple and straightforward declaration would be as an educational tool and as a point of reference for the general population. After all, they argued, "the Declaration was intended for ordinary people."²⁴ H.W. Harris of the Home Office was equally sure of the popularity of the "Declaration of Geneva," even if he took less comfort in the phenomenon.²⁵ In the British Foreign Office view, the Social Commission's desire to expand the declaration's range came from the pressures of "organisations such as the 'Save the Children Fund'" which had become "[t]oo strong for the Social Commission to resist."²⁶ Foreign Office officials regretted having "to please crank opinion and waste endless time and worry over inanities and duplication," but they were conscious of being a minority in the Social Commission.²⁷ Moreover, they were aware that "certain sections of public opinion in this country are most vociferous on the subject. This is just the sort of thing that excites Parliamentary interest far beyond its actual merits."²⁸

In July 1950, after two years of research and discussion, the UN Secretariat forwarded *A Concept Declaration of the Rights of the Child* to ECOSOC.²⁹ It argued that the Declaration of 1924 "ne reflétait pas l'évolution considérable qui s'est produite depuis 1924 dans le domaine de la protection de l'enfance."³⁰ Since the Second World War, the submission argued, states had assumed new social obligations toward children, including the need to stop discrimination, and to help children deal with propaganda. A declaration would also have to help children understand their right to personal security, to a name and a nationality, and to health and education.³¹ ECOSOC adopted the "concept declaration," which contained a preamble and 10 specific principles, without examining its content in detail. It asked the Human Rights Commission to study the draft and report back in a year.³²

Despite popular support, the "concept declaration" was soon shelved and remained so for the rest of the decade, a casualty of the larger tensions over human rights brought about by the Cold War struggle between the Western liberal democracies and totalitarian communism.³³ By the early 1950s, many Western democracies, led by the United States, were becoming increasingly opposed to the idea of making human rights an "enforceable treaty obligation" and were unwilling to permit an international agency to supervise their domestic policies. The approach adopted by the Soviet bloc was equally unhelpful. Led by the Soviet Union, its members adopted and ratified various declarations on human rights, dismissing domestic and international efforts to assess their implementation.³⁴ Worried lest it become "an overtly political organ," the Human Rights Commission responded to this situation by engaging in increasingly technical exercises, a kind of "apolitical functionalism":

Despite the significant human rights dimension of the Cold War, the decolonization debate and many other matters being brought before the Assembly and the Security Council, the Commission managed to confine its efforts to standard-setting with a variety of other technical pursuits thrown in for good measure.³⁵

Canadian delegates to ECOSOC did little to stop this trend. Committed to the notion of a neutral and efficient civil service, an idea that had assisted them in their ascent in the Canadian polity since the 1920s, they stressed the need for "adequate [social and economic] expertise in the Secretariat," likening the agency to a "Board of Directors... [of a] whole economic and social machine."³⁶ They favoured a pragmatic approach, which they opposed to methods adopted by more "impractical and visionary members."³⁷ In order to enhance Canada's status and to contain Great Power efforts to control the agency, officials actively addressed the administrative and budgetary problems associated with establishing the new organization. Drawing on the expert resources of the departments of Finance and National Health and Welfare, they worked at erecting an efficient, technical, and non-partisan bureaucracy.

Though hardly dramatic, this approach paid a handsome dividend. Already in 1946, Canadian delegations were proudly reporting that they "had considerable personal authority in the Council and its Committees and... they enjoyed the respect of all sides on controversial issues."³⁸ By

the end of its first term on ECOSOC in 1948, Canada had earned a reputation for "being one of the nations which had contributed most to the development of the Council's work since its inception."³⁹

Popular Pressures, Decolonization, and the Declaration of Human Rights, 1948-54
In Canada, as in the United States, politicians harboured reservations about human rights long before the acute Cold War divisions of the 1950s took hold. By the end of the Second World War, Western leaders were already retreating from their promises for new measures toward social justice at home made in the name of wartime reconstruction. This retreat was slowed, however, as politicians were forced to respond to progressive demands for social justice in the final stages of the Second World War.⁴⁰ Similarly, Western diplomats mobilized human rights in order to undercut international support for the Soviet Union and its communist allies at the UN.

However, supporting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 was not without its problems for the Canadian government. Early drafts of the Universal Declaration included clauses on the right to social security, reflecting an understanding of human rights that was broader than Canada's liberal government could accept. Initially, Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King's cabinet instructed the Canadian delegation to ECOSOC to support "the elimination, as far as possible, of articles such as those on social security, which give a detailed definition of governmental responsibilities... these articles have no place in a declaration of human rights."⁴¹ The continuing socialist emphasis on social and economic rights was among the factors that prompted Canada to abstain in the first vote on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in October 1948.⁴²

In an overall sense, however, Ottawa had good reasons for supporting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During UN discussion of the Declaration, Canadian officials were aware that a projected national Bill of Rights had produced "considerable agitation" in Canada.⁴³ They observed that the very engagement of the Canadian government in UN agencies was helping to develop a commitment toward human rights at home, even if the work of UN social and economic agencies "seldom made the headline."⁴⁴ Canadian representatives actively sought to command influence in ECOSOC, but popular understanding of the promises of the UN imposed limits on their personal and national ambitions. Mackenzie King and his successor, Louis Saint-Laurent, for instance, thought that Canada's participation in ECOSOC's Human Rights Commission was unwarranted. They worried that "it would be difficult to... explain to the public our position,

on the matters which may come before the Commission."⁴⁵ In 1951, when an ECOSOC committee of experts recommended a program for full employment, the secretary of state for external affairs, Lester B. Pearson, feared the reaction of the Canadian public.⁴⁶ In 1947-48, in response to a UN request, a Special Joint Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, chaired by Minister of Justice J.L. Ilsley, held public hearings on the draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is probably because of the work of the Committee that senior officials of the Department of External Affairs, once divided about the idea of a universal declaration, believed by the end of 1947 that "there [was] a great value in defining by international agreement as precisely as we possibly can the basic freedom which the individual should enjoy within society."⁴⁷

Canada's support for the adoption of a Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man also came from the desire of politicians and senior officials to check the USSR's claim to be the champion of "small nations and... coloured and colonial peoples." For Escott Reid, head of the Department of External Affairs' Second Political Division in 1946, the Universal



Canadian delegates to the UN General Assembly in September 1946.

From l to r: B.M. Williams, Delegation Secretary, George F Davidson, Deputy Minister of Health and Welfare, Paul Martin, Minister of Health and Welfare, C.H.L. Sharman, W.A. MacKintosh, and R.G. Riddell. Davidson typified Canada's commitment to a technical and bureaucratic approach to social questions at the UN.

CHRIS LUND/NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA/PA-129002

Declaration of Human Rights provided a weapon in the struggle for the allegiance of citizens:

One source of the strength of the Soviet Union is that it has allies within our gates – people who still think that Moscow is the Mecca of the disenchanted and disinherited of the whole world. We must try to persuade these people that they are misguided. One way to do this would be to demonstrate that the states of the Western world are willing to implement a declaration of the rights of man which will give both political and economic freedoms while the Soviet Union is unable or unwilling to implement such a declaration.⁴⁸

The foreign ministry believed that an international assertion of the political and civil freedoms of citizens would provide the West with a tool to attack Communist states at “their weakest point, their refusal to concede to their citizens the ordinary freedoms of speech, of the press and of worship and their inability to give their citizens freedom from want and from fear.”⁴⁹

Afro-Asian and Latin American states made the West pay for their support in this Cold War battle by extracting commitments to human rights from the more developed countries. Their demands, especially those articulated by Latin America (a Western-oriented bloc that constituted the largest group of emerging states at this time), generated “amendments substantially calculated to lay down an obligation to respect human rights.”⁵⁰ Even as early as 1951, when Canadian delegates to ECOSOC reported that the Afro-Asian bloc was beginning to align itself more readily with the Soviet Union and its satellites, Ottawa worried about the danger of divisions among the non-communist world.⁵¹

Once the UN adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the Human Rights Commission turned its attention to the problem of devising methods to protect and encourage these rights. In this search, Canadian diplomats found themselves driven by domestic pressures to further pursue the struggle for human rights, but at the same time unable to collaborate with the USSR on the means to protect them. Senior Canadian officials had long been divided over the question of the value of a UN human rights declaration without any means of enforcement. For some, setting goals was enough. Others, who thought declarations had little value on their own, wished to rely on “traditional legal methods of promoting human rights.”⁵² The Department of External Affairs was

sceptical of the value of human rights covenants. These novel international legal devices, designed to protect economic and social rights, were especially difficult to work out between nations:

civil and political rights... involve limitations on the powers of governments and legislatures to interfere with the rights of the individual. Economic, social and cultural rights, on the other hand, are not so much individual rights as responsibilities of the state in the field of economic policy and social welfare which usually require for their implementation detailed social legislation and the creation of appropriate administrative machinery. There is thus a fundamental difference in the nature of the two categories of rights.⁵³

Canadian suspicions about human rights covenants, which the Human Rights Commission began to draft after 1948, were reinforced by political fears about the "[c]onsiderable public interest" in the matter. "Our adherence to the covenant," Pearson warned cabinet, "might result in increased public pressure for a domestic Bill of Rights." In the end, when a draft covenant was discussed in the General Assembly, it was the polarization of positions on human rights brought about by the Cold War that forced Canada's cautious approval. The projected covenant had come to divide East and West, and Canadian officials were conscious that a decision "to vote against the covenant would likely result in putting ourselves in this matter in a camp consisting largely of the Soviet Union and its satellites." Seen from this perspective, supporting the covenant would be a means of waging "psychological warfare against the Soviet world."⁵⁴

Thus, by 1951, Canadian delegates to ECOSOC were ready to adopt a covenant as long as it was largely devoid of social, cultural, and economic rights. Despite American backing, this kind of limited covenant failed to attract majority support at the UN.⁵⁵ As a result, the Human Rights Commission decided to divide the covenant into two. The first part, which addressed civil and political rights, was designed to appeal to Western preoccupations; a second covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights met the major Soviet concerns. The commission's work on these two covenants was completed in 1954, when the debate moved to the General Assembly.⁵⁶ In the UN's principal forum, Canada continued to oppose the two covenants, insisting that "[m]any of the articles... contained provisions which implied for their implementation a degree of interference by states which was

incompatible with the concept of the role of government in society which underlies the governmental system of parliamentary democracy such as Canada."⁵⁷ Consideration of the two covenants stretched out for almost three years in a series of lengthy, inconclusive debates on the right to self-determination, the status of federal states, and the means of protecting human rights.⁵⁸ By 1957, Canadian observers noted, the international community was "growing impatient[t] with the slow rate of progress."⁵⁹

The Rights of the Child Between 1950 and 1959

The Human Rights Commission's efforts to develop enforcement mechanisms through its two covenants meant that the question of children's rights was largely ignored. However, in March 1956, after five years of neglect, it reappeared on the Commission's agenda. In a series of meetings in the spring and fall of 1957, the Human Rights Commission and ECOSOC pressed forward with a proposed declaration on the rights of children, circulating a draft to governments for comments. By December 1957, it had secured responses from 21 states.⁶⁰

ECOSOC attributed its renewed interest in children's rights mainly to a desire to address an item "of very great importance" after a long period of inactivity.⁶¹ A UN press communiqué added, by way of explanation, that work on the children's declaration had been suspended while the international organization tried to adopt its two broader covenants.⁶² The *New York Times* thought that there were more important "impulses" at work. It explained the new attention being accorded children's rights by commenting in an editorial that "[a]lmost every society cherishes its children."⁶³ In addition, as the Indian delegate to the 1959 Human Rights Commission meeting expressed it, heightened concern for children came from the acute sense of danger brought on by the possibility of a nuclear conflict:

Mankind was at a decisive stage in its history. The achievements of science had made available unprecedented power for good and evil. If the leaders of the world were to use that power for good, their aim must be to ensure that man's moral evolution kept pace with the advance of science. In order to achieve that aim, a beginning must be made with the education of children.⁶⁴

This kind of popular concern for the fate of children played an important role in shaping Canadian policy, as the government's efforts to wrestle

with the fate of UNICEF demonstrate. Although Canadian officials had not shown much enthusiasm for promoting children's rights after 1945, Canadian citizens donated considerable amounts of time and money to UNICEF. Nevertheless, when the question of its future was raised at the UN in 1950, Ottawa quickly withdrew its support.⁶⁵ Though the government recognized the "continuing needs of children," it thought that any commitment for the future should be made with caution. UNICEF appeared to be just one more in a series of "impractical proposals for ambitious welfare schemes."⁶⁶ Pearson favoured dividing responsibilities between existing agencies. The Canadian delegation to ECOSOC deplored the "irresponsibility" of "under-developed countries" who used their many votes to dictate spending, while the countries who financed the fund had little say in its operation. American pressures for an agency devoted specifically to the welfare of children, as well as a concern that other agencies, whose main preoccupations were elsewhere, might "neglect the problems which are of concern to children," eventually helped the Canadian government to change its mind.

Equally important, officials and politicians in Ottawa were aware that "[t]here has been considerable interest in Canada in the activities of UNICEF and the Government might well be subject to serious criticism from the Canadian public if the Delegation to the Assembly were to oppose a resolution on aid to children."⁶⁷ Thus, significantly and reluctantly, international child welfare questions had become a legitimate matter of cabinet concern.⁶⁸

In the autumn of 1959, the General Assembly's Third Committee worked on the proposal for a declaration on the rights of children with alacrity. According to the IUCW delegate in New York, who met the acting director of the Human Rights Commission in September 1959, the committee "had not been productive of late and may be very pleased to deal with an item which can produce results at this session. (Outlook on the Human Rights Commission is dim). Therefore they are likely to see in the Declaration a chance to come up with some accomplishment." Indeed, when the committee met

some of the long-standing members of the Committee, who have lived through the years of struggle to complete a Covenant, or Covenants, of Human Rights and were frustrated by the inability to achieve this, saw in the Declaration an opportunity for the quick accomplishment of a piece of work that

might increase the Committee's diminished prestige and achieve a status comparable to that of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁶⁹

There remained a fear that the USSR would be able to forestall discussions within this body of 82 members. By 1959, however, the Soviet Union's growing interest in "peaceful co-existence" and more normal relations with the West created an atmosphere which enabled delegates to finish their work.⁷⁰ The Committee devoted 23 meetings to the project in the autumn of 1959, before the General Assembly unanimously adopted the document on November 20.

The Meaning of the 10 Principles of Children's Rights

Despite Cold War tensions, the new Declaration reflected some measure of international agreement on general transformations in the realm of child welfare. The IUCW played an important role in this development. If it had retreated from the idea of a UN declaration by 1948, the NGO had not stopped its work on children's rights. On the contrary, the Cold War, by postponing interstate negotiations, enhanced the IUCW's status. The NGO felt that an organization like itself was not stuck in one "national situation." "[I]t seems evident," wrote one Union employee, "that the world cannot wait for delays, fumbling and failures in the struggle to raise the standards of life and welfare for the masses of its people."⁷¹ By the mid-1950s, the organization saw itself as an international committee of experts. Its legitimacy came primarily from the very "[e]xtent of [the] needs" that children faced. The association was also able to exploit its freedom to act without regard to political concerns, and its ability to relate directly with lower levels of national administration to carve out a role for itself. It was assisted by the absence of a public organization concerned with all aspects of children's lives.⁷² National organizations were also consulted by their respective governments on UN projects for children's rights. In 1958, the IUCW circulated its own proposal for a declaration to put pressure on governments, with special regard to countries who had a member on the Human Rights Commission.⁷³ With countries eager to avoid lengthy debates, the IUCW accomplished a lot of the necessary work of negotiation and compromise between the two sessions of the Human Rights Commission devoted to the Declaration in 1957 and 1959.⁷⁴

The new text's first pronouncement aimed at justifying specific rights for children. It recalled the UN Charter's commitment to "promote social

Union's delegate even accused them of "wanting to undermine the recognition of the rights of the child in practice and to enable governments to shift their responsibilities on to others."⁸⁵ The IUCW's delegate in New York observed: "the subject matter of the Declaration represent[ed] a battleground of ideology on which each group with a 'cause' to promote [saw] an opportunity to gain ground for its own purposes."⁸⁶

A similar debate resulted over providing children with proper health care. Western opposition forced the Human Rights Commission to remove language calling for "free medical services" from the draft circulating for comment between 1957 and 1959.⁸⁷ The declaration's fourth principle, which dealt with the problem of health care, represented a compromise: "The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security," including health for child and mother, nutrition, housing, and recreation. This broadly defined right reflected the UN Secretariat's determination, which had grown since it had first explored the question of children's rights in 1945-46, to expand the changing minima of welfare. "[C]hild welfare [had become for many] an integral part of any general social security system."⁸⁸ The idea reflected the Social Commission's own mandate; during consultations in 1957-59 on the possibility of adopting the 1924 Geneva Declaration, the inclusion of a right to social security figured prominently.

Other principles underlined the evolving nature of childhood. While the 1924 text promised a child the means to develop and the means to earn a livelihood, the authors of the 1959 statement on children's rights tried to provide a right to an "education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages."⁸⁹ Similarly, the declaration included a new principle on the worth of the family:

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, whenever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother.⁹⁰

This article apparently addressed Western criticism of communist child-rearing, echoed in the remarks of the National Chinese delegate to the Third Committee: "It was sad indeed to see families being broken up under the commune system on the mainland of China and children there

treated as state property."⁹¹

It is important to note that in addition to Cold War pressures, there were other, older influences brought to bear on the 1959 declaration. Some recalled the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants which occupied a prominent place in the work of the League of Nations' Child Welfare Committee. Catholic associations and countries were already uneasy with any discussion of rights since Pope Pius XII proclaimed in 1948 that mankind should not presume to pronounce on something that existed above and beyond himself.⁹² Catholic representatives insisted on distinguishing legitimate children from illegitimate ones, arguing that equality for the latter "would... undermine the family structures which were the very bedrock of the rights of the child."⁹³ They were also concerned by the rights of children before birth. Catholic insistence on the rights of unborn children was counterbalanced by fears of overpopulation in the developing world.⁹⁴

There were divisions between rich and poor which reflected the fear among developing nations that they might be burdened with expensive commitments to their children that they would not be able to meet. India, for instance, opposed a Moscow-sponsored clause calling on the state (and other institutions) to assist parents in raising large families.⁹⁵ The Laotian delegate remarked perceptively that these types of commitments were "within the capacity only of some Western and Anglo-Saxon countries."⁹⁶ Ghana's representative to the UN General Assembly added: "It would be interesting to see to what extent the colonial powers found it possible to implement the principle [of free and compulsory education] in their dependent territories." In order to respond to these concerns, the preamble of the 1959 Declaration urged states to "recognize these rights and strive for their observance progressively."

Conclusion: Children's Rights and Peace

Commenting on the power the UN Charter allocated to the Security Council over the economic and social agencies, and over human rights and fundamental freedoms, a former League of Nations official argued against separating the UN's "technical work" from its collective security functions. He believed that "the best hope for reducing the military preoccupation of the Council... is to increase the volume of constructive co-operation for which the whole Organization will be responsible."⁹⁷ Canadian diplomats also claimed that "security and economic well-being are two sides of the same coin" and "a valid basis for world peace can only be found in an

extension of co-operation between all nations in their economic and social relations with one another." They argued that their work in ECOSOC "justified to a greater extent than any other United Nations agency, our continued faith in international co-operation."⁹⁸

This was only partly true. Cold War tensions emphasized how dangerous it was to make UN human rights functions dependent on its collective security functions. During the early Cold War, the promotion of human rights, in form and pace, was profoundly shaped by international diplomatic tensions. And yet, the faith of Canada's diplomats was perhaps justified. Children's rights provided ground on which nations otherwise unable to agree could converse. As a lever for domestic electorates to seek more social security and as a diplomatic instrument in the Cold War struggle to win allies in the developing world, children's rights had become by the 1950s an important measure of the growing scope of the public world.

NOTES

1. This paper, part of a larger project on the history of Canada's role in the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations, has received funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Carleton University, and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies (ICS) of the University of London. I would like to thank the assistant administrative officer of the Archives d'État de Genève, Mme Maryse Brunner, and her colleagues, the archivist of the Save the Children Fund, Rodney Breen, and Paulette Dozois, an archivist at the National Archives of Canada, for their generous help; Greg Donaghy for suggesting that I write this paper, and Norman Hillmer, Lorna Lloyd, and Larry Black for their support and their interest. I would also like to thank the ICS for its hospitality.
2. Philip E. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child and the Changing Image of Childhood* (Dordrecht/Boston/London, 1991), p. 163.
3. John Humphrey, *Human Rights and the United Nations: A Great Adventure* (Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1984), p. 231.
4. Humphrey, *Human Rights and the United Nations*, pp. 255-56. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child*, reports the Canadian opposition as well as the opposition of the Chilean delegate (p. 162). This was also the position of the Dutch government in 1959. UN, HRC, E/CN.4/780/Add. 2, 19 March 1959, Archives de l'Union internationale de protection de l'enfance, Archives d'Etat de Genève (AUIPE), M.4.3., pp. 1-2. These record numbers are temporary.
5. Humphrey, *Human Rights and the United Nations*, p. 231.
6. ECOSOC was made up of 18 members elected on a three-year term system. Canada was one of the organization's first members, serving from 1946 and 1948 and again from 1950 to 1952, and 1956 to 1958.
7. Edward Fuller to M. Bouscharain, Division of Social Activities, United Nations, 6 August 1948, Public Record Office (PRO), Foreign Office (FO) 371, Volume 72761. These events are also chronicled in the *Bulletin de l'Union internationale de secours aux enfants* (1921 to 1925) which was followed by the *Revue internationale de l'enfant* (see especially the issues of 30 October 1922 and 10 October 1924), and in *The World's Children*, the periodical of the London-based Save the Children Fund, founded in 1919.
8. Edward Fuller to P.J. Noel-Baker, 22 January 1946, P.J. Noel-Baker

- to Edward Fuller, 31 January 1946, and Memorandum of Edward Fuller to Mr. Hampshire, not dated, all in the PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289); Fuller to M. Bouscharain, Division of Social Activities, United Nations, 6 August 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72761.
9. Declan O'Donovan, "The Economic and Social Council" in Philip Alston, ed., *The United Nations and Human Rights. A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford, 1992), p. 110. ECOSOC granted consultative status B to the International Union of Child Welfare (IUCW), the new name of the Save the Children Fund International after 1946. It had official relations with the OMS and acted as a consultative body for UNICEF (UIPE, *La déclaration des droits de l'enfant en 38 langues*, Genève, 1952, p. 2).
 10. S.W. Harris to Howard Smith, 2 April 1947 and Howard Smith for P.H. Gore-Booth to Miss Wall, 19 March 1947, PRO, FO 371, Volume 67486.
 11. Memorandum for the Right Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., Minister of State, 5 March 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289).
 12. Hampshire to Fuller, 5 April 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289).
 13. UN, E/41, 21 May 1946, Paragraph 14, quoted in Fuller to Hampshire, 10 May 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289). See also Veerman, p. 219. Fuller to Hampshire, 10 May 1946, and 11 July 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289). References to the meeting are also to be found in the proceedings in UN, E/41, 21 May 1946, Paragraph 14, and the report of Harris forms Appendix B; and in the Journal of ECOSOC, No. 25, p. 367, (e) (ii), p. 382. According to Fuller, Harris was the main author of the report of the TSC (Edward Fuller to M. Bouscharain, Division of Social Activities, United Nations, 6 August 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72761). The Declaration also received attention in the report of the Nuclear Commission (S.W. Harris to Howard Smith, 2 April 1947, FO 371, Volume 67486).
 14. Minutes, 16 July 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329(U4626). See also, Manuscript notes of Harris, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289) where Harris refers to the Journal of ECOSOC, No. 25, pp. 367, 382. Fuller to Hampshire, 11 July 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289). Howard Smith for P.H. Gore-Booth to

- Miss Wall, 19 March 1947, PRO, FO 371, Volume 67486. S.W. Harris to Howard Smith, 2 April 1947, PRO, FO 371, Volume 67486.
15. Roberts to Mr. Beards, Prime Minister's Office, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888. In 1947, the chairman of the SCF also began to press Prime Minister Attlee to sign the Declaration.
 16. Minutes, H.K. Matthews, 14 October 1948 and Minute of Miss B. Salt, 14 October 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888. To this, they added a resolution adopted in 1945 by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on the protection of children and young workers.
 17. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child*, pp. 159-62; IUCW, "The Declaration of Geneva and the United Nations (Summary of the information Conference held at IUCW office on June 30, 1948)," and IUCW, "Notes on the adoption of a charter of the rights of the child by the United Nations," January 1949, 3p. (referring to E/779, paragraph 76), both in AUIPE, M.3.2.
 18. Edward Fuller to M. Bouscharain, Division of Social Activities, UN, 6 August 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72761; Memorandum by Dr. Piacentini Re. Study of Statutes and Functioning of the IUC, 30 September 1950, and IUCW, "The Declaration of Geneva and the United Nations (Summary of the information Conference held at IUCW office on June 30, 1948)," both in AUIPE, M.3.2.
 19. The report of the Social Commission mentioned the 1942 Inter-allied Conference of Educational Experts in London, England, the 1942 Eighth Pan-American Child Congress in Washington, the efforts of the United States Children's Bureau on behalf of children in wartime, all of which had adopted children's charters, and the ILO resolution on the protection of children and young workers. "Documentation Relating to the 'Declaration of Geneva', Including Declarations and Charters Concerning Children's Rights Adopted by Various Bodies Subsequent to 1924," PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888, pp. 1-6. (The memorandum seems to have been prepared by the Home Office, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72761.)
 20. UISE, "The Déclaration générale and the United Nations," AUIPE, M.3.2.; IUCW, "Notes on the adoption of a charter of the rights of the child by the United Nations," January 1949, 3p., AUIPE, M.3.2.
 21. UIPE, lettre circulaire, undated, AUIPE, M.3.2.; IUCW, "The Declaration of Geneva and the United Nations (Summary of the information Conference held at IUCW office on June 30, 1948),

- AUIPE, M.3.2. The IUCW asked for the support of many organizations. Mildred Fairchild to George Thélin, 20 October 1948, and "Déclaration des droits de l'enfant. M. Thélin. Documents concernant la révision de celle de 1924 (dite de Genève 1948) et documents aboutissant à celle des Nations Unies 1949-1951," both in AUIPE, M.3.2. The IUCW was present at the meeting of the World Health Organization (WHO) discussing the Declaration, on November 1st 1948 ("Notes sur la discussion concernant la 'Déclaration de Genève'," Manuscript, 2 November 1948, 1p., AUIPE, M.3.2.).
22. IUCW, "Notes on the adoption of a charter of the rights of the child by the United Nations," January 1949, AUIPE, M.3.2. Manuscript notes, 26 October 1948, AUIPE, M.3.2. Circular letter, undated, AUIPE, M.3.2.
 23. Minutes, 16 July 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329(U4626). See also, manuscript notes by Harris, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289) where Harris refers to the Journal of ECOSOC, No. 25, pp. 367, 382; Fuller to Hampshire, 11 July 1946, PRO, FO 371, Volume 57329 (U5289); Howard Smith for P.H. Gore-Booth to Miss Wall, 19 March 1947, PRO, FO 371, Volume 67486.
 24. Lady Petrie, UK delegate, UN, General Assembly, 14th session, Official Records, Third Committee, 907th Meeting, 27 September 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 907, p. 7.
 25. "If the declaration were brought up it would no doubt be passed with acclamation even by countries who had little concern for child welfare." S.W. Harris to Howard Smith, 2 April 1947, FO 371, Volume 67486.
 26. Minutes, H.K. Matthews, 14 October 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888.
 27. Minute by B. Salt, 14 October 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888.
 28. Minute by F.B.A. Rundall, 18 October 1948, PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888.
 29. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child*, p. 162; *Canada and the United Nations, 1959*, pp. 34-35.
 30. ECOSOC, Supplement #8, pp. 31-33.
 31. "Projet de déclaration des droits de l'enfant," Memorandum du Secrétariat général, UN, ECOSOC, E/1849, #309 c(xi), p. 39, AUIPE, M.4.1., p. 4.
 32. "Projet de déclaration des droits de l'enfant," Memorandum du

- Secrétariat général, UN, ECOSOC, E/1849, #309 c(xi), p. 39, AUIPE, M.4.1. The vote was 13 against 0 with three abstentions (UN, E/CN.4/512, dans AUIPE, M.4.1.); see also, E/AC.7/SR.125 to 128 and E/SR.387, in E/CN.4/512, p. 5, deposited in AUIPE, M.4.1.
33. At its 1951 session, the HRC did not consider the Declaration, allegedly because of the pressure of work. See Veerman, *The Rights of the Child*, pp. 162-63; UN, CHR, Report of the Twelfth Session, 5-29 March 1956, Supplement No. 3, New York, in AUIPE, M.4.1.
 34. Philip Alston, "The Commission on Human Rights," in his edited collection, *The Best Interest of the Child* (Oxford, 1994), p. 132.
 35. Alston, "The Commission on Human Rights," p. 129.
 36. Greg Donaghy, ed., *Documents on Canadian External Relations (DCER), Volume 16: 1950* (Ottawa, 1995), p. 561. On the values of Canadian civil servants, see Barry Ferguson and Doug Oworm, "Social Scientists and Public Policy from the 1920s Through World War II," in J.L. Granatstein et al. eds., *Twentieth Century Canada: A Reader* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 324-352 and Allan Irving, "Canadian Fabians: The Work and Thought of Harry Cassidy and Leonard Marsh," *Canadian Journal of Social Work Education*, Volume 7, No. 1 (1981), pp. 7-28.
 37. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 16*, p. 566. To participate in the work of the UN's various committees, Canada wanted experts acting as individuals. In contrast, the USSR wanted experts to serve as government representatives. In the end, experts were endorsed by governments, as a compromise with the USSR. See Don Page, ed., *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 12: 1946* (Ottawa, 1977), pp. 891-92 and Norman Hillmer and Don Page, eds., *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 13: 1947* (Ottawa, 1993), p. 725.
 38. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, pp. 891-92 and pp. 902-06 respectively.
 39. Hector Mackenzie ed., *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 14: 1948* (Ottawa, 1994), pp. 337-39 and Hector Mackenzie ed., *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 15: 1949*, pp. 400-02. Technical assistance in economic development was another favoured sector of original activity.
 40. I have discussed these promises in "Reconstruction Politics, the Canadian Welfare State and the Ambiguity of Children's Rights, 1940-50," in Greg Donaghy, ed. *Uncertain Horizons: Canadians and*

- Their World in 1945* (Ottawa, 1996), pp. 26-283, reprinted in Ed Montigny and Lori Chambers, eds., *Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Family History* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 135-56.
41. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, p. 350. On this point, the department had the approval of the Special Joint Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.
 42. Mackenzie, *DCER, Volume 14*, pp. 351-52. See also John Humphrey, "The Magna Carta of the World," in Clyde Sanger, ed., *Canadians and the United Nations* (Ottawa, 1988), pp. 19, 23. Canadians also cited the problems such a declaration would create in a federation where jurisdiction over matters of human rights did not belong to the central government exclusively (especially in social and economic matters), the length of the document, and the problems of implementing it. See *DCER, Volume 14*, p. 359. In the end, Canada voted for the Declaration, anxious not to be part of the group of abstainers, which included South Africa, Honduras, Saudi Arabia, and the Soviet bloc. In voting for the Declaration, it reserved the rights of the provinces.
 43. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, p. 910.
 44. *Canada and the United Nations, 1954-55*, p. 35.
 45. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, pp. 936-37. The same apprehension imposed limits on sending experts to New York: too many would give the impression that the government had too much money. *Ibid*, p. 913. Similarly, ECOSOC's idea of establishing "information groups or local human rights committees" was received with little enthusiasm. See Hillmer and Page, *DCER, Volume 13*, pp. 722-23.
 46. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 16*, p. 564.
 47. Hillmer and Page, *DCER, Volume 13*, p. 712.
 48. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, p. 888. However, as his marginal notes indicate, Hume Wrong, the associate under-secretary of state for external affairs, did not wish to oppose the USSR so visibly in ECOSOC.
 49. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, p. 887.
 50. Antonio Casese, "The General Assembly: Historical Perspectives, 1945-1989," in Alston, ed., *The United Nations and Human Rights*, pp. 32, 26.
 51. Greg Donaghy, ed., *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 17: 1951* (Ottawa, 1997), p. 402.
 52. Page, *DCER, Volume 12*, p. 887, 910. Their disagreement extended to debates on the obligatory nature of the law according to British

- legal traditions.
53. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 17*, p. 391.
 54. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 17*, pp. 386-87.
 55. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 17*, p. 406.
 56. *Canada and the United Nations, 1954-55*, pp. 46-48.
 57. *Canada and the United Nations, 1956-57*, pp. 66-69.
 58. *Canada and the United Nations, 1954-55*, p. 51.
 59. *Canada and the United Nations, 1957*, pp. 41-42.
 60. UN, ECOSOC, E/CN.4/746, 10 April 1957; see also, Comments of Governments, UN, HRC, E/CN.4/780, 12 January 1959, 22 p.
 61. UN, CHR, *Report of the Twelfth Session*, 5-29 March 1956, Supplement No. 3, New York, p. 16.
 62. UN, Press Services, SOC/2591, 30 March 1959, in AUIPE, M.4.3.
 63. "For the World's Children," *New York Times*, 18 October 1959, found in AUIPE, M.4.5.
 64. UN, HRC, E/CN.4/SR 636, 6 April 1959, morning, p. 9.
 65. Interestingly, Cold War tensions surrounding the aims of the World Health Organization led to the creation of UNICEF. See Maggie Black, *The Children and the Nations: The Story of UNICEF* (New York, 1986).
 66. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 16*, pp. 552-53.
 67. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 16*, p. 567, 574-75, 592-93 and 601-02. By 1953, the "Canadian public" had contributed \$1,500,000 to the "popular" fund. See Donald Barry, ed., *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 19: 1953* (Ottawa, 1991), p. 516.
 68. Donaghy, *DCER, Volume 16*, p. 564. In 1950, the General Assembly adopted a long-term plan for children at the "instigation of the social commission." (Mildred Fairchild Woodbury, "The Needs of Children in the World," *RICWR*, Vol. X, No. 2 (1956): 70-71). The mandate of the organization was extended until 1953, when UNICEF was made a permanent UN agency.
 69. Frieda Miller to Miss Moser, 2 September 1959, AUIPE, M.4.4. Miller had also talked with the USSR's woman delegate to the Social Committee of the General Assembly. F. Miller, Report of the work of the committee III on the Declaration of the rights of the child, 5 November 1959, AUIPE, M.4.5.
 70. Romanian delegate, UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 909th Meeting, 28 September 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 909, pp. 15-18.

71. Mildred Fairchild Woodbury, "The Needs of Children in the World," *RICWR*, Vol. X, No. 2 (1956): 72. [AUIPE] For a while, after the creation of UNICEF, the reasons for the existence of a private international organization such as the IUCW were questioned ("Rôle de l'UIPE," 2 pages, undated, AUIPE, M.3.1., "UISE. Déclaration des Droits de l'enfant").
72. UISE, "La Déclaration des droits de Genève et les Nations Unies," 5p., AUIPE, M.3.2.
73. UIPE, 27^e session du Conseil exécutif, *Commission du programme*, 10-11 juillet 1958, La Haye, pp. 3, AUIPE, M.4.2., "Déclaration des droits de l'enfant des Nations Unies. Correspondance avec les organisations membres et avec les Nations Unies en 1958, 59. Documents divers"; Mrs. J.-M. Small, Deputy General Secretary, to Mr. John Humphrey, 13 August 1958; the efforts of the Peruvian, Belgium, Finnish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, Greek, Spanish, and Japanese branches of the IUCW are all recorded in AUIPE, M.4.2.
74. "Conversation of J.-M. Small with Miss Henderson," 8 August 1958, typed, 3 pages, AUIPE, M.4.2.
75. This is also true of the division into physical, emotional, and educational features proposed by the IUCW, and found in principles five, six, and seven of the 1959 Declaration. See Mrs. J.-M. Small, Deputy General Secretary, to Mr. John Humphrey, 13 August 1958, AUIPE, M.4.2.
76. See, for instance, the French position in UN, HRC, *Provisional Summary Record*, 13th Session, 9 April 1957, Morning Session, pp. 8-9.
77. Mrs. J.-M. Small, Deputy General Secretary, to Mr. John Humphrey, 13 August 1958, AUIPE, M.4.2.
78. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child*, p. 171.
79. Principle six warned against separating mother and child; principle four insisted on maternal prenatal and postnatal care, concerns absent from the 1924 Declaration. See also the French delegate, UN, HRC, E/CN.4/SR 634, 3 April 1959, morning, p. 12.
80. F. Miller, Report of the work of the committee III on the Declaration of the rights of the child, 5 November 1959, AUIPE, M.4.5.
81. Principle seven. See also, the recommendation of UNESCO in 1950 evoked by the Romanian delegate in UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 922th Meeting, 12 October 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 922, pp. 79.

82. UN, General Assembly, 14th session, Official Records, Third Committee, 918th Meeting, 7 October 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 918, pp. 57 and after.
83. Quoted in Lawrence J. LeBlanc, *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Lincoln, 1995), p. 290. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 itself was first addressed to "peoples of the united nations." It may be that by 1959, the language surrounding the state had become more polarized.
84. See, for instance, Mr. Mikhalilenko, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in UN, HRC, *Provisional Summary Record*, 13th Session, 8 April 1957, Morning Session, roneotyped, p. 5; Mrs. Wasilowska, Poland, 9 April 1957, morning, p. 6; see also the comments of the USSR government in Comments of Governments, UN, HRC, E/CN.4/780/Add.1, 29 January 1959, AUIPE, M.4.3. Indeed, communist governments repeatedly deplored the fact that the document could not be a convention.
85. UN, HRC, E/CN.4/SR 634, 3 April 1959, morning, p. 8.
86. F. Miller, Report of the work of the committee III on the Declaration of the rights of the child, 5 November 1959, AUIPE, M.4.5. Similarly, one member of the French government wrote to an IUCW official of his country that "par-dessus la tête des enfants, dont on déclare qu'on veut les protéger, se déroulent en réalité des combats politiques où certains se servent des enfants. C'est pourquoi je porte beaucoup d'intérêt et d'attention à ceux qui comme vous... donnent leur temps à la protection de l'enfance pour elle-même." René Cassin, Vice-président du Conseil d'État, à Jean Chazal, Union internationale de protection de l'enfance, 9 octobre 1958, AUIPE, M.4.2.
87. On the United States, see Frieda S. Miller to Mr. Dan Mulock Houwer, 27 January 1959, AUIPE, M.4.2; on Australia, Greece, Portugal, see Comments of Governments, UN, HRC, E/CN.4/780, 12 January 1959, AUIPE, "Déclaration des droits de l'enfant des Nations Unies. 15e, 16e session de la Commission des droits de l'homme, 1959, 1960, Ecosoc, juillet 1959," M.4.3. On the Dutch government, see UN, HRC, E/CN.4/780/Add. 2, 19 March 1959, AUIPE, M.4.3., pp. 1-2. On the Canadian government, see Arlene Holt, UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 918th Meeting, 7 October 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 918, pp. 57 and after.

88. "Documentation Relating to the 'Declaration of Geneva', Including Declarations and Charters Concerning Children's Rights Adopted by Various Bodies Subsequent to 1924," PRO, FO 371, Volume 72888, p. 4. The Secretariat referred to the ILO, not only for social security, but as a necessity for the eradication of child labour.
89. Principle seven.
90. Principle six.
91. UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 909th Meeting, 28 September 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 909, pp. 15-18.
92. *Osservatore Romano*, 31 October 1948, quoted by ECOSOC, CHR, 13th Session, Communication from the International Catholic Child Bureau, E/CN.4/NGO/72, p. 3.
93. UN, HRC, 8 April 1957, 13th Session, Provisional Summary Record, Afternoon, roneotypes, pp. 5-6.
94. F. Miller, Report of the work of the committee III on the Declaration of the rights of the child, 5 November 1959, AUIPE, M.4.5. UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 911th Meeting, 30 September 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 911. The Canadian delegates intervened on matters of abortion to support a compromise proposed by the Philippines. Detailed documentation on the Canadian position is available in the Records of the Department of External Affairs, Record Group 25, National Archives of Canada. UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 916th Meeting, 6 October 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 916, pp. 45 and after.
95. UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 919th Meeting, 8 October 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 919, pp. 63 and after. See also Principle six of the 1959 Declaration.
96. Laos, 28 August 1957, Comments of Governments, UN, HRC, E/CN.4/780, 12 January 1959, AUIPE, M.4.3. See also, the comments of Pakistan, 7 October 1958, in the same document. Mrs. Addison of Ghana, UN, General Assembly, 14th Session, Official Records, Third Committee, 921th Meeting, 9 October 1959, A/C.3/Sr. 921.
97. Gilbert Murray, *From the League to the United Nations* (Oxford, 1948), p. 163.
98. Hillmer and Page, *DCER, Volume 13*, p. 713.