

ATLANTIC



REPORT

CONGRESS

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ATLANTIC CONGRESS

REPORT

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FOREWORD

The proposal to hold an Atlantic Congress in 1959 was first made at the Third Annual Conference of NATO Parliamentarians at NATO Headquarters in Paris in November 1957. In 1958, meetings took place between the Bureau of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference and a number of distinguished private citizens, resulting in the establishment of National Committees for the Congress in each of the 15 member countries of the Alliance. When the Fourth NATO Parliamentarians' Conference met in November 1958, Heads of Governments of 11 of the NATO countries had agreed to be patrons and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II had graciously consented to open the Congress in London's Westminster Hall.

The Bureau and the National Committees were guided by certain clear principles, which were unanimously agreed from the outset:—

First, that the success of the Congress would depend on the merit and relevancy of its theme and of the subjects discussed by its committees; on the calibre of the participants; and on the quality of the preparatory work.

Second, although the Congress was being initiated and organised by the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, it should be neither a "NATO Congress" nor a Congress on the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, but that it should study the whole complex of both problems and prospects facing the NATO countries, inside and outside the geographical limits of the North Atlantic Treaty. In effect, it should be outward-looking in terms of geography, forward-looking in terms of time.

Third, the Congress should consider the problems and prospects facing the NATO countries in their relations:—

- (a) with each other, within the area of the North Atlantic Treaty;
- (b) with the free and uncommitted world;
- (c) with the Communist bloc.

Fourth, the Congress should discuss, in particular, those subjects on which Governments would hesitate to act without, first, a display of influential public support such as the Congress might well provide. This consideration, amongst others, led the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference to decide, perhaps uniquely for a parliamentary body, that the Congress should consist of both Parliamentarians and private citizens. Thus, it was recommended that for both National committees and National delegations, parliamentary representation should be in a ratio of a maximum of one-third to two-thirds private citizens.

It was also proposed that the Congress should be on a large scale—similar to that of the Congress of Europe held in The Hague in 1948, and that it should include representatives of politics, industry, commerce, finance, labour, education and mass media—in short, represent the most influential sections of public opinion in the countries concerned.

In this way, the Congress would provide a unique opportunity of examining both the record of the first ten years of the NATO countries as members of an alliance and their prospects for "The Next Ten Years".

It was envisaged that the impact of the Congress would be directed at five main objectives:—

- (i) Governments and the North Atlantic Council ;
- (ii) Parliaments, through the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference and other appropriate channels;
- (iii) International organisations, whether governmental or non-governmental;
- (iv) Principal leaders and institutions of industry, commerce, finance, labour, education and mass media, and other sections of influential opinion;
- (v) Public opinion generally, first through the impact of the Congress during its five-day existence, and, secondly, through the effectiveness with which its recommendations were followed up.

The Congress has now taken place, the debates run their course. It is hoped that this Report, drawn as a record of its main proceedings and resolutions, will be the basic instrument for translating its words into action and order.

**DECLARATION
OF PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSALS
AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 10.**

I. PRINCIPLES

Six major principles have guided this Congress :

1. The NATO military alliance has, in its first ten years, preserved the peace of Europe, although the threat of aggression is still present.
2. Great changes have taken place in this decade that make essential increased co-operation among Atlantic nations in all fields.
3. No military alliance can endure unless supported by close political and economic co-operation.
4. The time is ripe for these nations to build an Atlantic community with responsibilities extending to military, political, economic, social and scientific fields.
5. The Atlantic nations are interdependent with the other nations of the free world. All these nations want peace and the preservation of their own conception of life. All have a common interest in the development of economic activity and social improvement throughout the world ; all people have a common stake and status in a free world.
6. The Atlantic community has a duty to help less developed countries to help themselves.

II. PROPOSALS

In order to apply these principles, the Congress has passed a number of important resolutions, attention being drawn particularly to the following :

A. Political

1. That there should be increased consultation and co-operation among member states. Consultation should become a habit, not an occasional exercise.
2. That there should be broader and more frequent consultation among Parliamentarians of the Atlantic countries, and that the governments should convene a special conference of leading citizens to examine exhaustively means of attaining greater unity, as recommended by the third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference.
3. That national governments should not take major decisions affecting NATO unity without previous consultation.
4. That the report of the " Three Wise Men " should be more fully implemented.

B. Military

1. That the forces forming the European shield should be brought as soon as possible up to the minimum strength laid down in the agreed strategic concept of NATO.
2. That governments should give continual attention to improving the military structure of NATO, and in particular should foster increasing interdependence throughout the military field.

C. Economic

1. That governments should promote the maximum economic growth in production, employment and living standards and should avoid restrictive economic measures, take all feasible actions to reduce tariff barriers and maintain monetary stability ; and, in view of the services rendered by O.E.E.C. and E.E.C. and those one might expect from any other form of effective multilateral association, they should work especially for an increase of the benefits of closer economic integration.
2. That consideration be given to the possibility of transforming O.E.E.C. into an O.A.E.C. in which all Atlantic countries would hold full membership.
3. That the Atlantic countries should undertake a massive and sustained effort to help the peoples of the less developed countries to achieve a rising standard of living together with individual freedom, human dignity and democratic institutions ; in this effort we must act not as outside patrons but as equal partners with them in a joint enterprise of freedom.

D. Cultural

1. That effective counter-measures be taken by NATO countries to combat Soviet ideological warfare and that there be set up an international unofficial free nations' organization for the dissemination of information to this end.
2. That a " Studies Centre for the Atlantic Community " be set up, to serve as a clearing house and intellectual focus.
3. That there should be further integration of scientific research and in particular of pure research.
4. That informational and educational activities should be strengthened and broadened in order to bring the significance of the Atlantic Community with its spiritual and moral content more deeply into the hearts and minds of the peoples of the world.

CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

The formal opening of the Atlantic Congress on June 5 was by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II in Westminster Hall. The impressive ceremony was memorable for the traditional dignity associated with solemn and important State occasions in Britain. Her Majesty, accompanied by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, was heralded by State Trumpeters of the Royal Horse Guards who played a fanfare specially composed for the occasion by Sir William Walton. Forty-one leading Congress delegates and guests were presented to the Queen. After Her Majesty's opening speech of welcome, there were short addresses by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan and by Mr. Fens, President of the Congress.

Plenary Sessions

The six Plenary Sessions of the Congress were held in Church House, Westminster. At the opening Plenary Session on the afternoon of June 5, there were addresses by the following guest speakers: the Archbishop of York (Chairman: M I. M. Lombardo, President, Italian Atlantic Committee); Dr. J. M. A. H. Luns, Chairman, North Atlantic Council (Chairman: Senator Estes Kefauver); and Mr. J. F. Cahan, Deputy Secretary-General, O.E.E.C. (Chairman: M Paul Van Zeeland, former Prime Minister of Belgium).

At the Plenary Session on June 6, the guest speakers were: Admiral Jerauld Wright, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic and General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (Chairman: Mr. J. J. Fens); Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of the Howard University, Washington D.C. (Chairman: The Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee) and Mr. J. Oldenbroek, Secretary General of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Chairman: M Pierre Schneider).

The distinguished guest speakers, excluding Admiral Wright and General Norstad, who addressed the first Plenary Sessions, chose as their subjects the five main themes of the Congress so that delegates could have the benefit of hearing their views before adjourning to discuss specific subjects in their respective sub-committees.

Plenary Sessions were held in the afternoon of June 8 and in the morning and afternoon of June 9. On the latter day a special Plenary Session under the Chairmanship of H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands met in the evening to hear guest speeches by the Hon. Lewis Douglas (Chairman of the U.S. National Committee for the Congress), M Paul-Henri Spaak (Secretary-General of NATO), Mr. Halvard Lange (Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs), the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan (Prime Minister), the Rt. Hon. H. T. N. Gaitskell (Leader of the Opposition) and Mr. J. J. Fens.

The final Plenary Session to hear the Report of the Declaration Committee was held on June 10.

Committees and Sub-Committees

The five main Congress Committees were:—

- (A) Atlantic Spiritual and Cultural Committee.
- (B) Atlantic Political Committee.
- (C) Atlantic Economic Committee.
- (D) Free World Committee.
- (E) Communist Bloc Committee.

Four of these (A, B, D and E) had three sub-committees each; C had four sub-committees. There were, therefore, excluding the Preparatory Committee, 59 official positions in the Congress, including the five distinguished guest speakers on the theme of each of the five main committees, five distinguished personalities to act as Chairmen for the distinguished guest speakers, 15 Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the committees and 34 Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the sub-committees. (See appendices).

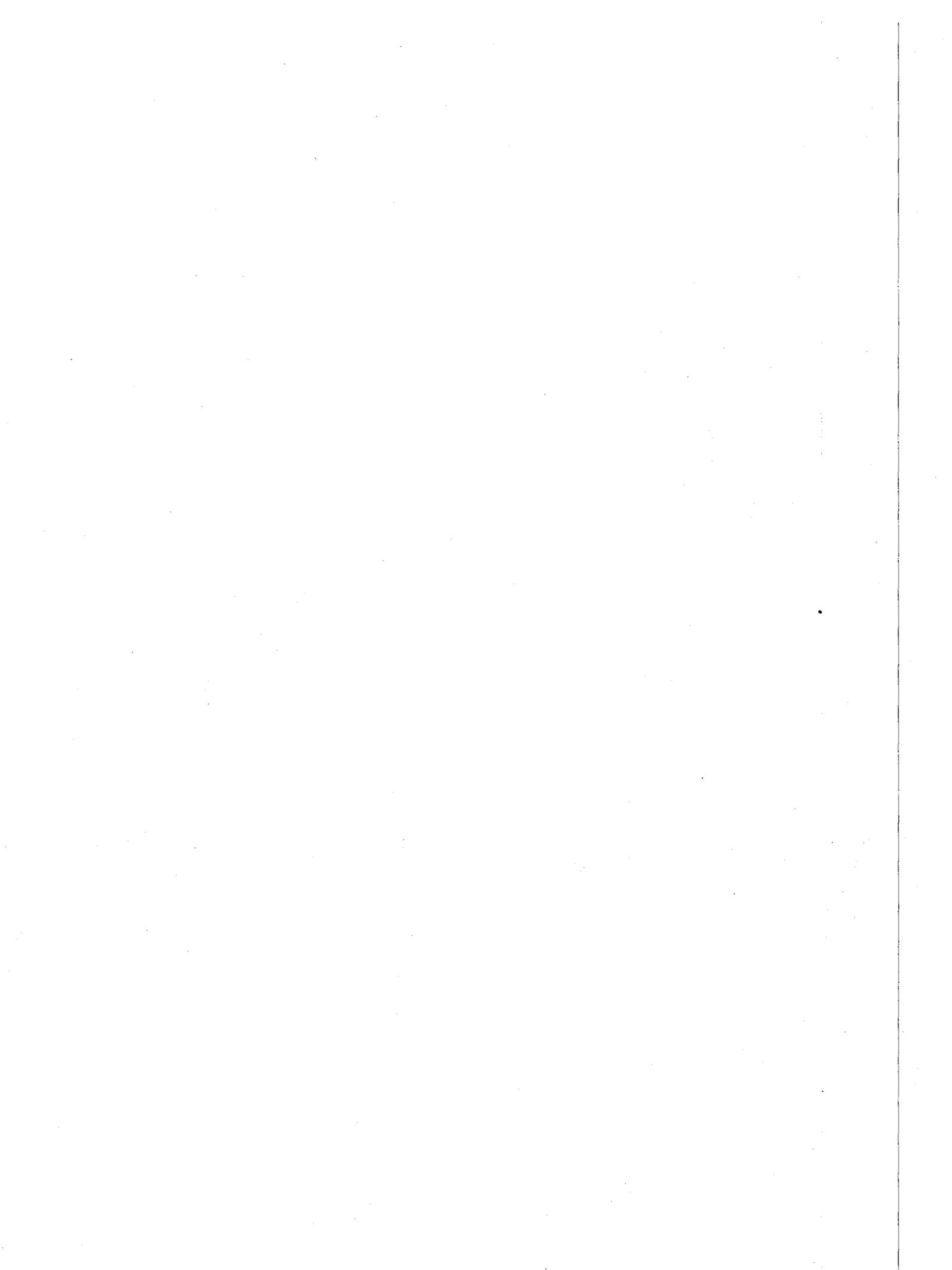
The five main committees and their sub-committees held their meetings at five hotels. Their final reports were submitted for discussion at the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions on June 9.

Official Functions

After the opening ceremony on June 5, delegates and other guests were received by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Rt. Hon. W. S. Morrison, in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords.

On the evening of the same day there was a reception by the Minister of State, the Rt. Hon. David Ormsby Gore (in the absence of the British Foreign Secretary who was at the Geneva Conference) on behalf of the British Government, at Lancaster House.

On June 8 the Lord Mayor, on behalf of the Corporation of the City of London, received delegates and other guests at Guildhall.



ADDRESS

by HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II

AT THE OPENING CEREMONY IN WESTMINSTER HALL

These old walls have witnessed innumerable stirring events in our national history. Today they are sheltering a meeting which has a significance far beyond the boundaries of any one State. I welcome here today the representatives of the countries who are bound together in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is a particular pleasure for me to recall that I have been able to visit so many of your countries in recent years.

The Atlantic Community is an alliance of like-minded peoples and it is therefore something much more profound than a formal agreement between Governments and leaders. The Atlantic Community is the first real effort to give practical form to a growing desire of the peoples of this part of the world to work more closely together for their mutual security and benefit.

It is in the light of this new concept that I would ask you to frame your ideas and your resolutions. It is the ordinary people of this Atlantic Community who want a clear lead. There is an unmistakable longing among peaceloving people of the world to create a happier and an easier international atmosphere, but there is no simple guide to point the way.

The success of this congress, therefore, will depend on the simplicity of its recommendations and the clarity of its ideas.

You start your work here with two great advantages, for the Atlantic Community shares a common interest in security and progress, and a common European heritage. The many elements which make up this

heritage are too complex to describe and too subtle to define. We cannot list them, but we know them when we meet them. However, there are two which have long been the main principles of enlightened European thought and action: respect for the freedom of the individual, for the dignity of human nature and a simple faith in God. These two principles show more clearly than anything else that the things which divide us are very small and unimportant compared to the things which unite us.

These two principles also demonstrate to our fellow members of the Commonwealth and to all our friends throughout the world that the Atlantic Community is not an exclusive club, but itself belongs to that wider brotherhood which comprises all men of goodwill.

My hope is that, when you disperse, the peoples of the Atlantic Community will be one step nearer to a practical system of co-operation. And when an issue divides us—be it great or small, be it a matter for Governments or technicians or just the play of public opinion—I hope that any who are disposed to quarrel may think twice, and may remember that our real aims are the same and make a determined attempt to reconcile our differences.

This congress already bears the seeds of success, and for this credit is due to those who have organized this meeting and have brought such a wide and representative gathering together in these historic surroundings.

I am very glad to open the Atlantic Congress today, for I believe you can achieve great things for all mankind.

ADDRESS

by THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, THE RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN
AT THE OPENING CEREMONY.

It falls to me—and this is a very great privilege—to offer to Your Majesty in the name of this distinguished and representative gathering our sincere thanks for Your Majesty's gracious presence here and for your wise and inspiring words of welcome.

Your Majesty is shortly to set out on a great journey across the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts and this means that your many engagements crowd in upon you with more than usual pressure making heavy claims upon your time and strength and we are therefore doubly grateful that you should have found it possible to do us this honour today.

In Your Majesty's speech you have rightly laid stress upon the links that bind together the members of the Atlantic community. These ties of friendship, of common inheritance and joint interests are strong indeed. They are based upon the long history of civilization in the old world and in the new.

The Congress of NATO now, today, celebrates the tenth anniversary of our life—this is a very short period in human affairs, but the roots go very far back and I hope I may be allowed to say without impropriety that Your Majesty symbolizes in a sense the special qualities and traditions by which the countries of the Atlantic community are inspired.

Your Dominions, Madam, straddle the Atlantic and in the long history of service of Your Royal House you personify the ideals of our Atlantic community. There is something, I think, characteristic of our alliance in the organization of this Congress. As everyone knows in this audience, it has not been organized by governments, it has organized itself. It is due to the work of Parliamentarians of the

different countries and of the various national committees. It is a true backbench affair. Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom have, of course, always favoured the project and we have given what help we could to make it a success. For all that, the Congress is the spontaneous expression of private individuals and private societies. In addition to all the work that you will do we believe it will be of the greatest value and importance. I venture to say—express the hope—that all our visitors will enjoy themselves and that their stay in London will be interesting and agreeable. There is one thought that I would venture to leave with you, trite but true. Here are represented in this hall almost every kind of activity—members of different parliaments, ministers, administrators, trade unionists, lawyers, teachers, scholars.

It would not be possible and indeed, it would not be right, that we should all think the same on the problems which confront us. But this privilege we do share, the right to express our own views without fear or favour and thus whatever may be the differences—and even substantial differences—we have in common, as your Majesty reminded us, fundamental agreements on the eternal verities of civilized life, the dignity of man, the need for tolerance, variety and above all for human freedom. And if we do not work as, or have the massive strength of the monolith, we have what history has often shown to be a still greater power of survival, the resistance to stress and strain of a living and adaptable organism.

I am proud to be able to add my tribute and to express on behalf of my colleagues and myself our thanks to Your Majesty for opening our Conference and to give my best wishes for the success of the Congress.

ADDRESS

by Mr. J. J. FENS, PRESIDENT OF THE ATLANTIC CONGRESS

AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 5.

May I invite you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to rise from your seats.

In His infinite wisdom the Lord of life and death has called to a better life and to the eternal peace his true servant John Foster Dulles, the late American Secretary of State. John Foster Dulles has laid down the heavy burden of life, a life devoted to the ideals for which the free world stands, to the ideals of Atlantic co-operation, to the safeguarding of the highest values, which make life worthwhile: peace, freedom and justice. He has worked until the last hour, he has fought as a "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche" against the threat of world-communism. As the President of the United States of America stated: "John Foster Dulles lived courageously and died courageously". May his courage and steadfastness in defence of our ideals inspire us during our coming discussions.

I think that the reasons which have convinced the Political Committee and finally the full Assembly of Delegates to the Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in Paris in November 1957 that an Atlantic Congress should be held in 1959 are obvious.

In the international relations of the period after World War II we have seen some major trends which, behind the almost weekly crises which have made the headlines, have given shape to international affairs and specifically to the position of the West *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world. We have witnessed the awakening of Africa and Asia which was expressed in the growth of nationalism and the quest for independence and self-government; we have witnessed the continuing brutal advance of Soviet-Russia, so much so that the Soviet Union together with other Communist countries became the pace-maker in world affairs.

In response to these developments the West closed its ranks—at least in terms of military co-operation. But still greater unity is required between the countries of the West, both among themselves and in their relation with the rest of the world.

We have now, 14 years after the war and 10 years after the signing of the NATO Treaty, a situation where it is the moral responsibility of the Western nations to achieve unity of purpose and unity of

action both in the interests of self-preservation and in the cause of world peace and the raising of standards of living throughout the world.

I think we should state very clearly that it is the challenge of today to forsake the luxury of divergencies such as have arisen between member countries of NATO over the last few years—we can call them family disputes, but family disputes can become very dangerous. It is the challenge of today to formulate a positive policy to achieve unity of purpose and unity of action. An all-out effort by and a general mobilisation of all sections of our national communities are required. The effort required is comparable to, if not greater than that required to win a war. The considerations of the major issues on the world scene since the war and of the deficiencies of the West's reactions to these issues have brought the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference to recognise that the fullest possible advantage should be taken of 1959—the tenth anniversary year of the North Atlantic Treaty—not merely to commemorate the significance of the Treaty but also to take stock of the position of the West as a whole, more particularly to examine the prospects in terms of both problems and of potentialities of the countries of the Atlantic Community in the next ten years.

I think that the consideration of the situation and the review of the past ten years, which I had the honour to put forward to you are firm arguments indeed to hold this Atlantic Congress.

Some of you have been good enough to ask me what I think about the prospects for the success of our Congress. I must confess that I feel rather embarrassed by this question. Not being a prophet, but being both an optimist and a realist, it seems to me that, if its success depended only on the efforts put into the preparatory work and the support we have been given by the national committees and international associations (to whom I would like to pay grateful tribute), the Congress would indeed be the event of the twentieth century.

The success of the Congress does not depend only on the preparatory work, but above all on the work to be done here. Our Committees will submit resolutions, and the Congress Declaration Committee will

put forward a final Declaration. But the contents of the resolutions and of this Final Declaration should be so immediately relevant to the problems of today and tomorrow as to arouse the interest of the governments, and provide the basis for co-operation in the spiritual, cultural, economic, social and military spheres.

We must not forget that these are the aims of our Congress. Our governments will be unable to get away from an over-nationalist approach to political, economic, social and military problems unless they

can be assured of at least a large measure of influential support.

I am convinced that the co-operation to which I have referred can exert a vital influence on relations between the NATO countries, and relations between the Atlantic Community and Africa, Asia and the Communist bloc.

This Atlantic co-operation will ensure future peace and happiness for our children. This is our duty and our responsibility.

ADDRESS

by HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 5.

The nations included within the Atlantic community contain a variety of political systems—republican, monarchical, presidential, a variety of economic ways of life from the agricultural to the highly industrialized, and a variety of kinds of culture from those which owe much to the sense of tradition in an ancient country to those which owe no less to the spirit of frontier pioneering in a new continent. What spiritual values do these nations share? Diffused among them all are three outstanding things, a care for democracy, a care for freedom and a recognition that Christianity has played a great part in the moulding of our civilization. But democracy, freedom, Christianity are not easy concepts; and we have to ask how far each of them describes the spiritual values on which we, as a community, stand.

Democracy has always involved two great principles:

- (1) the rule of law in such a way that every citizen can know it and appeal to it, with no arbitrary administration to thwart his access to it;
- (2) the power of the majority of the citizens to decide what the laws shall be and how the State shall be administered.

But do these principles themselves provide our spiritual values? It was the naïve assumption that they could do so which marked the democratic ideology which sprang from the French revolution. Man was thought to possess within himself the power to advance to brotherhood, to prosperity and to moral perfection if only power could be put into the hands of the majority of citizens. This naïve deification of democracy as the rule of the majority has been damaged beyond repair by the facts of history. It has been seen that majorities can be ruled by their own passions and appetites and can so produce totalitarian systems from within themselves. It has been seen that majorities can be insensitive to the rights of minorities to consideration. It has been seen that economic forces are so able to interfere with human liberties, so that democratic civilization has witnessed the contrast on the one hand of *laissez-faire* with many ensuing sufferings to the poor, and on the other hand state socialism, which secures certain liberties by curtailing others. So while the principles of the rule of law and the rule of majorities remain, it is impossible to say that they are the source or the sufficient embodiment of our spiritual values. Rather do these great

principles of democracy serve spiritual ends only if those who work them are filled with a concern for something greater than these principles—the freedom of the individual in his choices, his actions and his beliefs. We know then that democracy fulfils its role only when it is impregnated through and through with this sense of the worth of the individual man, a worth supreme and sacred whereby even the rule of law and the rule of the majority are tested and judged.

It follows then that, for the nations of the Atlantic community, politics do not themselves provide our spiritual values. We cherish our political traditions, we believe them to be spiritually significant, but we do not deify them. Indeed the very contrast and conflict between some of the political traditions amongst ourselves prevents us from deifying them and therein is one of the secrets of our culture. In our hearts we know that the State owes allegiance to something greater and higher than itself, and that the State cannot absorb all its citizens' minds and emotions. In our hearts we know that to call man a political animal is to give a very incomplete description of him. All this goes with our reverence for man as possessing in himself a worth going far beyond this world: it goes also with the fact that while our tradition owes something to the secularist "liberty, equality, fraternity" of the late eighteenth century, and something to the social contract theory of Hobbes, it owes far more to the far older convictions drawn from the Christian tradition that both man's worth and the nature of law are connected with a divine law for man rooted in the belief that his perfect freedom lies in the obedience to God.

Freedom is, even more than democracy, the familiar description of our spiritual ideal. As a community we have long loved freedom and long found that the pursuit of it is beset by frustrations and contradictions; just now we are conscious of developments within our civilization which greatly threaten freedom.

- (1) The development of technological organization on a vast scale can tend to put power into the hands of the few experts.
- (2) The nature of modern heavy industry can lead to a sort of depersonalizing process through the nature of a man's daily work giving personal expression so little chance.

(3) The freedom in modes of propaganda which arises from free discussion and exchange of thought, can admit methods of creating opinion which damage the free action of the mind in thinking and deciding. I think for instance of the use of depth psychology in the propagation of opinions.

(4) In the field of education, personality may be thwarted and narrowed instead of having its many powers evoked and taught to be creative. I believe that both the arts and the sciences can be the means of evoking the powers of personality and we need not have a quarrel between those two traditions. Yet it is possible for education to be so specialized, so concentrated upon professional ends and upon one-track ways to knowledge that while the minds of the young become stuffed, imagination and the recognition that there are many more ways of knowledge than one are crowded out and when that happens freedom can be thwarted.

So then, the utmost vigilance alone will conserve within our civilization that personal freedom which has been its salt and savour. Our very concern about this, when once we are alive to the dangers, brings home to us again that the worth of the individual man is amongst our dearest spiritual values.

But we have to ask: worth for what? Plainly we do not mean worth to the State: for the State is not an ultimate and the tragic dilemma in Sophocles' *Antigone* has always rung a bell in our minds. Equally we do not mean the individual man's worth just as autonomous and self-sufficient: we have seen shattering disillusionment overtake the secularist idea that you have only to remove every restraint from a man or from a majority and they will then find their own way to wisdom and brotherhood. No, certain facts of history demand recognition if we are to understand our own civilisation: and the reverence for man as having an eternal worth came down to our culture hand in hand with the Christian conviction that man is created in the image of God, to enjoy fellowship with his creator for ever, and that man's true freedom is in embracing the use of his faculties in this world and on another self-realisation in obedience to eternal divine I am: *cui servira regnare*. On the one hand, the classical humanism of Greece with its "many things are wonderful and nothing is more wonderful than

man", and on the other hand the Biblical, Judeo-Christian faith in man's frailty with its "I am that I am" coalesced and it is from this coalescence that the particular character and quality of our concern for freedom has been handed down to us.

Spiritual values are inevitably diffused with different degrees of intensity throughout any civilization. There are parts of our culture wherein these values are cherished with conscious and articulate religious belief. There are parts of our culture where they are cherished with simply the awareness of their human applications—in education or social service or art or literature or politics. There are parts where their existence is made precarious by contemporary tendencies. There are parts where superficial parodies of these values have gained currency so we need to see once again the positive glories of the democratic ideal, and yet to refrain from deifying it knowing that it points to a worth beyond itself. We need to see once again that liberty is an ambiguous concept and to rediscover that meaning of liberty which is valid and consistent. We need to look often to the rock where we were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence we were digged. Our worst error can be to treat as ultimate some transient phase or expression of our culture rather than the eternal values upon which it stands and which lie beyond it.

Today the dangers to freedom come not only from the Communist bloc in the world. Dangers to freedom are, as I have suggested, present all the time in tendencies within our own western civilization, for freedom does not automatically take care of itself: it survives only through the constant and vigorous protection of it by those who care for it. Indeed it survives by propagating itself, by exporting itself to places where it is sorely needed. Freedom either grows creatively or else it declines. Nothing therefore matters more than that the nations of the West should give proof of their belief in freedom by coming vigorously to the aid of those parts of the world where freedom is frustrated by terrible poverty and distress. No moral or spiritual challenge seems to matter more than this. Freedom survives for those who will go to all lengths to be helping others to be free. The spiritual values of the Atlantic Community cannot survive by protection behind a rampart; they are to spend and be spent in reverence for mankind in the meeting of man's desperate contemporary need and in the worth of man's eternal being.

ADDRESS

by Dr. J. M. A. H. LUNS, NETHERLANDS FOREIGN MINISTER

AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 5.

In the first place I wish to thank you for the privilege I have been granted as Chairman of the Atlantic Council to address this important Congress. I do not need to assure you that the Council follows your activities with great interest and that the initiative you have taken in holding this Congress is greatly appreciated. For only if NATO is supported by the active interest of the Atlantic peoples will it remain the dynamic organization it now is and which it must continue to be in order to give our nations that measure of protection and security necessary not only to develop further what we have already achieved but also to enable others to share in it.

At this Congress I need not enlarge on the reasons why Atlantic unity today is as imperative from the point of view of political logic as it was 10 years ago. Atlantic unity, however, is not meant to mean a monolithic bloc controlled by the knout and speaking with one mouth from many heads : we believe in freedom of expression and the holding of different views while endeavouring to unite these views into a harmonious policy. It is understandable that the Kremlin takes a quite wrong view of this freedom of expression of ours and sees it as a sign of weakness. But each time when the Soviet leaders think to have made somewhere a breach in our common policy or sown discord among the Atlantic peoples and believe to have achieved a certain measure of success, the West's front closes, Western unity is restored and the resilience of the West proves once again to be considerably greater than Moscow had expected. The West's elastic way of reacting has confused and baffled Moscow more than once.

So now again after many months of lively political debate, we see a united West at the conference table in Geneva. I need hardly stress that, once negotiations have started, Western unity is vital to all of us. The conflicts between the communist and the free world are too serious and too dangerous to allow for Western divergences.

During the years that have passed since, in 1955, the great conferences were held at Geneva, these conflicts have deepened.

As you will remember, at the Geneva meetings of 1955 the Heads of Government laid down a number of directives for their Ministers of Foreign Affairs in

order to settle the German problem and the related problems of European security. When about three months later these directives were to be worked out by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Soviets rejected the previously agreed principle of free elections for German reunification, referring to this reunification as a matter for the Germans themselves to decide ; a point of view maintained ever since by them without any modification.

This Russian stand is of course based on their determination not to allow any solution of the German problem which would in any way jeopardize the communist gains in Eastern Germany. Free elections for the whole of Germany obviously would spell the end of the Eastern German satellite régime. The Soviet Union only accepts a solution of the German problem which ensures the continuance of the Communist régime in Eastern Germany and lays the foundations for the extension of Communist influence over Western Germany.

This policy initiated in 1955 has since been consistently and unflinchingly pursued. One of the main reasons of the artificial resuscitation of the Berlin issue on November 27th, 1958, was to force the West into some form of recognition of DDR and to further the reunification of Germany according to the Russian pattern.

Mr. Chairman, the present conference between the West and Russia in Geneva takes place against this background. Although we must hope for some results in Geneva it is a fact that the Soviet Union has entrenched itself more and more in the rigid and inflexible position it took in October, 1955. To this I must add that in the military field too, the Soviet Union's attitude is far from reassuring, of which quite a few remarks by their leaders threatening the West with annihilation bear witness. Furthermore the proposals advocated by the Soviet Government not only envisage the weakening of the West politically, but aim likewise at impairing Western defence.

For this purpose all sorts of so-called disengagement proposals are launched by the Soviets or their satellites. They all have in common that Western Germany would in one way or another, at least militarily, be detached from our Alliance. According to these plans Germany would have to be given a denuclearized

status. This means in fact the dismantling of the NATO defence system in Europe, since it would be extremely hazardous for the Anglo-American forces now stationed in Western Germany as part of the NATO shield to stay on when deprived of those armaments in view of the enormous Russian superiority in the field of conventional armaments. These forces would therefore be withdrawn from the area. An adequate defence of Western Europe would then be gravely jeopardized.

The concessions offered by the Russians on the other hand—a corresponding withdrawal of Russian forces behind the Polish-Russian frontier—are not at all commensurate with those on our side, as one look at the map clearly shows.

In addition to trading on the fear of the consequences of a nuclear war, disengagement is also recommended on the part of Soviet Russia for political reasons. It is argued that it is a dangerous situation that in the middle of Europe the communist and Atlantic forces are standing face to face. Therefore it would be much better to create a zone without any armed forces at all in order to reduce substantially the risks of an armed conflict. This is yet another instance of typically communist specious reasoning. The very existence of a clearly marked demarcation line in Europe, guarded on our side by the NATO shield, has so far deterred the Soviet Union from attempting to cross the frontier, and from using further blackmail and intimidation. This situation is a far better guarantee against the outbreak of a war by miscalculation than a military vacuum amidst unresolved political problems.

Does this mean that the West does not want to negotiate on a military and political arrangement in Europe? By no means, as is clearly demonstrated by the flexible, detailed and well-balanced plan which the West has recently submitted in Geneva.

It stands to reason that within the compass of this short speech I cannot enter into the details of this plan. Let me only point to the fundamentally sound idea underlying this plan, namely that the West is quite prepared to make concessions of a military nature, provided the Soviet Union is willing to cooperate in trying to solve the political issue which is lying at the root of the East-West tension in this part of the world: the division of Germany and especially the right of the German people to decide freely upon their own future.

There is therefore no foundation to the charge that the western attitude is rigid and that the West is not co-operative in trying to bring about a relaxation of tension in Europe. It is true that the West must, on pain of a further military weakening and the destruction of the NATO defence system in Europe, oppose any *separate* military disengagement. If, however, a gradual process of German reunification

in freedom and the solution of other European political problems could be agreed upon, certain military arrangements, even implying a certain element of disengagement, might well be made with the Soviet Union. Let us hope that the Soviet Union will eventually come to realize that her long-term interests are better served by the elimination of the existing political tension in Central Europe than by its continuation.

Until such time, and I am afraid that this will still be a long time, it is of the utmost importance that the Atlantic countries intensify their political co-operation as much as possible. Free debate and freedom of expression may be basic and valuable features of democracy, they only make sense in international politics if they are the preliminaries to and contribute towards the establishment of a well considered, determined and, above all, united policy.

Over the years, and especially after the recommendations of the Three Wise Men had been adopted, solid progress has been made towards closer political co-operation and consultation. The preparatory work is done by the Committee of Political Advisers or by special experts, who draft reports for the Ministerial meetings, on specific or regional subjects. At these Ministerial meetings, the Foreign Ministers make an appraisal of political progress of the alliance on the basis of the Secretary-General's report, which analyses the main political problems and reviews critically the way in which consultation has taken place, a sort of political "Annual Review."

It is obvious that the scope of political consultation in NATO has its limitations. On the one hand, the great powers have many commitments and responsibilities outside NATO, while on the other hand, the smaller countries united for better or for worse, in an Alliance with the great Powers, naturally wish to have at least an opportunity of influencing, to some extent, the foreign policy of their greater partners, especially when that foreign policy deals with problems important too for these smaller powers.

At the moment political consultation in NATO yields the best results whenever problems are discussed which are of immediate concern to the Alliance, such as the problems of disarmament, German reunification and European security.

However, let us bear in mind that the Soviet threat is a global one and must be met with global response and that it is not enough to be united in Europe and not to work in close harmony elsewhere.

If, as we all agree, it is to be our goal to create a strong alliance with a united policy as an answer to the challenge of our time, it stands to reason that possible disagreements among ourselves must be solved by constructive consultations. When speaking about disagreements among allies we should be able to quote the words of a certain author of a Handbook on Natural

History used when, discussing the subject of the life of snakes in Iceland, he wrote laconically: "There are no snakes in Iceland."

Since military questions are among the subjects that may, or will, be discussed at this plenary meeting of your Congress, I would like to end my talk with a few observations on matters pertaining to our allied defence system. For if the Atlantic alliance has shaped firm political bonds between its members since it came into existence ten years ago, its real backbone remains co-ordinated military effort of all NATO countries, the will to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and contribute its share to maintaining world peace. The joint build-up of a military strength capable of acting as a deterrent against aggression has rightly always ranked first among NATO pre-occupations. Ten years of co-ordinated action have undoubtedly borne fruit: the alliance musters, thanks to these efforts, an impressive array of land, sea, and air forces; peace and the territorial integrity of our nations have been preserved.

The question is whether these forces are impressive enough. One is tempted to answer, they are not, and perhaps even less at present than in former years. The strategic world situation, the increasing rate at which long-range weapons of enormous destructive power are being developed, have placed a new emphasis on the maintenance of strong shield forces on the European continent, stronger, in fact, than what we now have in the field. These forces, too, must keep abreast of the developments of modern warfare. When we look at the pace at which we go at present, I do not think there is any ground for complacency.

In fact, the military problems of the alliance have of late become more acute. Requirements which formerly, under conditions of Western nuclear superiority, could be met only *in part*, must, now that there is a situation of nuclear equilibrium, fully be met. The long-term military needs of the alliance will require strong and better co-ordinated defence efforts of all member countries.

Our deficiencies cannot, all of them, be redressed simply by making available additional funds. Further efforts towards a greater effectiveness of our present overall defence system are necessary. And by far the best way towards greater efficiency, in many fields, is the way of an *integration* of the national contributions to NATO defence.

The road to be travelled is, no doubt, not an easy one; our object cannot be gained without some sacrifice of cherished principles of national independence in the vital sector of defence. Of course governments, responsible before their parliaments, are very naturally afraid of losing control over important aspects of national defence. The consequences of modern technology and defence systems and their

impact upon the way of co-operating in an alliance have, however, more fully to be drawn. These problems must be tackled in a constructive way, we will have to seek for compromises between the inter-governmental form of co-operation in our alliance—which can no longer be a mere and obsolete coalition—on the one hand, and the essential need for military efficiency and economy on the other.

In this connection I may perhaps refer to European air defence as an important instance of the need for a fuller integration of national defence contributions. An efficient system of air defence on the continent of Europe ranks first among the present needs of NATO defence. A surprise attack will come by air; quick warning of enemy action and an effective guidance of interception planes or missiles are essential. Such requirements cannot, any longer, be met by purely national efforts; they cannot even be adequately met by co-ordination alone of the national air defence systems. Forgive me for adducing technical reasons to support my plea; this is simply because the new requirements of military efficiency are determined, as such, by the technique of modern warfare which—in the field of air defence—is forcing us towards integration, whether we like it or not. The speed and range of modern air weapons make it imperative that a completely centralized system of air defence be set up under NATO command.

There are many other tasks before us in the field of integration and standardization. The logistical support of NATO forces, for instance, is still a national responsibility; progress in this field depends, to a certain extent, on further standardization of NATO armaments.

Happily, new possibilities are opening up with the introduction of the newer weapons, such as guided missiles; a start has already been made with the pooling of research and production of such weapons. This effort should be vigorously pursued.

Greater efficiency of our collective forces requiring further integration and standardization will, in any case, lead to closer military interdependence. The pattern of our forces could for instance reflect a greater degree of national specialization. A better use of available resources and skills should be achieved. Although the time of complete national self-sufficiency in the field of defence has gone, I regret to say that the political will to make further progress in the matter of pooling our limited resources, on which such urgent calls are made in all fields, has as yet not manifested itself adequately. The problems which we have to solve are of course difficult and demand vision, imagination and the ability to improvise. The time, however, has come to give a new impetus to the search for greater effectiveness of our common forces; our security depends on this challenge being adequately met.

I have endeavoured to give an outline of some of the great problems facing our allies. I am firmly convinced that the alliance will be able to overcome these difficulties if it succeeds in conquering some of the weaknesses inherent in all forms of co-operation between free and equal partners. For in the final analysis the greatest difficulty in making NATO function still more effectively lies in the fact that there is no "supranational" authority. In theory the

creation of such an authority—which would mean creating some sort of an Atlantic federation—might offer a solution. I emphatically say in theory, for in view of the present political situation within the Atlantic area, such a development would seem virtually impossible. For the time being therefore we shall have to make do with what we have, and be prepared to co-operate via the intricate and laborious system we have come to know as "government by persuasion."

ADDRESS

by Mr. J. F. CAHAN, DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL, O.E.E.C.

AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 5.

Before I go on to my speech perhaps I should emphasize that in accepting your invitation and in preparing this speech I have not consulted the 17 governments which pay my salary. I am, therefore, speaking on my own personal responsibility and nothing that I say should be interpreted as being the thoughts either of the 17 governments or any of them or the organization itself. In reading the, if I may say so, somewhat voluminous paper which was sent to me about this Congress I see that the fourth general principle which has been laid down to guide the work of the Congress is to the effect that we discuss in the Congress only those subjects regarding which governments would hesitate to take positive action themselves so long as they are not sure that they will be supported by an important part of the influential public opinion of their countries. I propose to base myself on this general principle and to talk to you almost entirely about matters on which governments hesitate to take positive action.

I thought that since you have asked a civil servant—an international civil servant at that, a low form of animal life—to address you I ought to try to make some general suggestions as to what the Congress should do in the economic field, what the Congress and its Economic Committee should do in the economic field, and to give you some central thought which would guide the work of the Congress in this part of its activities. Your Preparatory Committee has set up four sub-committees. The first is “Resources and Under-developed Areas in Atlantic Countries.” The second is, “Scientific and Technical Co-operation”. The third is, “Implications of Western European Economic Integration.” The fourth is, “Freedom of Trade and Currency Questions.”

I propose to say a few words about what I think might be the work of each of these four sub-committees, and then to try to draw it all together with the idea of giving you one or two thoughts to take away to the committees and sub-committees, leading up on Tuesday to the drafting of some general declarations of the Congress.

Taking the first sub-committee (“Resources and Under-developed Areas in Atlantic Countries”), I began by asking what the Atlantic countries were—a definition—and I did not get a very satisfactory answer. Obviously, Turkey is an Atlantic country although some distance from the Atlantic. I suppose

the narrow definition of the Atlantic countries must include all the countries which are members of the O.E.E.C., including those, therefore, which are not members of NATO. I hope you will not feel I am entirely out of order when I say that there are other countries—in Africa particularly—which deserve to be considered as affiliated in some way with the Atlantic countries, particularly when we are talking about resources and under-developed areas.

Within the narrower group, you have the less developed countries such as Iceland, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Greece and Turkey. You have within countries which are normally regarded as quite highly developed areas which can only be regarded as pretty retarded. This is true not only in France and Italy, which are perhaps the examples which spring most quickly to mind, but also in this country, the United Kingdom, and if I may be forgiven for saying so, in the United States.

There are also areas, again mainly in Africa, in which some of our member countries have very special responsibilities, countries which are or were recently colonies. These cannot be entirely excluded from your considerations; it is not possible to go ahead and plan for the development of the first narrow circle of Atlantic countries and ignore completely what is happening on your Southern flank.

Up to now, in international affairs we have paid a great deal of lip service to the problem of under-developed countries, and we have done a certain amount of hard, concrete work. This has taken two principal forms, direct financial help of one kind and another and technical assistance. It is in these two spheres that international organizations have principally concentrated their efforts. However, by and large it is perfectly fair to say that we have neglected a very important aspect of this whole problem. The aspect which we have neglected is how to give these countries the possibility of selling their goods abroad. It is very necessary, if we are honestly to develop these under-developed countries, to give them an opportunity to sell what they can best produce in our markets. There is no other long-term solution. It is no use pouring money in, it is no use giving them technical help if the resultant product simply has to be burnt or thrown away. I think in this—as perhaps in other things—it is worth looking at what our Russian friends are doing.

Our Russian friends, when they give technical assistance and financial aid, do not stop there. This is a very important difference between what the Russians have done and what we have done. The Russians are prepared to take the exportable products of the countries which they wish to help and to take them at almost any price, any quantity and any quality. I do not suggest that we go as far as that, but I think we ought to do a little better than we do now.

I read the other day a long article in Pravda on this subject. Pravda was celebrating the 10th Anniversary of the Russian equivalent of O.E.E.C., which was set up a year after us. They have made some very considerable progress. Our progress has been relatively limited. Within the O.E.E.C. we have done a few things. For example, we have recently accustomed the housewives of Milan and Lyons who have never before tasted fresh fish in their whole lives to the idea of eating Icelandic fish. We have arranged the complicated chain of refrigeration which is necessary to get Atlantic fish in a fresh frozen condition all the way from Reykjavik to Milan. It works and they like it, and the Icelanders are benefiting and so, I hope, are the housewives of Milan. This is the kind of thing which we must do on a far larger scale. That was nothing but a token, just a beginning; there is a great deal more that has to be done. We cannot go on pouring money into these countries and when they're ready to export textiles or something say, "We're terribly sorry but we can't do that, our own industry is suffering badly." But this happens, it happens every day of the week.

Of course, one of the difficulties is that the principal products—certainly at any rate the first products which these countries will have available for export in reasonable quantities and at reasonable prices and of a decent quality—are agricultural products, and I do not need to tell any of you that the protection of domestic agricultural products is a major issue in all your countries.

This, then, is one of those things on which governments hesitate to take action until they are certain that public opinion is behind them, one of the things covered by the general principle which I read out to you at the beginning. I wonder if this Congress could say to governments, "Don't be quite so hesitant about taking action, public opinion will go a good deal further than you may think." I do not know whether that is true or not, but you are a representative group. If you think public opinion will swallow it it is a very important thing to have swallowed. It does not only affect farmers, let me say, it affects business people and trades unions. Trades unions have been very backward in permitting any encroachment on their territory from the products of less developed countries. The whole range of public opinion has got to be tackled if you are going to succeed in this field.

The second Sub-Committee of the Economic Committee deals with scientific and technical co-operation. I hardly need to tell you how important this subject is. Every day decisions—political decisions—of the greatest importance are being influenced by the pace and direction of scientific and technical development. Any nation which is unable to keep pace in this race for supremacy in the technical and scientific field is liable to be left in a very awkward position. Scientific and technical development have made such things as the Common Market possible. The Common Market has its origins in political thinking, but it is only practically possible because scientific and technical development have permitted it to be so.

We are talking of larger and wider markets and this is because technical and scientific development have made them not only possible but absolutely necessary; if we are to reap the full benefits on the production line from the technical advances made in the laboratories it is necessary to have a wider market and a bigger production line. This is part of the force behind the drive to a widening of the area of world trade. It cannot therefore be ignored, but on the other hand some small countries cannot afford to carry on scientific and technical research on the scale which is required nowadays. Even large and wealthy countries like the United States have difficulty. It is essential that in this field too we have some division of labour, some sharing both of the burden and of the results of scientific and technical developments. We have made some slight beginnings in the O.E.E.C. which embraces, of course, not only European countries but also the United States and Canada, but there is a great deal more to be done. I think that on this particular point it is the job of this Congress to say to the governments, "Let us put national pride in our pockets and work together." It would be nice to be able to say that a Frenchman or an Englishman or an American was the first in a particular field, or that one or the other of these countries had got further in some direction, but this kind of competition is just as out of date as the kind of economy in which everybody made his own shoes and everybody made his own butter. We cannot do that any more, we must put these national prides in our pockets and get on with international co-operation in science and in technology.

Here again, I think it is for this Congress to give a lead to the governments.

Your third Sub-Committee is dealing with the implications of Western European economic integration. This is either a very wide subject or a very narrow one and I am not sure which. I suspect the former. Let me, however, start from my point of view, that is to say, from the angle of vision which is in my office in Paris. It was certainly not the intention of the six governments, above all it was not the intention of M Spaak, to divide Europe when they drafted and generally signed the Treaty of Rome. That was the

last thing they had in their minds. They believed that by creating a closer unity of the six countries in the centre of Europe they would create a greater political and economic unity of Europe as a whole. We are faced here with a serious danger. Through no wish of the authors of the Treaty of Rome, divisions not only within Europe but across the Atlantic are coming up. Seven countries are meeting today in Stockholm to form a small trading unit of a free trade area character which to some extent at least—even though the authors of that do say that they have no intention of dividing Europe—means that this Stockholm group is bound to be competitive with the Brussels group. There will be friction between the two groups.

On top of that you have the position that the Americans and Canadians, having watched the Europeans discriminating among themselves for ten years, and then having seen them achieve convertibility, had hoped that meant there would be equality of competition for American and Canadian goods in Europe. What do they see? Six countries on the one side setting up a special discriminatory area of their own and another seven setting up another one. This is not terribly popular. I think this is a subject to which the Congress ought to give very careful attention indeed; it is a subject on which the Congress could have some influence on policy; government policy is not yet firmed up, it is still in the formulative stages. I think the governments should be told that public opinion is not desirous of seeing a further split in Europe or in the whole Atlantic Community, and that governments in pursuit of the limited aims which they declare to be their aims in creating something at Stockholm should take especial care to see that there are no side effects.

The medical profession can give you many examples of drugs which have a tremendously beneficial effect on a particular disease but which then kill the patient for some other reasons. I think we want to watch this one. This plant of international economic co-operation which we have at last got to the stage perhaps of being able to take out of the hothouse on some of the best summer days is still a very frail flower and it is not going to bloom at all if there are icy winds from Stockholm or from Ottawa blowing on it. I do think that this is one of the subjects which this Committee should examine with particular care.

Those of you who are interested in the fourth Sub-Committee on trade and currency questions will say I have already transgressed severely on that ground. I admit that charge is correct. I have great difficulty in the present state of international negotiations about Western European integration, great difficulty in dividing the work of Sub-Committee Three from the work of Sub-Committee Four on trade and currency questions.

At Christmas the governments decided to abolish the European Payments Union, which had served

them very well indeed for ten years. I am not complaining about that decision, I think it was the right decision, I think the timing was about right too. But it requires more than a simple stroke of the pen to carry out the results, the implications of that move. We put the European Payments Union to bed. We brought into force the European Monetary Agreement, but we ought to have done a great deal more than that. It is no use declaring your currency convertible unless you are prepared to take the consequences. I am happy to say that several member-countries of the O.E.E.C. have been prepared to take the consequences, at least up to a certain point.

I believe that Sub-Committee Four should concentrate on the consequences, and the extent to which governments can take the risk of taking the consequences. After all, we all participated years ago in a conference at Bretton Woods where we signed some agreements, where we talked about convertibility. We then went down to Havana—a very long conference that—where we talked about freedom of trade. We have all paid at least lip-service to these concepts ever since those days. We wrote them into the Convention of the O.E.E.C. at the beginning, we said we were doing this—all these things that the O.E.E.C. was doing—with the objective of achieving full convertibility of currencies and international free trade. Now we are on the verge of getting there, and governments are holding back, they are putting their feet in the water and they think it is a bit chilly.

I think that this Congress ought to give an example here and give a little push in the behind to some of our governments. We all know that this is not going to be easy. We all know that none of us comes to this with clean hands, none of us is in a position to throw the first stone. But if we honestly and frankly admit that, surely we could get together and make a little further progress in this field.

These then are the four Sub-Committees which you have set up, and those are very briefly the sorts of topics which I suggest they ought to be considering. Public opinion is not always ready to take the consequences of international co-operation. Public opinion is still nationally minded, but we must try where we can by every little crack and cranny to push a wee bit of the whiff of the internationalist doctrine into these closed chapels of nationalism.

Cast your mind back to the nineteen-thirties, to the depression which we went through then and which most of us can remember. Did we have any international organization to deal with it? No, we did not. At the beginning when the *Kreditanstalt* collapsed there was a certain amount of help and international co-operation between the central banks; beyond that, almost nothing. Each country was forced to try and find its own salvation.

In Germany you had the development of national socialism, and we all remember what that led to,

Should we ask ourselves whether that was strictly necessary, whether if we had the kind of international economic co-operation which I think this Congress ought to advocate we could not possibly have avoided that? I believe we might.

If you keep that thought in mind you have perhaps a worthwhile target for this Congress. Have we learned this lesson? Do you honestly believe that your people—the people whom you represent in your countries—have learned this lesson yet? I do not. Do you, when you are considering the economic policies of your governments, ask yourself what is going to be the effect of this policy on your neighbour, or do you confine your examination to enquiring what the effect is going to be on you? That is the problem. I think the little countries learn it faster than the big ones.

There is a wide range of subjects to be covered by international economic co-operation in the terms of the Atlantic Congress, that is to say, all this wide group of countries geographically perhaps ill-defined, but morally and socially very clearly defined, as being the group of people who have the same general line of thinking, the same standards of moral behaviour, and roughly similar systems of government. That is what I mean by the Atlantic Group.

I do not think it pays at this stage to try and enumerate them here and say that country A does not qualify because of this and country B does not qualify because of that. Basically and fundamentally I believe they do qualify, but how are we going to get them together? How are we going to make them all realise that it is only by joint action that they can hope to achieve something really worthwhile?

International co-operation in the financial field and in the economic field is something which develops very slowly. I have been working at it for a number of years now. The International Monetary Fund is doing it, the International Bank is doing it. Slowly, by infinite patience we do succeed in getting a little bit more information from member countries day by day. We have even succeeded in one or two places in influencing the policies of governments, but it is a very slow process. I think that now between the three organisations which are interesting themselves in this matter in your area, the O.E.E.C., the I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D., I do not think that governments succeed in concealing much from us, but it is still a further step to say that they are prepared always to take our advice. That is to come, I hope.

So what I want you, Mr. Chairman, to suggest to this Congress is that we should try if we can to say to governments, "See if you can't show a bit more willingness to co-operate"—I am not interested particularly in co-operation in the O.E.E.C.—"willingness to co-operate generally." Whether it is necessary to create new institutions for the purpose is not for

me to say. Certainly I do not advocate the setting up of supranational bodies with complicated voting rules which imply or seem to imply the surrender of national sovereignties. I don't believe that it is a surrender of national sovereignty to co-operate freely and openly in an international organization. I believe it is quite the reverse, I believe it helps to preserve national sovereignty. But your governments do need pushing in almost every case in the direction of being more willing to co-operate.

I have mentioned the wide group of countries which I conceive to be covered by this general concept of Atlantic unity. It includes big countries, little countries, countries which have joined together in the NATO military alliance, countries which hope to find their military and economic and political salvation by remaining neutral. I am not enough of an expert to be able to tell you whether in this second half of the twentieth century it is possible to achieve salvation through neutrality in the military sphere. I strongly suspect it is not, but what I do know is that it is certainly impossible in the economic field. Isolationism, neutrality in the economic sphere, is completely hopeless. You cannot hope to escape. You cannot get spectacular results in a hurry. I have ploughed these fields of international co-operation for some time. They are pretty tough and stony fields, but every once in a while—just to cheer you on—you do come across a patch of softer ground on which you can grow something. I would say this to you, that it is a well worthwhile sight when you see it; you will all be very pleased indeed.

You may find it odd that I should be standing here before you this evening making a plea for greater international co-operation in economics and finance, at a time when, according to all the newspapers, the economic situation is fairly rosy. There may be clouds on the political horizon, but generally speaking the difficulties of last year in the economic sphere have been overcome. In reply to that I say that this is just the moment to start, now when there are not any problems. It is easy enough to get people to rush together to put out a fire when the fire has started, but will the buckets and the sand be ready? Probably not. I think that is one of the critical, crucial problems facing our civilisation today. I believe it is an urgent problem. I have a feeling in my bones that if we do not find a solution to this problem of full whole-hearted economic co-operation, within a very few years, we shall have lost all that we have been working for for so long. I may be wrong, my timetable may be wrong. It may be—it does not matter so much for those who are sitting here today—but I do want to say to you with all the conviction that I can command—that if you do not establish a sensible system of whole-hearted economic co-operation between the Atlantic countries in a very short time your children will never forgive you.

ADDRESS

by ADMIRAL JERAULD WRIGHT,
THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER ATLANTIC

AT THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 6.

In the world of free democratic states the controlling power which guides and directs all our activities is the power of free government, the power of voice of free people exerted through their elected representatives. In no place or on no occasion in the world today is the strength of this power more evident, more manifested, than in this Congress of national, civic and educational leaders of all the nations of our NATO alliance.

The great asset of free government is the domination and control by its civil leaders of its military forces and the parallel recognition by these civil leaders of the absolute necessity of adequate military strength. This is the background of mutual understanding against which civil and military leaders of free nations and of our alliance work together in the solution of the most important of all national and international problems; the problem of defence. This is the reason why we military commanders are here today on this platform meeting with you and discussing defence; the strength of our defence, national and collective, to resist the expanding pressures of communist dictatorships has three coequal components.

The *first* component of our defence is our political strength: the strength of our concept of free and representative government, the strength of the principle of man's supremacy over state, and the strength of our appeal to all the people of all the world on our concept of real freedom and of the application of truth and justice to national and international affairs. Our political strength is based on the principles of representative government. It is manifested nationally by our free elections and by the votes of our legislatures. It is manifested internationally by our support of the United Nations. Perhaps the greatest evidence of its strength is in the political alliance of the 15 independent and sovereign nations of NATO wherein all are united in their resistance to the dictatorship of the communist states. Our political strength is the keystone of our individual and collective defence.

The *second* component of our defence against communism is our economic strength, our productivity, our ability to maintain ourselves and our status and stature in the world markets. Nationally a sound

economy is indispensable and inseparable from a secure national defence. Internationally, a sound economy is the only peacetime means we have for the very necessary and vital competition, in the world markets, with the low cost slave labour products of the communist states. The whole posture of each nation in world affairs is established by the strength of its economy and the stability of its currency.

The nations of the free world are economically interdependent. Down through the centuries we have learned to trade with each other, to reap the mutual benefits of our several specialised capabilities; agriculture, industry, raw materials, etc. For generations past we have enjoyed access to each other through our control of the seas and our many national economies are built around international commerce.

One great asset which the nations of the free world have for maintenance of a balanced and stable economy is the many thousands of ships of the allied merchant marine. Today, right now, we have over 2,500 ships afloat in the North Atlantic and in the adjacent seas and another 1,000 in allied ports. Ships give us direct access to each other. Ships provide the economic connecting link between all free nations. Ships make next door neighbours of all nations which border on the sea. Certainly air transport is also important for international commerce, but we must realize that every ton of freight air lifted to Europe requires 1½ tons of aircraft fuel sea lifted to Europe. Ships, tankers, bring in this fuel and make possible the return and subsequent trips of the aircraft.

Ships carry from nation to nation the vast tonnages of raw materials on which their economies are based. Ships distribute the finished products to all in the world that need them. In peacetime, we enjoy the tremendous advantages of our merchant ships and our highly developed ports and we reap the benefits which both bring to us. In war we depend on our merchant ships for our mutual support, for our reinforcement and for our survival.

I believe that a sound national economy and its essential counterparts, a stable currency and strong maritime ties between all free nations, are indispensable to our collective defence,

This brings us to the *third* component of our defence, namely, the strength of our military forces, our military strength.

Political strength and economic strength are weakened if they are overshadowed by a continuing threat of war. This is particularly true if we, at any time, find ourselves in a position of potential military disadvantage. We are faced with a completely ruthless and unscrupulous adversary, an adversary who will use any and all means, false accusations, broken treaties, threats of destruction and all forms of international blackmail; anything to throw us off balance politically and to destroy our system of economy; to the end that they, the Soviets, may eventually dominate the entire world.

In this situation we must convince the Soviets that if they attack us they will fail. Thus only can we assure the prevention of war and under this condition only can our political and economic strength play its proper role in the world of today.

Here lies the role of the third component of our defence, our military forces, to provide us with the ability to back up our determination to maintain our rights; the ability to neutralize Soviet threats; to face down Soviet blackmail.

To prevent war thus, we in NATO must be ready at all times, ready now, to perform the three military tasks for the defence of our alliance:

The defence of Europe.

The defence of North America.

The defence of the Atlantic.

These three tasks are represented by the basic organization of our NATO military forces; the defence of Europe is entrusted to SACEUR and his associates in the Allied Command Europe, from their headquarters in Paris. The defence of North America by joint action of Canada and the United States. The defence of the Atlantic is entrusted to us in the Allied Command Atlantic from our headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia.

We cannot assess any relative priority to these three tasks. Europe could not be defended without a secure America. The defence of America would be immeasurably more difficult without her European partners and neither could be defended if the intervening Atlantic were lost to the control of the Soviets.

Why are the sea areas so important to our allied defence? Almost all free nations border on the seas. All are dependent on the heavy tonnages of cargo ships, passenger ships and tankers for their economic maintenance in peace and their military reinforcement and survival in war. Loss of access to the seas by any nation would be a disaster to that nation and loss of control of the seas by our alliance would destroy our capability of mutual support.

In a modern war the greater the speed and impact of the initial attack, the greater the initial destruction on both sides of the Atlantic, the greater the need that Europe and America be bound closely together by the only channels capable of providing mutual support—our sea lines of communications.

The Soviets know well our dependence on the seas. They saw in World War II hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies destined for their support sunk at sea before reaching their shores. They saw in the Suez crisis the tremendous impact of the loss of one small strip of seaway on the economy of all the West, Europe and North America, without one iota of effect on theirs.

They know well the value of the seas to us and the value to them of its loss to us.

They have constructed the largest fleet of submarines known to the world in peacetime. It is designed, constructed and maintained for one specific objective:

To destroy our seaborne commerce; to sever our sea lines of communication between nations and continents and thereby to isolate North America from Europe; to prevent the follow up of our initial advantage and to prevent the reinforcement of our overseas allies.

Our task, in the Allied Command Atlantic, is to prevent this, to preserve the connecting sea links which make possible a unified defence of our alliance.

We do this by means of the deep sea naval forces which the nations of the alliance have provided to NATO—air, surface and undersea forces, all organized and trained to work together in flexible, mobile task forces for the performance of these basic tasks:

The destruction of enemy naval power at its source; airfields, shipyards, submarine pens and logistic resources.

The control of the bottlenecks leading to the high seas.

The security of our coasts and the protection of our convoys.

All to the end that we may have a secure lifeline across the Atlantic, between North America and Europe.

Now, how are we doing in this task?

I believe you would be interested in a progress report on what has been done in the past few years to meet the Soviet naval threat to our alliance:—

We have *intensified* our allied anti-submarine warfare training.

We have made rapid advances in standardization.

We have *organized permanent* anti-submarine warfare task forces of all types to develop advanced tactical methods.

We have vastly *improved our weapons*, particularly anti-submarine torpedoes and anti-aircraft missiles.

We have applied *nuclear weapons* to anti-submarine warfare and made them readily available.

We have developed and made available to NATO the most modern and promising anti-submarine weapon—the *nuclear propelled submarine*.

We have assigned to these ships the *primary task* of destroying other submarines and the secondary task of training our own anti-submarine forces in the destruction of nuclear submarines.

And perhaps one of the most important of all we have recognized the great untapped potential of European anti-submarine scientific talent and have established at La Spezia, Italy, the SACLANT Anti-Submarine Research Centre for research by NATO scientists in improvements to anti-submarine warfare equipment.

All these measures have paid big dividends in improved anti-submarine warfare effectiveness.

Now I should like to say a few words about what nations can do to improve the military strength of our alliance. I will mention the four which, in my opinion, are the most important.

The first is a recognition by nations of the primacy of our NATO defences. Granting that a nation's national defence is its most pressing and important single problem, we must recognize the fact that the defence of an individual nation by itself can never be as strong as its defence as a member of our NATO alliance. Therefore, the support of the alliance with our military forces should be one of, if not the primary, national policy of each member of NATO.

The second is a recognition by all nations that the defence of NATO is not the defence of Europe alone, but rather the defence of our entire alliance—Europe, North America and the Atlantic. None can be defended in isolation.

Third, I would say this about the task the alliance has charged to us in the Allied Command Atlantic—

the defence of the Atlantic deep sea areas. It is not a one-nation task, nor a two nor a three-nation task. It is an all-hands job. Some of us provide forces, some bases, some merchant ships and some only political support in allied councils, than which there is nothing of more importance to our allied effort. For centuries the trident of sea power rested in the hands of one nation, the United Kingdom. She wielded it well, always with justice to men and nations. Today it rests not in the hands of any one nation, but rather in the hands of our NATO alliance. We must assure that the trident of sea power falls not into the hands of those who would use it to our destruction, but that we use it ourselves for our self-preservation. Against this fact examine your contribution to our sea defences and satisfy yourself that it is your maximum.

Fourth and last, I am sincerely confident that our political leaders appreciate the tremendous advantage which membership in NATO brings to every nation. This feeling must be disseminated to our people, all of them, so that all the people of all nations will realize the great national advantages of collective defence which NATO brings to each and every one of us. If our national and civic leaders and our educators and our news media would convey this fact to our people it would give NATO that added strength which good public information and support imparts to every matter of national policy.

Do these four things and I will cease to worry about the shortages of military forces. They will soon be filled.

In conclusion I would say this : Our total NATO strength rests on a three-point support, a tripod so to speak. One leg political, one leg economic and one leg military. The pressures on each are balanced and each carries its share of the defence load. Weaken one and the load will topple. Maintain all three and our NATO alliance will continue to be the world's strongest counterforce against Soviet blackmail, the world's greatest deterrent to Soviet aggression and a solid roadblock to communist expansion.

Let us resolve that by the maintenance of strong defences and by the resolution to use them, if necessary, in defence of the free world, we will assure that the terrible sacrifices of war will never again be necessary.

ADDRESS

by GENERAL LAURIS NORSTAD,
THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE

AT THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 6.

It is fitting that we of NATO should take stock of our position at this time of anniversary. In order to see clearly where we now stand, and to consider what must be done in the future, we should first recall where we stood in 1949, when the Atlantic Treaty was signed. The situation in Western Europe in the aftermath of World War II destruction, and in the shadow of disillusionment of the immediate post-war period, now seems remote. But you will remember how real it was at that time. The atmosphere then was certainly not characterized by firmness or resolution, nor did there appear a reasonable foundation on which to base any real hope. The shadow of the Soviet threat—and the Red Army—was cast far across what has now become known as NATO Europe. In many areas, industry was almost at a standstill—and even that simple commerce by which man distributes the bare essentials of life seemed scarcely to exist. If people thought of tomorrow, it was with fear of what the day would bring.

By signing the Treaty, the twelve nations of the Atlantic Community served notice that they were determined, in the words of the Preamble, “to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.” The decision to create a military establishment within the framework of the alliance was made late in 1950, a decision compelled by the continuing threats of the Soviets—a step forced by such brutal and tragic events as the communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia, the attempt to blockade the courageous people of Berlin in 1948 and 1949 and the aggression against Korea a year later. By our action to provide for our common defence, we gave public testimony in support of the commitments we had undertaken in adhering to the North Atlantic Treaty. By creating the strength necessary to give substance to our words, we began to produce clear and tangible evidence of the determination of the West to remain free. When General Eisenhower in April 1951 opened the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, just outside Paris, this firm intent began to be translated into equally firm fact.

Much has happened since the spring of 1951. From the northern tip of Norway to the eastern frontiers of Turkey there are NATO forces in being. These forces

have a considerable and growing capability with the most modern weapons. The various elements of this strength are welded together by an appropriate Allied Command structure, which is capable of directing our forces under a common plan for the common defence. In the development of these forces, we have taken account of—in fact, we have placed major dependence on—the heavy retaliatory forces. These strategic elements, so closely and completely relied on in the early history of the alliance, must, in the interest of peace and freedom, retain their effectiveness well into the future.

Although there are weaknesses and deficiencies, even some very grave problems, we are strong from the over-all military standpoint. But our improving military position does not provide the best or the most accurate measure of our posture. In the fullest sense, our strength stems from the fact that 15 countries have joined together in a common cause; from our determination to remain free, a resolution which must be as great and as steadfast today as it has ever been in the history of our countries and of our peoples.

This strength of fact and of spirit does not go unchallenged. We need look no further than the present threat to Berlin to see a real test of our temper. The Soviet attempt to use, once again, the people of that brave city as pawns in their drive for power, reminds us of the continuing threat. In the face of NATO will and strength, some may have hoped that the threat was being diverted from this area; some may have forgotten for the moment the well-known lesson that the Soviets will continue to intervene wherever there is a situation to exploit. But now we are reminded that wherever the spoiling activities of the Soviets may be found throughout the world, a main focus of their interest continues to be on this Atlantic Community, on this the heart of the West.

I am always impressed by the emphasis which the language of the Atlantic Treaty places on the broad objectives of peace, freedom and well-being. Our hopes and our efforts certainly must be directed toward the creation of a situation where the achievement of these objectives should not so greatly depend—should not *always* depend—on military strength. But in this divided and anxious world, as we look at it today, strength remains essential. As we look forward from

the summer of 1959, we see the continuing requirement, in freedom's cause, for power to support our hope for peace.

I say this in full awareness of the great progress that is being made within NATO in fields other than military. In fact, it is because of this progress that I am encouraged to have confidence in the future, which I have. From the habit of consultation within the Council, for instance, there has emerged an increasing understanding of the problems of individual nations as well as an ability to exchange views, to settle difficulties in a climate of friendship and partnership. NATO provides a system for political and economic communication between countries and peoples, and provides a forum in which the common problems can be discussed in the light of common interests, and from which direction can be given to the activities of the member countries, individually and collectively. If I may be permitted to say a good word for my masters, the NATO Council is an important force—a great power—in support of the purposes and principles to which our countries dedicated themselves when they signed the North Atlantic Treaty ten years ago.

I wish to tell you, from the military standpoint, something of the interim steps which are needed to translate the principles of the North Atlantic Treaty into the policies and actions required to accomplish its purposes. I want to discuss, briefly, our so-called military thinking.

Our emphasis on defence, preserving peace, maintaining freedom, directs us to take as our first military objective the prevention of war. It is this fact that has added so heavily to the meaning of the word "deterrent," and which has reshaped the definition of that word. As seen from NATO Europe, the deterrent is made up of two major elements: the heavy strategic forces, which are sometimes called the retaliatory forces, and the Shield Forces under my command. Taken as a whole, the heavy strategic forces constitute one side—the heavy side—of the deterrent. Although these forces could be used, and used effectively if need be, against lesser challenges, their full power would be needed only to meet a major challenge. It is the existence and the effectiveness of these heavy forces that must be considered by an aggressor who contemplates an act which might lead to major involvement. When considered in these terms, a deliberate decision to provoke a major war becomes most improbable—the price of aggression becomes too great.

Thus, perhaps the greatest danger might spring from a weakness inviting exploitation—from a probing operation which might well get out of hand as the result of a miscalculation. In short, from a mistake. With this in mind, we have arrived at what we consider the basic objectives of any valid strategy for Europe. First, in the event of an incident, a clash, whether

intentional or unintentional, we must be able to force a pause, to compel a break in the continuity of the action that has started. Second, during this pause, an aggressor must be forced to make a conscious decision. He must be compelled to realize that by continuing the action he chooses war with all its consequences to him. Third, when he is considering this decision, he must at all times be forced to weigh the total cost of his action. He must consider the full price that may be exacted by bringing into operation the full efforts of all the forces and factors that make up the deterrent throughout the world.

The Shield Forces of NATO are designed to achieve these objectives, and thus they have an essential role within the deterrent. This vital Shield consists of ground forces, air forces and naval forces which are deployed in the forward areas and participate in the forward defences. The Shield Forces are not limited to conventional units, equipment or operations. They do have that independent capacity, of course, but they also are armed with nuclear weapons. They are designed to accomplish their mission of preventing war, of defending Europe against a broad range of threats.

The Shield has three military functions:

One is traditional in nature: Its forces must defend the easternmost peoples and territories of the alliance, and in so doing contribute to the defence of the entire NATO area. This defence involves holding Europe against a full range of possible attack, up to aggression in its heaviest form. The forces must be adequate in number and they must be capable of dealing with both nuclear and non-nuclear situations.

The second function is more complex. If composed, as it must be, of forces maintained in a high state of readiness and capable of meeting even an attack in substantial force, the Shield can deny to the aggressor the inviting prospect of conquering Europe piecemeal or by the sheer weight of his masses. Our forces need not be massive in comparison with those that might be thrown against them; but the Shield must be strong enough, and its resources sufficiently versatile, beyond all possible doubt, to deal decisively with any attack short of the unmistakable, deliberate, all-out aggression which would invoke the heavy side of the deterrent.

Function three springs from the one I have just mentioned. By reason of its mixed capabilities, nuclear and non-nuclear, the Shield is designed to make possible a more flexible response by our forces, and by our diplomacy, in a region where any challenge could have the gravest implications. As I have stated, a rational strategy in this nuclear era is one that offers an interval for deliberation, that compels an aggressor to make a conscious decision for war. Were the Shield

Forces too weak to deal with an attack against them, this requirement would not be established and the alternatives facing us would be either to accept defeat on the narrow ground of the enemy's choice, or to risk a general war. If, however, we have strength enough in our Shield Forces, the dilemma passes to the aggressor. It is the aggressor who then must weigh the power not only of the forces directly in front of him, but also of all other elements of the deterrent. It is the aggressor who then must choose between risking all or attempting nothing.

I hope I have made it clear that we must equip the Shield Forces, these forces which have for their purpose—their sole purpose—the defence of our people and territory, with the best and most modern weapons available. Included among these weapons vitally needed for our defence are some which depend for their effectiveness upon atomic warheads. We introduce these weapons without boast and without threat. With our devotion to peace and freedom, this action to provide for our security needs no justification.

On the other side of the Iron Curtain, at Leipzig in March of this year, Mr. Krushchev bitterly attacked the liberal credos of the Western World and boasted of the material force that backs the communist cause. In Albania he has recently engaged in the not very subtle game of brandishing the Soviet threat of long-range weapons. A short time ago, similar attacks were directed toward our northern region. These efforts to bring pressure on our staunch NATO members will, I am confident, only reinforce the will of their peoples to decide for themselves, in the light of their own national interests, what they must do about their self-defence and what contributions they must make to the collective defence of the alliance in which they are voluntary partners.

The authoritative comment on this tendency of the Soviet leaders to threaten the alliance and to depict allied strength as the ultimate sin was that made by

the Heads of Government of NATO in December 1957. At their meeting in Paris they stated that: "The Soviet leaders, while preventing a general disarmament agreement, have made it clear that the most modern and destructive weapons, including missiles of all kinds, are being introduced in the Soviet armed forces. In the Soviet view, all European nations except the U.S.S.R. should, without waiting for general disarmament, renounce nuclear weapons and missiles and rely on arms of the pre-atomic age.

"As long as the Soviet Union persists in this attitude, we have no alternative but to remain vigilant and to look to our defence. We are therefore resolved to achieve the most effective pattern of NATO military defensive strength, taking into account the most recent developments in weapons and techniques.

"To this end, NATO has decided to establish stocks of nuclear warheads which will be readily available for the defence of the alliance in case of need."

What I have just cited was a valid answer to the words and actions of the Soviets in December of 1957. It is, if anything, even more applicable today in the light of the many proposals for restricted areas, or, in Mr. Krushchev's words, "zones of peace," which conspicuously omit the zone whence comes the greatest threat to our European members, the U.S.S.R. itself.

There can be no nobler cause than the quest for peace. Certainly, in our time the increasing destructiveness of weapons places upon all of us the urgent responsibility of devising means that will discourage war. The choices before us are difficult and fateful. The threat of war carries with it the risk of great catastrophe; so also does any weakening of our essential means of defence without real safeguards and genuine guarantees. The question before us is clear: How can we reduce the risk of catastrophic war without forfeiting the means of defending the liberty which is our life?

ADDRESS

by Dr. MORDECAI JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF
THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

AT THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 6.

I suppose one of the reasons why you have been so kindly constrained to invite me is because I am one of those under-developed peoples and you would like to hear about the world from the way it looks down under. I am indeed from among the under-developed peoples; I am the child of a slave. My father was a slave for twenty-five years before the emancipation; my mother was born in slavery; I have lived practically all of my life on the territory of the former slave States, so when you hear me talk you are dealing with the real under-developed thing.

Yet I have early in my life come into contact with what I conceive to be the noblest and best element in the Western World, namely, those Christian educational missionaries who founded the first colleges and universities for negroes. I am today working in a university founded by them on the basis and principles which are precious to the Western World; for when these men founded the Howard University they put it on the cornerstone of the inherent dignity and immeasurable possibilities of the human individual as such, and they enrolled slaves and the children of slaves with their own sons and daughters without hesitation and without fear, being confident that on that campus they would be able to bring them all to maturity, to responsibility and democratic and Christian creativity. I am indebted to those men for the development of my powers, for teaching me how to live freely from the deepest inclinations of my being, and for giving me the power to give my life away freely for causes that I love. So you are not only listening to the child of a slave who can give you authentic words from down under. You give heed at this moment to one who knows the deepest and purest traditions of the Western World, who loves those traditions, who reveres the men who handed them to him, and who loves the community of peoples out of whom they have come.

As I read all the papers that have come into my section, I find that they are all certain that the second phase of the war between the Atlantic Community and the Soviet Union has already begun, and that is the economic phase. I have always looked upon the economic purposes of the Soviet Union as their primary purposes, so that in my humble judgment we are just now beginning to confront the central and

most powerful purposes of the Soviet Union and her allies. In my humble opinion there is no appraisal of what is going to come to us better than can be found in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, in which it says "And at midnight there was a cry made, 'The bridegroom is at hand. Go ye out to meet him'". I have a feeling that the bridegroom of our Western civilization is at hand, and that we are now at the parting of the ways, that when we meet this economic offensive we are going to meet the most powerful opposition of ideas, the most vigorously intelligent handling of the economic and spiritual factors of life in a revolutionary way that any group of people in the world have faced, and we are going either to adjust ourselves to meet that onslaught of idea-power and economic organizational power with a vigorous readjustment of our lives, or we are going down and possibly to lose any power to control the trend of history for years to come. But if we do meet it boldly, realising from the beginning that it will involve the use of all of our powers to the maximum extent, we may be able to pursue a course of action which will not only lead to victory but which will lift our democratic life to a higher level of functioning than we have ever known before, and give us a radiant power over the lives and affections of men around this world, such as we have not had in five hundred years.

Now if this is going to happen to us, I think we need to do two things that are somewhat uncongenial to us. We have got to go back and make a re-estimate of our enemy, and we have got to acquire some humility in the appraisal of ourselves. Up to this time we have been looking at the military side of our enemy, his totalitarian organization and his aggressive subversion, and we have been filled with disgust and fear, and we have been facing him primarily with military organization, cohesive and powerful economic organization. We have rather paid little or no attention to the central focus of what he is about in this world. Now we have got to look at that central focus, and if we are wise I think we will not allow our emotions of revulsion to prevent us from appraising him on the level represented by his highest and most intelligent and pure-hearted devotee. It is a great mistake to appraise any movement like the movement represented by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People by continual listing

of their faults. God has never yet been able to choose a faultless movement for the projection of His powerful proxies. One pure-hearted man at the head of a thousand men, fifty per cent of whom are full of faults, is able by the inspiration of his purity of heart, his moral power, to keep them in cohesive union, to bring to their assistance forces that are primarily selfish in character, and to bring about a change in human affairs that could not be calculated beforehand.

We must try to take a look at the Soviet Union through the eyes of their purest, most devoted and honourable men. When you do that you will see that at the central part of the communist movement there is a simple and great faith. It is a faith that, with the scientific and technical intelligence which we have at our disposal in the modern world, if we put it in the hands of the right men, the struggle for existence in this world would be overcome in a world-wide way and that poverty, squalor, ignorance, disease and early death could be conquered and the foundation laid for a great society in which culture would be available to all human things.

These men believe this with a passion that is not exceeded by any movement in the world except early Christianity. They are responding to it every day and every hour with an enthusiasm which is nothing short of remarkable. On the ground of Russia and the Chinese soil they are making achievements of one kind or another which have astonished us, and they are preaching it now around the world with an evangelistic enthusiasm that is immense. This message that they have is very fittingly addressed, though I think they have fittingly addressed it to the under-developed peoples of whom there are one billion, two hundred million, all of whom have a scale of living which is under a hundred dollars per capita per year; all of whom are living in a primarily agricultural civilization, and a very poor type of agriculture at that; all of whom are living in countries in which there is very little industry to supplement agriculture; all of whom are impoverished in the field of scientific and technical intelligence, and to most of whom it makes no difference how much money you would give them, they would have no governmental personnel prepared to make a wise and well co-ordinated use of scientific and technical plans and projections.

The Soviet Union are saying to these people, "Here we come to you from among those who, like yourself, have suffered. We have come not to make you strong and powerful so that you could dominate, exploit and humiliate your fellows, we have come to show you how to treble and quadruple your agricultural production, to supplement your agriculture with the industries which we will show you how to establish, to lend you scientific and technical personnel, to sit down and talk with you about plans for the further development of your country, to lend you

money at rates so low that you will see in an unequivocally clear manner that we are not trying to make a profit on you and we are prepared to devote ourselves to this task for months and years solely because we believe that there is in you the power to conquer the struggle for existence in your country, and we want to have the joy of seeing you do that."

They have said in their literature—do not misunderstand this—"We take our position quite contrary to the Second International. We are not out to organize the white working people of the world. We are out to organize the working people of the world, and we say it to all of our workers everywhere, in Africa, in Asia and in the homelands of the colonial powers."

Now they stand on a territory that constitutes one-fourth of the landed areas of this world. They have one-third of the population of this world, and they have now established themselves in a place where they know that we no longer have the military power to dislodge them. Eight hundred million of these people that are under-developed are on the border of the Soviet Union and of China, so close that they have to cross no water to reach them, they can also touch their hands any time of day and they can speak to them without a long-distance telephone.

But all these 800 million people are black and brown and yellow Asiatics who in times past have suffered at the hands of the peoples whom we represent, and who have some fear of us. They look at what the Soviet Union and the Chinese people have done by their faith with admiration and they are proud to believe that if they could have the right kind of relationship with any group of people in this world they themselves could do that.

We are up against an immense antagonist. How many of these people does he have to win? Why, if he won India alone he would all but tip the scales of the majority population of the human race and, in a few months after that might turn the tables on us and put us in the minority of the world.

Now let us take a look at ourselves. I said the next thing we have got to do is to acquire some humility in the appraisal of ourselves. We are going to enter this contest with a great handicap. We speak of ourselves in a highly complimentary fashion as the free peoples of the world. Indeed we are, and the one who is speaking knows how true that is, for in our domestic institutions we are the freest and most flexibly organized people in the world. We are most sensitive to the will of the people, and we have developed parliamentary institutions which are precious to the whole of the human race and which we rightly want to preserve. But it takes a great man like Toynbee to tell us that in the relationship with the people of Asia and Africa this is not so of us, that for 500 years we have been aggressors against them, we have attacked and

conquered nearly all of them, we have exploited their natural resources in a manner which they consider to have been unjust, and we have often segregated and humiliated them on the land of their fathers.

In the second place we are still wounded, we are divided in our minds today by moral habits which have descended from the colonial system which we have not yet been able to overcome. We present an equivocal picture in what we are doing now. The under-developed peoples of the world have only to look at Africa to see how divided our minds are. On the one hand we see the noble British one by one freeing their peoples from the colonial yoke, freeing them deliberately, supporting them in their freedom, and inviting them in their freedom to come back to your mother country which is now for you no longer an empire but a commonwealth. Every now and then we see the noble French rise with a passionate gesture and say to their peoples, "Are we holding you? Then be free," and then under their breath they say in prayer, "But do come back. We want you to be with us." The other day we saw a declaration from the Belgians saying, "This pathway of freedom is what we intend to pursue. Our plans are in the making and will be ready." But you look at Africa, it is magnificent to see that some 70 million of the peoples have been freed under these circumstances by members of this organization. But there are 110 millions of Africans who are neither free nor under mandate, still dominated politically, still having their natural resources exploited, not for their good but for the good of those who exploit. We see on the shores of Africa instances of the most deliberate and cruel segregation and discrimination of the inhabitants of the country on the land of their fathers and in the presence of the graves of their mothers. Nobody can look at Africa without knowing that we are divided in our minds and that we have not yet been able to summon either the political power or the moral power to overcome that division.

May I say to you again, we have as yet been able to put no great world-encircling concept in the place of the colonial system to which we have been devoted for some 500 years and which is now fallen.

Let me say again—I told you you must watch me and bear with me—only those who love greatly can talk this way. I say to you that as I look at this great economic programme it seems to me to be on the periphery of our interest, almost an afterthought, it has never sat in the chair directly in front of us and grasped the central focus of our hearts. We have a great military programme, which represents the greatest power of precision planning and co-ordination that we are capable of. In the Marshall Plan and other great projects, we have had great programmes of development protective of, and stimulative of, each other, which is one cause for admiration among men. But our programme of economic helpfulness is a puny vein

and comes into our minds as an afterthought, never having received prolonged thought from us, prolonged affection, and robust attention. Moreover, I am trying to be hard, and my purpose is, as my father used to say, to stir up your pure minds, and that programme is dependent today too largely upon little droplets of annual appropriations which expire on June 30, and which no sensible and thoughtful man with great purpose in his heart can make any plans about. I am at a university, and no sooner do I get my appropriation for 1960 than they call me in immediately for 1961, maybe 1962, and it is awfully hard to plan money even in that short range. Sometimes we get money for professors at the end of one year and we cannot use them because it is too late to use them. And yet we are trying to build up the economy of nearly half the human race from little droplets of annual appropriations which expire on June 30 and which permit no planning and give no index that we have any purpose to devote ourselves to this objective in an unequivocal manner beyond one year.

Again there is no central organization in existence of our making which plans to use and to co-ordinate all the economic powers that we have for this purpose and to see to it that they work. I tell you we are going into the fight of a determinative lifetime and we are not prepared. We are not prepared. We are not morally prepared. We are not purely prepared in our hearts in their orientation towards the thing that we want to do for these people. We are not committing ourselves to any long-range purpose when we know that it may take years and years to develop the economies of these people. We have no great central organization for talking with them, for listening to their ideas or exchanging ideas with them, for approach in co-operation with them, for applying a fit measure to them.

I will say swiftly what I think we have got to do. The first thing we have got to do is not economic, it is religious. The first step that we must take is to put the colonial system behind us in our minds and renew our allegiance to the Christian world-view, regarding the nature of human nature and the possibilities of human nature and the possibilities of a free human society in this world, based on these considerations. The British know what I mean; you great Frenchmen, who pioneered the illumination, know what I mean; you great Germans, who have meditated upon Socialism long before the idea was born among the Russians, you know what I mean. I mean the thing that Abraham Lincoln meant when he said "Government of the people for the people and by the people dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, all men". And he said, "I have never had a political idea in my life that was not based upon this great proposition, and when I read that proposition I not only see the slaves set free but I see the last tyranny lifted from the back of the last man."

The next thing we have got to do, and we shall need the help of God to do it and the help of each other, we have got to give our consent to the eternal veto on the colonial system and turn all the strength of these Atlantic powers to the liquidation of the remaining remnants of the colonial system in Africa.

In the third place we must accept the moral responsibility towards the people of Asia that is indissolubly connected with the enormous scientific and technical knowledge, organizational resources and constructive powers that we have, and we have got to go to them with a pure heart and say, "We have come to you not to offer you aid for the sake of your military helpfulness, not to hand you economic assistance as people put a halter on a bag of oats before a mule's mouth in order that, while you are eating the oats, we may lead you along the pathway to take up a load which otherwise, of your own free will, you would not take, but to offer men this programme purely in order that they may be free in the same sense that we are free in order that they may conquer the struggle for existence in their territory in the way that we are conquering it, and in order that they may be members with us of that great society which we have in our hearts and which we intend shall cover this world."

We ought in the next place to take this whole business out of the range of benevolence, put it before us not as an accessory to our military programme but as the greatest of all programmes in itself—listen to me—for which the military programme, as big as it is, is only a trench-building and protecting operation, to handle the programme in the central focus of our being, to accept it as an obligation not to be done with our cigar money nor with our chewing-gum money nor our cigarette money, but to be done, if necessary, with

our very blood, because we cannot live in our hearts and see them suffer impoverishment the way they suffer and hold what we have and eat the bread we have in peace. We must cease to think about little benevolent annual drops of money. We are no mere jugglers of money. We are the greatest producers of scientific and technical intelligence in the world, of the most diversified scientific and technical intelligence; we know more about the multiplication of agricultural products than any group of human beings in the world. We know more about building up great dairy herds and pure milk supplies than any group of people in the world. We know more about lending money, borrowing money, the effective use of money. We know more about trade, and all these things that have to do with the building up of a great economic order.

This thing that I am talking about calls upon us to use all of these things in a co-ordinated fashion to an end which we determine to do or die if we do not do it. If we will do that, we have got to have an organization to do it with. I do not know enough to tell you what organization to use. I can tell you what kind it has got to be. It has got to be akin to this great military organization that spoke to us this morning; it has got to be led by minds that understand economic procedures through and through; it has got to be as diversified as the populations of the earth to which we go; it has got to be a planning organization that can send a team of men into any country and help them in a few days, and discover the natural resources there, the soil there, the possibilities of development there, and come back with a programme that they have talked over with the people; and men who after they have got that programme know what scientists and technicians to choose, what administrative organizers to choose, and send them there and keep them there until the work is done.

ADDRESS

by Mr. J. OLDENBROEK, SECRETARY GENERAL, INTERNATIONAL
CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

AT THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 6.

Now this Committee is going to deal with the Communist Bloc countries, and you will appreciate that in so doing we shall always have at the same time to think in terms of our own country, of all the other countries of the world. So to this Committee the sky is the limit. It has got to deal with the whole world.

I do not know why I have been invited to introduce this item, and I was in something of a quandary. I might have asked, but I did not do so. It may be that other speakers were not prepared to undertake it. I just do not know, but maybe I can flatter myself, maybe I may assume that I was chosen because I happen to be the General Secretary of an organization that is the largest organization in the world, judged by the number of countries affiliated with it, and it is an organization which represents, inside the thirteen countries that are here, the largest part of the population of your countries, namely labour. I said thirteen because Portugal is not with us because there is no freedom of association in that country that is supposed to defend, with us, democracy. We have organizations in 97 different countries of the world, and whatever happens in any one of the NATO countries may reflect itself, and often does reflect itself, in one of those 97 countries or territories, of which the number does not include any dictatorship country, whether communist, fascist or military. We organize only free countries, where there is freedom of association, where there is freedom of speech, where there are free elections, where the candidate need not escape from his country because he has stood as a candidate against the official one. Dr. Johnson might agree with me that that is one of our world difficulties and one of our weaknesses; democracy does not die, it kills itself.

Now I would hope that I was asked to speak here because we meet, in all these countries, communist propaganda, communist agents, communist movements. We have to defend against them our free trade union movement, and we do it. I think that Dr. Johnson is a little too pessimistic. I admire him for castigating everyone in the hall, but I think he makes a mistake if he believes that in the countries that were once colonies, in the countries that were never colonies that are under-developed today, there are no forces, Christian or non-Christian, willing to fight

against communism. Let us take India. That is not a Christian country, is it? It is essentially a Hindu country. Does it not stand out as a great force in Asia against communism? Unfortunately, some of us do not appreciate it. Unfortunately, some of us think that in India Prime Minister Nehru has to apply the same policies that we love in the United States. But the fact remains that he is a great democrat, if ever there was one, and that he has to apply and to advocate his democracy under more difficult circumstances than all of us who are sitting here can appreciate. I'm already on propaganda, aren't I?

Now how are we going to meet the great challenge of communist propaganda? We have heard here wonderful speeches from the military point of view; we are all right; that's good. But, you know, as we sit here we only represent a small part of the world, and we might consider that the battle is not going to be fought in this little part of Europe and in the Atlantic and in the northern part of the United States. Perhaps it is going to be fought somewhere else. Not only perhaps. It is already clear that it is being fought somewhere else, only some of us do not realise it. And that battle need not be a military war; it may be a cold war, but it will not be a shooting war; and that battle is going on in Asia, in Africa and in Latin-America, and to a certain extent also in our part of Europe. We see considerable minorities, communist minorities in France and Italy; we find it is also being fought there. What is being fought is explained in what I believe was one of the best papers put before this Conference by a lady, a French lady, Mme. Suzanne Labin, who has produced a paper setting out how this works, setting out how hundreds of thousands of people are in the employ of that monster, and that the Soviets make available half a million dollars per year for the purpose of propaganda alone; I think 500 million roubles, half a milliard, half a billion in the States. Half a milliard roubles is an understatement. It does not include all the radio stations that blare out 24 hours a day, not one or ten but a hundred, and a few thousand in addition to that who stop us from talking to them.

Let us, then, not believe that in those parts where obviously the colonisers have misbehaved there are no people there who, notwithstanding that fact, are not

prepared to fight communism; they are. But they ought to be assisted in doing that. Again, we democrats suffer from something that may become fatal; we believe in the biggest possible plurality. If we can set up a thousand international organisations we are not going to set up a hundred, that is definite.

So we have, I am sure, to deal with the problem that we are discussing on this occasion. We can think of hundreds of organizations that are dealing with this, unco-ordinated of course. If they were to be co-ordinated it would be worse still because they would do nothing but co-ordinate, they would do no work at all. If anybody asks me to co-ordinate I say, "Thank you very much, I have got some work to do." We will allow ourselves then to set up all these organizations instead of some of you wise men getting up and saying, "Now, it is about enough, let us do it together. Let us do this under one roof in order that we can work," because we have not been able to do much really effective against the communist propaganda. We admit not only that it is a terrific task but that it is more than we can do, and more has to be done. But you see if it were only a matter of propaganda perhaps it would not be so difficult, but it is not only a matter of propaganda, and I can feel in this meeting this is understood.

You see, you cannot go to, say, Asia or Africa or Latin-America and say to them, "Well, you know, these crooks in the Kremlin, they say this, but that is not true you know and they are not going to help you anyway." I believe they are going to give very little help, Dr. Johnson, in the end. I mean, that is the experience so far anyway. I believe that they are not out to make all of the world happy; I believe there is a group of them which wants to dominate and rule the whole world rather than make the world happy, but that is for later, of course, to find out when they get a chance somewhere. I do not think that the Hungarians are very happy, for instance, or for that matter any of the satellites. No, they still have their own difficulties and they still have to solve them. They have not been up against very serious difficulties yet, you know, but they will come. Meanwhile we have this tremendous propaganda machine working, and we have to do all we can against this. This can be done negatively, but it must be done even more so positively. I am only talking here about the under-developed areas of the world and the positive aid we can give by making it possible for these people to develop themselves economically and socially. Otherwise we are going to them with empty hands. I do not want to repeat what other speakers have said, particularly Dr. Johnson, but we must not go with strings attached: "You must do this or you must do that, otherwise you are not going to have our aid; first of all military aid and then, if we have got a little left, we will also give you some economic aid." It will not work that way; it will not work out that way. If we

do give aid let us not think that immediately there will be, on the part of those receiving it, that gratitude that we would like to see in their eyes when they get it. It has not happened that way, has it? Do you remember the Marshall Plan? Do you remember how much criticism there was for this Marshall Plan before it was put into operation, how much doubt there was—and not only among communists? They were obviously not sincere about it, but there was doubt among other groups of the population; they doubted very much whether this should be accepted. It took a long time before people showed how grateful they were for the support that they were given. I think there is no country now in Europe that received this aid that is not grateful for it and that does not realise what it has meant and that does not want to express that. But at that very moment in 1947 and 1948 it looked rather different. So do not expect that; just do your duty.

My organization said, "Now let's make a stand. Let each industrial country give at least one per cent of its national income per year for this purpose." Of course, a number of them are not doing that and others are doing more and they should continue to do more. But let us at any rate do that, because one per cent from our countries means \$5,500 million a year, which is even big money in the United States, \$5½ billion is one per cent. Should we reduce our standard of living because of that? That is not necessary. If we handle that apparatus, that technical apparatus that we have, if we use that technology that is at our disposal, we shall have no need to reduce anything; we can go on increasing. What we are doing for the time being is increasing, but they are going further down, getting worse and worse in these under-developed countries because we do not help them, because nobody helps them. Therefore, unless we are prepared to help we had better give it up, we had better think of disappearing from the earth; let us have no more children because it is no good; let us just decide we will go away and leave the planet to them, maybe we can go to another planet but it seems to be too early for that yet.

My Committee—if I may call them that, I am of course in the exceptional position of being the Chairman of Committee number E—will have before them a lot of problems. They will certainly deal with the question of commercial relations, of commercial treaties, with Soviet countries, with communist countries. I do not want to anticipate all the discussions that are going to take place. But every country has to be very careful before entering into such commercial relations, the reason being that the communist countries may always use these for their own purposes and to the detriment of the countries with which they trade. We have already seen this in a number of cases. We have seen it in the case of Yugoslavia, which did not get its credits although they were promised; we have seen this in the case of Finland only

a short time ago when the Soviet Union was not prepared to buy the goods that it had promised to buy from Finland, and most of the economy of that country has been constructed on the basis of supplying these goods to the Soviet Union; there is the case of Ceylon that at one time did not know what to do with the rubber it had planted and was able to sell that to China with rice in exchange and, according to the Chinese, that was a wonderful deal because they got much more rice than they were entitled to. But are they going to continue to buy? Or are they just buying in order to enter a market with the intention of destroying that market? Because markets are markets, you know; to find new ones is not so easy; to keep them is not so easy and, therefore, countries that go and enter into commercial relations may do themselves very much harm if they think that will be of advantage; they may make a very serious mistake, and the examples are there to prove it.

What is the answer? The answer is this, that the free world must buy what it has to sell; that is the answer, it must buy what it has to sell. If Ceylon is a free country and produces rubber, that rubber has got to be bought, because if that rubber is not bought the people of Ceylon have not got anything to eat. Can the United States not defer producing synthetic rubber until such time as they cannot get natural rubber? You have to find a solution to these problems; the governments must agree that they will help each other, that they will assist each other. The governments must also agree, now that I am on that subject, to pay decent prices, to conclude commodity

agreements and to ensure the payment of decent prices, not prices that are high but to cut out the speculator and to pay a decent price to those who are the primary producers because it is they who suffer in the world, the poorest suffer in the world, they cannot get a price that is equal to their cost price and that is already pretty low. So it is all right making propaganda, but you must have a case. It is not enough to deny the other man's propaganda, you must have a case, you must show that the democracy is better and that democracy can work, and that democracy can work on the international plane because this is no longer a question of two countries, it is no longer a question of a part of Europe and a part of America, it is something that relates to the whole world, and it is only possible if we can get these agreements, if we can bring that pressure to bear upon governments—who are, of course, afraid of electors in their own countries, otherwise I would assume they would be prepared to go further, because I cannot imagine that they are only led by their own interests, interests of such short duration that I should wish that they look further ahead. Governments ought to look further ahead. It should be possible. I think an organization does not yet exist and I am not suggesting we set up another organization without swallowing quite a number of others at the same time; but we do need governments to come together to look at the interests of every one of the governments that are there, and the people of those countries, because only if we agree and only if we work together can we save the world from dictatorship.

ADDRESS

by HON. LEWIS W. DOUGLAS,
HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF U.S. DELEGATION

AT THE SPECIAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 9.

There are others who will address you with far more eloquence and far greater elegance than can I, but none will speak with greater sincerity or deeper convictions about the significance of the North Atlantic Community to the preservation and advancement of the type of civilization of which, with natural national modifications, we are all members. We all enjoy a philosophical, political and general economic inheritance which is much the same. This is the foundation stone upon which the association of the North Atlantic countries, even in its military aspects, has been established.

One may define this philosophical, political and economic community in many ways—ways which distinguish our own community from the community which lies to the east. We believe that the individual should be the master of the state, and not the slave. Others believe, as Professor Fisher has put it, in “the tyranny of the state gilded by the ethical beauty of sacrifice.”

We may even define our part of the world as that part which has a conscience—a conscience which is pricked and causes us to bow our heads in shame whenever we behave in a manner which offends our generally accepted standards of moral behaviour.

But however we may define the civilization to which we all belong, we both instinctively and consciously acknowledge that we are each of us part of it and that for it we are prepared to risk “our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.”

The events of the last half century bear mute and convincing testimony to support this naked fact of recent history.

The North Atlantic Treaty, conceived in an atmosphere of apprehension, is one of the startling novelties, perhaps the most startling novelty, of the first half of this century. In one of the most highly revolutionary periods of history, which has witnessed the rise of new seats of authority and the greatest migration of the centres of power within the span of modern history, the North Atlantic Community has been formally conceived and formally established. That the North American part of the new world is irrevocably committed to the preservation of the civilization of which

it is an integral part is, I suggest, the most important of the international developments since the turn of the century. Had this commitment existed in 1914 or in 1939, it is doubtful that we would have been dragged through the frightful experiences—the loss of millions of young lives—the complete disruption of social, political, and economic life, which followed in their wake.

And now, 15 years after the end of the last war, we meet here as individuals drawn from the countries of the Atlantic Community in an attempt—a very serious attempt—to propose various means by which governments of the North Atlantic area may move together in the political, military, and economic spheres of human activity to preserve our civilization and to fashion our community into a more solid and more enduring co-operative bastion of freedom.

In this task, and indeed in the task which confronts governments, I am bold enough to suggest that we are caught on the horns of a dilemma. We are faced with a serious contradiction. On the one hand, science and scientists have revealed to mankind vast new horizons of knowledge. They have delivered into our hands not only an accumulation of knowledge which can be ultimately employed for the greater benefit and glory of peoples everywhere, but also which can be fashioned into the most frightful weapon—more lethal than anything which President Lowell of Harvard University had in mind when he asked the question many years ago, “Is the final gift of the natural sciences to man ultimate destruction?”

At the same time that science and scientists have been bequeathing this body of knowledge to us, the political behaviour of man has, on balance, been lagging behind, if in many respects it has not deteriorated. Many new manifestations of excessive nationalism—not patriotism—are emerging in almost every part of the world—old and new.

In this matrix, science has given us the means to destroy ourselves. Meanwhile, politics, in its broadest sense, seems to be less and less able to deal successfully with the complicated issues which science and technology have created.

This is the dilemma and the contradiction of our period. We are meeting here in this Congress to attempt to persuade our respective governments that time is pressing, that politics must take control of the forces that science has generated, that unrestrained sovereignty, *once constrained* for almost the stretch of a century from Waterloo to the Marne, must once again subject itself to self discipline and to wholesome restraints. We are meeting here in the deep conviction that only by acknowledging in word and by deed our common determination, and our willingness to resolve our internal and our particular international problems—in terms of their consequences to our own com-

munity and those who are associated with us—will the Atlantic Community survive in all of its greatness in order that men and women in all parts of the world may mould for themselves a future of opportunity and plenty.

Only by resolving the contradiction between science and politics, by restraining national sovereignty, and by co-operative action—economic, political and military—among the members of the Atlantic Community, can issues common to our generation be adequately met, and an enduring peace finally be fashioned out of a period of uneasiness.

ADDRESS

by M. PAUL-HENRI SPAAK, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF NATO

AT THE SPECIAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 9

It seems to me that the Congress which is now ending has rendered good service to the Atlantic alliance, as the great majority of participants are asking the Organization to make further efforts.

This confidence in the future should not deter us from assessing what has been accomplished during the last ten years.

Indeed few political organizations have accomplished their task, or rather, the first essential part of their task—as completely as NATO has done.

In 1949, immediately after the communist *coup d'état* in Prague, its essential task was to arrest the communist advance in Europe, which had been continuing for ten years against the obvious wishes of most of the inhabitants of the conquered or satellite countries.

The Atlantic alliance has accomplished this essential task by the mere fact of its existence, without having had to resort to force, or even to threats. Its steadfastness and determination have been sufficient.

But the problems raised by communism, and in particular its declared aim for world domination, still remain unsolved.

Despite the undoubted success of the Atlantic alliance, the communist threat to the world as a whole has been extended geographically and ideologically.

Today it affects Asia and Africa as seriously as Europe, and is probably more economic and social than political and military.

Will we be able to meet these new demands? I believe we can do so, provided we hold on to every one of the results achieved during the last ten years, and at the same time find new forms of organization and activities for the Atlantic alliance.

This is the main problem we now have to face and solve during the next few years.

Peaceful co-existence, which the communists urge upon us and we have no reason to refuse, is in fact competition in all spheres for a prize which is nothing less than the victory of one civilization over another.

I look forward to this competition with confidence, providing we can make the necessary effort in the right direction.

When they met at Washington in 1957, President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan declared that only inter-dependence could henceforth ensure the future of their countries and of all the members of the Atlantic alliance. This sound declaration must now be transformed into reality. It would be unfair to deny that results have already been achieved in the right direction, but it would be deluding ourselves completely to believe that they measure up to the need. We have started upon the right lines, and this is encouraging, but we are not bold enough and we let ourselves be overtaken by events in too many matters. We are exhausting ourselves in a kind of pursuit race, when we should no longer trail behind but should anticipate and dominate events and impose our wishes on them.

A frank review of the last ten years should enable us to assess what has been achieved, and, more important, the great deal that remains to be done.

In the military field, progress is obvious. In 1949, Europe was virtually disarmed. Now she has organized forces which constitute a very thorny problem for any aggressor. However, we must not relax our efforts but must adapt them to the new need. So long as the general controlled disarmament, that we are constantly urging as the only permanent solution, is not achieved, we must modernize our armies. Against a possible adversary who boasts of having every kind of atomic weapon and has never given an undertaking not to use them, our only possible course is to build up a shield and a power of reprisal strong enough to make that adversary think again or, even better, to persuade him to abandon all idea of aggression.

The introduction of tactical and strategic atomic weapons confronts the alliance with difficult problems not only of a financial character but also in the domain of political responsibilities.

These problems can only be solved if they are approached and discussed by partners who well know that they are determined to pull together for better or worse. It is certainly unwise to refuse to communicate one's secrets to those with whom one has decided to defend all that one considers essential and sacred. On the other hand, it is unreasonable to want to share one's allies' secrets and, at the same time, to claim complete freedom of action.

When these principles are understood, they are bound to lead to increasingly close co-operation although we must realize that this will involve some loss of freedom.

I am convinced that logic, necessity and the compulsion of events will lead us to a solution.

But the military alliance has no meaning unless it is supported by a joint, concerted foreign policy. Such a policy can only be worked out by regular full and frank discussion before any action takes place.

Surprising progress has already been made in this field, and a great experiment in collective diplomacy is taking place within the alliance.

An obvious and happy result of this is the real unanimity now being manifested by the western representatives at Geneva on all essential points. But we are dealing with a long-term experiment which must be continued and extended still further before one can really talk of success or failure.

It is clear that we are working on the right lines. What we have to do is simply to continue and intensify our effort. If, as I hope, we succeed, the results will be tremendous.

Our union will gradually achieve unity and new possibilities of working together will open up before us.

But a joint military organization and a co-ordinated foreign policy are not in themselves sufficient to cover all that must be done within the Atlantic alliance.

As I have said before, in the coming years it is probably to the economic and social aspects that we shall have to pay the greatest attention; and the less economically developed countries of Africa and Asia will probably be the scene of the clash between the communist world and the free world.

We must not forget that the communist world places all its enormous scientific and economic resources, without exception, at the service of its policy. When faced with this co-ordinated, authoritarian effort, the liberalism and individualism so precious to us from so many points of view are a source of weakness and can even be the cause of defeat.

A policy for aiding the under-developed countries requires, indeed demands, the co-ordination of national and international efforts, and a bold, long-term plan. But despite the generous efforts which have been made, we are still far from our objective. There is urgent need for us to see things broad-mindedly and to act quickly. Above all, we must act together and put behind us once and for all the competition and rivalry, the spirit and methods, of the nineteenth century.

The only way to undertake this military, political, economic and social action and make a success of it, is to start by clarifying the main points on which we are united.

We must make it clear to the world at large, and perhaps in the first place to our own peoples, that our power and our wealth are at the service of great ideals and that it is a way of thought and a way of life that we mean to defend and proclaim to the world.

We must not be deterred by false modesty. In the long run, the only way to parry the communist threat is by convincing people that we represent a better way of life, which will of course supply the material needs to which they are entitled, but will also satisfy their highest aspirations. In this connection, I should like to use the few remaining minutes in drawing the attention of my audience to the very clear statement of our spiritual aspirations and our principal aims made by one of the sub-committees of this Congress, in the following terms:—

“ Respect for human dignity is the inalienable basis of civilization. It is the purpose of a political and economic society to create conditions enabling every human being freely to fulfil his destiny.

“ That dignity is guaranteed, firstly, by the recognition of objective spiritual values which cannot be modified by any human agency but are the expression of a natural or transcendental law governing communities and individuals alike.

“ The Atlantic Community recognizes that political and economic society is based indissolubly on the dual principle of individual liberty and the common good. It deplores individual egotism as much as any form of totalitarianism. It is, moreover, open to all political and economic régimes which respect its basic principles.

“ The safeguards of both the rights and actions of individuals and peoples must be constitutionally expressed. The Law is the essential instrument through which the principles of civilization are put into practice.

“ The respect due to every human being implies the duty to bring material and spiritual wealth progressively within the reach of all at both national and international level.

“ Peace and unity between all men with justice and freedom are the highest expression of the application of those principles which the Community seeks to promote.”

In the final analysis, this is the purpose of the alliance and the reason for its existence. These are the values it means to defend and hopes to see triumph.

In this lies its justification.

ADDRESS

by THE RT. HON. H. T. N. GAITSKELL,
LEADER OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

AT THE SPECIAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 9

I do not think it a matter for surprise that this Congress has devoted so much of its time to the problem, not of relationships inside NATO, but of relations between the NATO countries and the rest of the free world, for, although NATO is in principle, in the main, a defensive military alliance covering Europe, including the eastern Mediterranean, nevertheless, we are part of one world to-day, and we know only too well that things that happen in the Middle East or the Far East or Africa may have profound consequences for our alliance and our community. Therefore it is the most natural thing that we should consider our relations with the part of the free world which is not within the Atlantic Community.

There are three things which most of the rest of the free world has in common. For the greater part they are countries whose nationhood is comparatively recent. They are territories in which nationalism is a very powerful force; they say it is also still powerful in Europe, but I think we should recognize that the new nationalism, whether it be in Asia, the Middle East or Africa, is something of which we must take special note. Secondly, they are, for the most part, countries which are uncommitted in the struggle and conflict between the Communist world and the Atlantic alliance. This, of course, is not universally true—there are some countries which are associated in at any rate a grouping or alliance similar in some respects to NATO—but there are still larger areas which are, as I say, uncommitted. Thirdly, they are almost all of them under-developed countries which are, compared with European or North American standards, extraordinarily poor, where the standard of living per head is only a fraction, as little as ten per cent in some cases, of what it is in the richer countries of the West.

So what should be our general attitude towards these territories? I myself have little doubt about what the answer should be. If we are to win the friendship and develop the close ties that we should like to see developed with these territories, we must first of all sympathize with their nationalist aspirations. It is no use behaving to them in a way in which we would certainly not behave towards each other, justifying our own nationalist past, but despising their nationalist present. We have to recognize that they are inspired by strong nationalist feelings, and do our best to live with them.

Secondly, I venture to say we make a mistake if we attempt to force or even over-persuade those countries which are uncommitted in their political outlook, into the alliances of the West. They have their reasons for being neutral, if that is the right word to use, for being not aligned with us, and in some respects I believe myself there is a case for certain countries in the world being not wholly aligned with one side or the other. At any rate, I am quite sure that any attempt to impose upon them, to try to bully them into association with us would be a disastrous policy.

Thirdly, they are under-developed countries, and therefore we must do our best to help them for two very good reasons. Firstly, for sheer humanitarian reasons—I have already mentioned the difference of living standards, but there is something else which we must remember, and that is that, although I think it is broadly true within most democratic countries in the West that the degree of inequality has diminished, and is diminishing, we must record the unfortunate fact that when you come to compare the living standards and wealth of the backward countries with the more advanced countries, there is a tendency for the gap to get wider rather than narrower, and that is something which none of us can view with anything but dismay. The second reason is surely this: these countries are most of them trying by their own efforts to industrialize themselves, to get, as you might say, on to the escalator of economic progress. They are trying to carry out big investment programmes. These programmes place a tremendous strain upon the political institutions which exist in those territories, and if there is to be any hope of the advancement of these territories being carried through with the maintenance of civil liberty and democratic institutions they must have help from outside. They must have economic help, and surely, therefore, in the interests of freedom as well as in the interests of friendship and humanity, we should do what we can to help them.

I would only say two things about the kind of aid that should be given. I think we should make a mistake if we attempted to tie military strings to it. I think we should then get the same kind of reaction as if we tried to force these countries into alliance with us. Secondly, let us remember that economic development in any event is no substitute for political freedom, and those countries which are still advancing towards

freedom and independence will not regard it as such. Certainly, they want economic development, but they will not be fobbed off with it, so to speak, as an alternative to political freedom.

But the question is this. Should NATO go into the business of aid for under-developed areas? We can accept the principles, but what is the action that needs to be taken? I would only say for my part that I am very doubtful whether it would be wise for the NATO alliance to convert itself, or to extend itself, into a direct channel of aid for under-developed countries. The reason I feel doubtful about it is frankly this: it is a fact that within our alliance we contain most of the colonial and ex-colonial powers of the world. I use it in the old-fashioned sense, and for the moment I am leaving out the colonial powers the other side of the Iron Curtain. We must recognize that countries which have only recently attained their independence are likely, despite all the efforts on our part to break it down, still to be infected with a certain amount of suspicion of those who were, until recently, their rulers, and a colonial bloc, if that is the way that NATO could be represented, would certainly be gravely handicapped if it were trying to go into the aid business.

Secondly, as I have already said, these countries are most of them uncommitted, and, rightly or wrongly, they are suspicious also of military blocs, and even if

we were to say: "We wish to help you; we tie no strings; do what you like; we don't ask for any alliance," there would be on their part certain reservations about dealing direct with the NATO alliance. For these reasons, my own view of the pure question of machinery is that it is better that we in the Atlantic alliance do not ourselves set up some new channel for aid. Another reason is that there are many other institutions in the field already, starting with the United Nations, and I don't see much point in duplicating them still further. What we can and should do is through these other institutions to do everything we can to help.

I don't believe in this field the problems are really technical at all. I have already referred to the amount of work that has been done upon them by the Universities, by the International Bank and by the Colombo Plan, and in so many other ways we have hundreds of people with direct experience of the problem. It is not technical difficulties that stand in the way of a really big effort to help the under-developed countries, it is simply the will power, the willingness, the determination of the various countries to devise and carry through an aid programme. If this Congress, as I believe to be the case, has strengthened the resolve of the members of the Atlantic Community to will this end, then indeed it will have achieved something of immense importance towards what may make all the difference between winning and losing the cold war.

ADDRESS

by Mr. H. LANGE, FOREIGN MINISTER OF NORWAY

AT THE SPECIAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 9.

I consider it a privilege indeed to greet so many distinguished representatives of the parliaments and so many prominent private citizens of NATO's member countries. This gathering affords a welcome opportunity to celebrate what has been achieved. May it also give new inspiration and incite new endeavours for the benefit of our countries and for world peace.

I would be less than frank, however, if I did not express my sincere regret that our friends from Iceland are not amongst us on this occasion. The reason for their absence is known to all of us. It serves no useful purpose to ignore the fact that this unhappy situation constitutes a serious setback to our whole alliance. This may not be the right occasion to go into the substance of this bitter conflict of interests between two member nations, but I cannot refrain from saying that this is a reminder to all of us how long and arduous indeed is the road towards that harmonious partnership which we would like to see grow up within the North Atlantic alliance.

During the relatively short period of NATO's existence we have suffered other setbacks as well. Suffice it for me to mention the Cyprus conflict. Happily, that conflict has now been brought to an end. Although the solution was not worked out directly through NATO procedures, it is an indisputable fact that the obligation of solidarity within NATO proved a strong incitement to the parties concerned to reach a peaceful solution.

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed primarily to meet the need of member nations for collective defence. This need is just as real today as it was ten years ago. Gradually, however, co-operation within the alliance has extended into many fields other than the purely military one.

This extension of activities within the alliance may be viewed as a response to a vital necessity. In spite of basically common interests and the evident need for unity, the history of our nations is a tale of disputes and wars, of disruption and conflict. To me, NATO appears as perhaps the most important means to create that unity which history has shown to be a condition of survival.

In this perspective the close co-operation established between Western Europe and the two great North American democracies appears as perhaps the most significant feature of the development initiated by the

signing of the Treaty. In NATO we have at our disposal an instrument which may serve as a safeguard against isolationist developments on either side of the Atlantic.

The tendency towards isolationism is contrary to our manifest interest in consolidating and strengthening the position of the Western World as a vigorous and living community. Just now the situation in the field of economic co-operation in Western Europe gives reason for serious concern. The prospects which face us following the breakdown of the OEEC negotiations for a European Free Trade Area might endanger the very basis of Western unity. Therefore, our efforts must now be concentrated on the task of working out, by all available means, a satisfactory multilateral solution to the problem of association between the European Economic Community and the other members of the OEEC.

Faced as we are with the challenge of rapid economic growth and expansion in the communist-dominated nations, we cannot afford the luxury of economic conflict within our family. On the contrary, we are in urgent need of working out in common, co-ordinated policies for economic expansion.

At this point I would like to sound a warning, however, against the tendency to regard NATO as an organization qualified to handle practically all questions of common concern to member states. I think there are fairly natural limitations to what subjects NATO should deal with and what matters should be left to more specialized agencies of Western co-operation.

By this I do not mean to say that we should not strive to simplify and improve our rather complicated system of international organizations.

On the contrary, I attach great importance to the efforts in this field instigated recently by the so-called Wigny-plan.

As regards NATO itself, I do not exaggerate in saying that our organization has shown its ability to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The present set-up of NATO, both in the military and in the non-military field, in the main is not a result of specific regulations laid down in the Treaty itself. It has developed gradually, to meet the functional requirements of co-operation expanding into new fields of activity.

Over these 10 years we have learned something about the natural limitations of *intergovernmental* co-operation, notably in the field of political consultation. At the same time, it has become quite clear that there is a genuine need for a wider measure of co-ordination of the policies of member states. Experience has demonstrated that the real problem of co-ordination lies in the national capitals and that it must be tackled there, rather than in the NATO organs in Paris. Their limitation lies in the instructions the representatives receive from their governments.

We are in fact engaged in a completely new kind of diplomacy which differs drastically from traditional inter-governmental relations. Against this background the achievements of the last few years must be considered as satisfactory, in certain respects more than satisfactory.

From time to time it has been suggested that NATO should serve as an instrument for formulating a common foreign policy for all the member states.

This, I submit, is a demand which goes beyond what can be realistically expected from our alliance. In my opinion, it is not even desirable to attempt such a thing. Most probably it would tend to paralyse the whole process of policy-making both within the alliance, and in the individual capitals. Member countries differ so widely with regard to power, influence, responsibilities and interests that a demand for the adoption of a common policy can only be met under very special circumstances.

I am sure we are all gratified by the common policy which all member countries unhesitatingly adopted with respect to the Soviet threat to Berlin. Here indeed was a case where the demand for a common policy had to be made without qualifications.

The real problem arises in connection with situations which have their roots in developments outside the NATO area. These matters may be of concern to us

all, but it does not necessarily follow that we should strive to adopt a common policy towards them. In many cases, small countries like mine do not even have the necessary factual information as a basis for forming a sound opinion on issues where our national interests are not directly involved. To my mind it is wise—and realistic—to think twice before pressing for a unanimous view or a common NATO policy in such cases.

The aim of our political co-operation must be unity in purpose, but this must not be stretched to mean *conformity* in outlook and method.

In terms of practical politics these views require that the smaller member countries acknowledge the special responsibilities of the big powers within our alliance. Thus, we for our part should not carry our demand for political consultation to the point where the big powers will be hamstrung in formulating and carrying through their policies.

On the other hand, our system of consultation should always allow for the views of smaller states to be taken into due consideration at an early stage of the formulation of policies.

The essence of a living alliance is mutual confidence amongst its members. In this connection I would like to stress the importance of co-operation between parliamentarians of our countries.

The conference of NATO parliamentarians has already proved a useful instrument for creating greater understanding for our mutual problems and common aims, particularly because this conference is the only official forum where parliamentarians meet from both sides of the Atlantic ocean.

No less important are the efforts of the voluntary organizations and committees here represented, to bring home to public opinion in all our countries the importance of NATO co-operation.

ADDRESS

by THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN

AT THE SPECIAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 9.

Now that the Congress is drawing to an end, may I be allowed to congratulate you upon the results that have been achieved. Many valuable contributions have been made and I am sure that those who took the step of organizing this Congress will be satisfied that it has been both valuable and fruitful.

I have been asked to speak tonight on the relations between the NATO countries and the countries of the free and uncommitted world. And naturally on so large a subject, to which the Leader of the Opposition has made the most valuable contribution, I can only hope to touch the fringe.

I assume that I have been allotted this theme perhaps because the Commonwealth, of which the Queen is the head and Britain the founder, is an interesting and significant example of what such relations can be. Circling the globe, embracing peoples of many different religions, races, colours and histories, the Commonwealth is today the largest association of free peoples in the world. The ties which bind us together are not written in any treaty; they are intangible, but they are strong; there is no military alliance such as in NATO we have found necessary, nor is there geographical proximity. At the same time, the relations of free and equal association which we enjoy are of real benefit to all members of this great family.

Last year I was privileged to make a journey to many of the Commonwealth countries in Asia and Africa and Australasia and some of those lands which I visited would certainly describe themselves as uncommitted in the NATO sense. Nevertheless, all these countries are in fact committed to the principles upon which NATO is founded. The belief in free institutions; government by assent; the rule of law; freedom of speech; and the dignity of the human personality. And we are entitled as a right, I think, in our country to take some pride that in all the chequered history of this long story these traditions and these principles have sprung from our island.

Some of the countries of the Commonwealth are, of course, much more fully developed economically than others, and it is one of the great advantages of the Commonwealth that through its operation we can give help to each other without patronage and without conditions. These may take the form of huge financial schemes or much humbler forms. We have, for instance, developed an interchange between the official

services of our various countries. We have made experiments by taking young men from various young Commonwealth countries, which have no diplomatic services, and teaching them our diplomatic practice. We have developed the exchange of students on a tremendous scale. And I am happy to say it is a remarkable fact that there are more students from the Indian sub-continent studying now in England than there were before the war.

In this and in other ways we are developing all the time the idea of interdependence of the free world, which I believe to be the key to the future and to the joint declaration which President Eisenhower and I made some years ago.

Of course we in this country belong to quite a lot of clubs. We are members of the Commonwealth club; we are members of the European club; and naturally, of the English-speaking world. Now, we believe—at least, I am convinced—that these various obligations of ours can be and must be made to interlock without conflicting. There are difficulties of course: it may not be easy, but it has just got to be done. And that is what it is our purpose and intention to do. We have a special interest—and perhaps we may have some usefulness in playing a reconciling and harmonizing part—in all these different aspects of the organization of the free world. But we can only do it if we are animated by a true spirit to the principles upon which our NATO alliance is founded.

Her Majesty the Queen said in opening this Congress that we must demonstrate to the world that our alliance is the basis of the Atlantic community. But we must also show that the principles of the alliance are genuinely international, and neither selfish nor aggressive. Mr. Gaitskell referred—and very wise words—to some of the problems of the underdeveloped world. We have a great duty to help them, but we must have the means to help them. And the remarkable economic recovery of Europe since the war, its renewed wealth and strength, standing very high today, has given us the means to help on an expanding scale. I have spent a long time trying to persuade my countrymen that, if you want to help other people, you'd better be solvent yourself. You cannot invest overseas at deficit; you can only invest overseas at surplus. And it is because I now see the great economic recovery of Europe largely as a result

in the early years of the help and assistance of the United States, that we are in a new position, all of us together, to take up this task, not just with words, but with actual deeds, on an ever-expanding scale. And we are urged to do so both by idealism and by interest, for this is one of the occasions upon which our interest is exactly in conformity with what we ought to do.

Whether this work should be provided by the organization of NATO as such is a question of organization of the best means—the best machinery. And the precise methods are matters for a careful study. But all our nations are, in fact, in one way or another, through one or another international grouping or institution, already concerned with this problem. Its importance to us we cannot overlook, so we must

not be under any delusion—we cannot hold our front intact over a long period if our flanks are turned.

Our strength, therefore, must lie partly in our actions, the material and physical things that we can do, and partly in the spread of our ideas. If we abide by our own principles, and by our faith in the Atlantic community, then I believe that all our relations with the uncommitted countries will fall into a pattern. Nor is this confined to governments, for individuals too have their part to play. The personal, cultural and economic contacts made through the world are to-day of vital importance, and the task which faces us is enormous. But I don't think there is any need to be discouraged. We look back to the ten years—the state of Europe, the state of the world, to the years when NATO was founded and I think we have some reason to be thankful for the progress that we have made.

ADDRESS

by M. PAUL VAN ZEELAND

AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 10.

It seems to me that two leading ideas emerge from the work of this Congress. The first is that the time has now come for the Atlantic nations to move forward from their present stage of co-operation and to embark on what could become a spectacular transformation of the existing alliance into a community by the extension of co-operation from the military to the political, moral and economic spheres.

The second idea is that the Atlantic nations, thus united in a broad, living community, should look at the rest of the world and conclude that they are politically and economically interdependent with the other nations of the free world.

I will deal first with the idea of the gradual establishment of a real Atlantic Community. The Cultural Committee has stressed, and we have recognised, that the Atlantic nations already form a community as regards culture and moral beliefs. They are all inspired by the spiritual values of Western civilisation. Does this mean that throughout the territories of these Atlantic nations there are no differences in beliefs or in philosophies of life, knowledge and happiness? No. Such differences do exist, but we share a number of ideas and reactions forming a common heritage. We can accept the principle that certain reactions and aspirations are really common to all of us; we all want peace, order, spiritual and material progress and respect for the individual.

During this Congress we have followed the logic of ideas and facts and have taken what I consider to be an absolutely clear and decisive course. NATO has provided the free world with a military structure which has preserved peace. But the threat of communism still hangs over the world and is becoming more serious and more urgent. We realise that this military structure cannot be maintained with sufficient strength to preserve peace indefinitely unless it is developed and co-operation is extended to the political and economic spheres. This leads us to the idea that the community we hope to establish as something more than an alliance must not be purely military in scope, but must also be concerned with political, economic, moral and cultural matters.

Under those circumstances, we have made substantial progress here and, if we really succeed in giving effect to the intentions expressed in the numerous

Congress resolutions, it will be an achievement that will have more and more consequences each year.

But we have just submitted to you a declaration couched in terms which appear simple and, perhaps, a little bald. I must confess that, like some of you no doubt, I have been somewhat disappointed from time to time at the course the Congress has taken. Personally I would have preferred to see more boldness and originality, and I would have liked the Congress resolutions to go further. But having said this, I have no desire to detract from what has been achieved; first and foremost I wish to emphasize the atmosphere in which the Congress has worked.

I wish to stress that these resolutions are in no way superseded by the declaration of the Declaration Committee. All the resolutions adopted by the Committees retain their full value and significance; they represent the achievements of the Congress. The fact that special emphasis is laid on certain points in our declaration does not mean that we attach any less importance to all the other resolutions. But we have had to limit ourselves in order to focus attention more effectively on the selected items to which we thought the spotlight should be directed.

As regards the political aspect of these problems, it is clear that if all the resolutions calling for more contacts between governments and between parliamentarians and for the development and extension of consultations are really implemented in the spirit which has attended their adoption, they will gradually open the way towards a true Atlantic Community. Personally, I attach great importance to the suggestions put forward concerning the possibility of settling disputes through NATO. Here I hope that progress will be as swift as possible and that the necessary action will be taken.

Turning to the economic aspect, I believe that we have definitely taken a big step forward. We have stressed the need for a gradual advance on an ever-widening front to the fullest possible measure of integration.

At this point, I would like to express a view which carries my deepest conviction. I believe that the economic integration of the Atlantic Community is now essential. Does this mean that we should give up or go back on the economic integration already

achieved or in preparation on a smaller scale? No. Quite the reverse. I am quite sure that we must continue to advance within the Common Market, and that we must extend European integration beyond the limits of the Common Market.

However that may be, these resolutions provide the necessary basis for progress and action. But now we must act. Perhaps you share my impression that the free world is often almost unbelievably timid in dealing with its problems.

In order to act, we must first have the support of the governments to whom our resolutions are addressed, of existing institutions such as NATO and the O.E.E.C. and of the Study Centre we are to set up. But above all we must rely on ourselves and on the influence we can bring to bear on public opinion. I have the impression that, at the moment, public opinion is well in advance of the governments.

The second idea on which I would like to comment briefly seems to me to be of equal importance. It is the idea that this Atlantic Community must not shut itself off from the rest of the world. Your Congress at once turned towards the outside world and we have stressed the interdependence of the Atlantic nations and all the countries of the free world. This interdependence is spiritual, political and material. In the words of the declaration, all these nations share the same longing for peace and the same determination to create a world where order and generosity will serve all the free nations and enable our civilisation to help others, drawing the best from them and offering them the benefit of all our resources in return. And this brings us to the problem of the under-developed nations.

I firmly believe that our community has a duty towards these nations. We have not only a moral

duty but also an economic interest. Is it conceivable to any one of you that the most-developed nations could continue to advance and increase their wealth and at the same time retain their order and balance if two-thirds of the world remain in poverty and the gap between the rich and poor nations grows even wider? Obviously not.

The terms of the Resolutions adopted during the Congress certainly cover a very wide field. We must use movement of capital; we must make our technical resources available to the under-developed countries. We must give them the knowledge which has enabled our civilisation to dominate matter to a degree hitherto unknown in history. And in doing so we must act in a spirit of universal equality, respecting the ideas of those concerned and providing them with the means to help themselves. Here we are concerned with a concept which is both moral and extremely realistic at the same time. Even if the free world were so incredibly generous as to try and provide the under-developed countries with all the capital they need for an immediate and spectacular material advance, do you think this would succeed? No. The less-developed countries must themselves make the necessary effort to achieve the standard of living to which they legitimately aspire. Here, as elsewhere, no miracles are possible. There are no economic miracles. Miracles occur only in the world of the spirit. Economic and political progress need time, mature thinking and the training of leaders.

We offer this not as an excuse for slowing down our efforts but as a reason for acting as quickly as possible and for concluding that, both as our duty and in our own interests we, the Atlantic nations, must seek to establish conditions in which men throughout the world can at last live in true dignity.

ADDRESS

by HON. ERIC JOHNSTON,
GENERAL CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION

AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 10.

Now, at the end of this Congress, it is time for some final words about where we have been in our Atlantic alliance, where we are going, where it is possible for us to go.

As our Congress concludes, it is clear to us all that our problems are by no means concluded. But it is no less clear that from these deliberations we shall face our problems with renewed insight and vigour.

I would like to go back for a moment to the beginning of our postwar community. In this decade since the founding of NATO, our member nations have flourished beyond our most optimistic expectations.

If I may begin with my own hemisphere, the United States and Canada economically have outdistanced even my countrymen's habit of enthusiasm. Despite predictions of gloom, no depression has occurred and none is in sight.

Instead, we have gone on growing in every dimension. And our contacts with the rest of the world have proceeded at a pace undreamed of since Columbus found our hemisphere by chance a half millenium ago.

Even more remarkable has been the gathering of economic momentum, of creative energy and purpose in Western Europe after World War II. In the brief span since General George Marshall surveyed this continent from the steps of Harvard University, its nations have brought off a miracle of recovery.

They have achieved full and equal status in the Atlantic partnership—and out of this partnership has come the great defensive shield of NATO.

But with these notable successes have come a variety of unsolved issues. These we have explored together during our week in London.

We have found that only so much can be achieved with the best of defensive shields, that a shield can help us gain military stalemate on the immediate front but that we can be eroded on the flanks by other means.

We have found that none of our countries can be internationally effective alone. We can be effective only through a growing interdependence. When one of us turns aside from our partnership, he makes it easy for others to do the same. In a major crisis, a withdrawal by one could lead to a general rout.

We have found that no hero on horseback can help us, whatever his flag or banner. The leadership we require is something different indeed.

We need—the whole non-communist world needs—a new leadership in depth. If we are to flourish and survive in freedom, we can do so only through a mutuality of understanding and purpose throughout our societies. Nothing else will suffice.

These, we agree, are the broad requirements for our alliance in the years ahead. Now let us sum up the principal hazards we face.

The besetting source of anxiety among all free people is the fact that the nuclear bomb is held by the Soviet Union. This Soviet power raises a host of extremely difficult issues, military and also diplomatic.

I will not presume to analyse this problem. It properly occupies our best military minds and I am not a military man. But I am a business man, knowing a little of economics, and it is with this economic arena of our struggle that I am profoundly concerned.

I am concerned because this second hazard is not self-evident but indirect. It arises far from the banks of the Thames and the Seine, the Rhine and the Potomac. Its challenge cannot be met by armoured plate or the burnished shield. It confronts us in unfamiliar clothes—in civilian mufti rather than in military olive drab.

Our challenge today comes from the new and central target of the communist empire—the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. Achieving political independence, these countries now seek an economic base for their future. Rather than *uncommitted*, they are *deeply* committed to raising their standards of living above squalor, starvation and despair.

Their present economic vulnerability is clearly perceived by Krushchev, a man of far greater flexibility than his predecessor. To Krushchev's régime, these vast regions are so inviting as to bring about a sharp reversal in long-held Marxist doctrine.

From the days of Karl Marx, communists believed they must first succeed in the developed countries before penetrating the less-developed. Failing in the West, the Kremlin now directs its economic penetration

into Africa and Asia in the hope that by planting communism there, it can salvage communism everywhere else.

This strategic turn is clearly understood by the people who know communism best. In Warsaw and in Belgrade, in all the satellite capitals, leaders who seek eventual independence declare that their fate will be determined in Asia and Africa, not in Western Europe.

They are convinced that if Africa and Asia do go communist, the Atlantic alliance will be thoroughly outflanked—and for generations there will be little chance for their own national independence.

This is why Tito is so interested in Nasser, why Gomulka is so engrossed by the career of Nehru.

So here is the central battleground we face; here is the engagement we have with communism. What shall we do about it? What are we called upon to do?

In this economic arena, victory is clearly attainable—if we give it half the attention, half the funds and initiative we now give our military defence.

At the current pace of military spending, our western defence alliance over the next decade will cost us the equivalent of \$1700 for every man, woman and child in the world today. However indispensable, this vast expenditure is a purely defensive end-of-the-road expense.

Funds devoted to assisting the nations of Asia and Africa toward subsistence levels are of an entirely different order. Adequately advanced and administered, they would be an affirmative and generating force for the future.

Thus far, much of our aid has been given piecemeal and at random, without the essential continuity through which these nations can make long-range plans. Carried on in this manner, there is little likelihood of success for our independent efforts or for the Atlantic community.

How shall we proceed?

It appears to me that one of our tasks is to approach the problem of economic growth through the internationalization of economic aid.

This internationalization of aid, I submit, is precisely the means by which we can do what we have come here to do—to stimulate and broaden our western alliance beyond the purely defensive shield.

In this I speak—I hope—the voice of this Congress. But like my fellow members, I, too, am a private citizen from a member nation. For a moment, I would like to express quite frankly a few thoughts as an American.

I think the free world recognizes that we have not been a selfish people, that we have given deeply of ourselves and our resources toward freedom and world peace. This we will continue to do.

But I trust that anyone who knows the politics of democracy as this Congress does will recognize that we in America also have our problems. We, too, cannot go it alone. There is for us the need for a co-ordinated pattern of aid in which other advanced economies will take their proper part.

Beginning now and in our western world, we should consider the establishment of a lending consortium, a co-ordinated long-term fund capable of rooting stable economies in Asia and Africa.

The nations of the Atlantic Community, together with such advanced economies as Switzerland and Japan, would be lending partners in the consortium.

They would follow the established pattern of private banks making commercial loans. When an enterprise is too large for a single bank to handle, or when banks need to spread the risk, they join in such consortiums.

It is of small consequence through which existing international agency this new lending device would operate. The important thing is that it could make long-term hard currency loans, for example, through the World Bank; long-term soft currency loans, for example, through the Development Loan Fund; short-term commodity credit loans through the Export-Import Bank or through private lending agencies.

Such a lending consortium, I am convinced, is a proper assignment, a proper initiative for the Atlantic Community. Out of this Congress should come a conference of the non-communist nations to put it into being. We should do so now while there is yet time.

I think it's time for us in the western world to recognize that we're living in an age of spectacular change. In this accelerated era there is danger—but there is also great promise.

Between areas of the world looms a gulf—between the less industrialized and the more industrialized regions. That gulf between wealth and poverty will, if unattended, widen and not narrow. We must attend to the urgent business of narrowing that gulf.

There is no need to be discouraged by our problems—despite their enormity. Mankind today has tools never before available to do this job.

No longer need poverty and illiteracy and disease be hereditary. We know these can be eradicated, can be changed by methods which are at our disposal.

No one nation can do it alone. This task must be a co-operative effort, done on a global scale, in which all men have the hope of moving forward and seeing the tangible evidences of movement.

Let us bury our differences. Relatively, they are small. Let us forget our misunderstandings and go forward in a common understanding to economic progress and to peace.

ADDRESS

by UNITED STATES SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 10.

At the Third Conference of NATO Parliamentarians in 1957, it was unanimously decided to commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty with this Congress.

I have been inspired by these days of session with more than 600 of the most distinguished and able citizens from the NATO countries.

It is my hope—and indeed my prayer—that the concepts of political and economic unity which have emerged from this Congress will be enduring.

Today the Free World is being stalked by those who would set back the course of civilization a thousand years. These exponents of an insidious ideology would destroy our liberty and substitute in its place a world-wide reign of suppression and exploitation.

It is not within our judgment to ignore their threats.

Mankind's course has been marked by many epic struggles between the forces of progress and retrogression.

From the triumph of these struggles have emerged many great declarations which define the rights of free men. These documents embrace humanity and serve as beacons even to those who now are held in the shadows. They are the light of the world and we must not permit their glow to diminish. Instead, we must preserve them for this and future generations yet unborn.

For, as stated in the Sermon on the Mount, men do not light a lamp and put it under a bushel. They hold it high for all to see.

In tracing the rich heritage of our civilization I am reminded of Article II of the French Declaration of Rights, which I quote :

“The aim of all political association is the preservation of man's natural and unprescriptible rights; these rights are liberty, property and resistance to oppression.”

Similarly profound statements are to be found in the great human documents of each and every nation assembled here today.

Suffice it to be said, we have a common heritage, a common enemy and a common need.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was organized and supported in response to two great needs :

(1) The necessity of military defence against communist forces which threatened the way of life of its member nations.

(2) The fact that member nations recognized they had a common way of life which they were determined to preserve and develop.

From a military standpoint, NATO has been a singular success. Through NATO action, member nations have made it severely clear to Soviet Russia that they will fight as a team in the event of aggression. The NATO nations have stood firm against the blusters and the threats of those who would clamp an iron band around all continents.

To be sure, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been severely taxed at times because of internal dissension. Here again I am reminded of a classic phrase, this one in the Constitution of my own government. The first sentence of my Constitution declares that, “We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union. . . .”

The philosophy of that phrase should give courage to all of us. For the architects of good government all have recognized the need to refine the product of authority. It is the same with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Since its formation it has been our task to work for a more perfect community of nations.

That is why we have gathered here these past few days. We must take another several steps forward.

It has become increasingly apparent during the formative years of NATO that we should strengthen our political and economic ties so that our defence against communism will consist of three powerful prongs. This Congress of citizens has recognized that we have political and economic problems which should and must be corrected.

There are trade problems which interlace into conflicting patterns. There are nationalistic programmes which should and must be extended to the benefit of all Free World nations. There are new nations in awakening areas of the world which need our help as we need theirs. There are ideas and hopes and projects which—if developed—might well circle the earth beyond the speed of guided missiles.

We know that Soviet Russia is able to achieve a monolithic discipline. The communists can juggle their economy at will. They can hamper the orderly flow of goods to the markets of the world. They are able to divorce or to wed their policies to suit their cynical aims.

Let them have their schemes, for as such shall they be known.

With this Congress we have begun to mobilize our genius and our integrity to define our honest intentions in realistic terms which will be understood by all people of goodwill.

But what we have done here is only the beginning. We have placed some general signposts. If this Congress is to have served its purpose, however, what we do on following through on our own discussions will be of overwhelming importance.

When we return to our nations, we must see to it that our own national bodies are made and kept aware of the results of our sessions here. Those of us who are members of Congresses and Parliaments must attempt to bring about implementations of our decisions in our own national bodies. Those of us who are members of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, which launched this Congress, must now heed to the paths it has explored. We must see to it that our recommendations are brought to the attention of the North Atlantic Council. And those of us who are not members of our governments in any way must return to our own community and bring to the attention of public opinion the results of our sessions here.

The theme of this Congress has been "The Atlantic Community in the Next Ten Years."

The things we have begun here may well determine the character of our community in 1969.

ADDRESS

by THE RT. HON. SIR THOMAS DUGDALE, BT., M.P.,
LEADER OF THE U.K. DELEGATION

AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 10.

We have met together as free men and women, with free minds, living in an open society. We have come, not as representatives of Governments, but as a spontaneous expression of private individuals, and private societies. We believe that the ordinary people of the Atlantic Community want a clear lead, and as Chairman of the United Kingdom Delegation, I would like to put before you our thoughts and ideas, in this final session of the Congress.

We do not claim that we defend one form of civilization against another, but rather that we defend civilization itself, of which our Atlantic Community is one expression among others in the world. This is the spiritual and moral background against which we have looked at the problems which face us.

We have first considered our relationships with all the countries which lie outside our community, and also outside the Communist Bloc. We feel that we must have a definite and consistent long term policy towards them so as to ensure that their *political* independence is firmly based on *economic* independence, for it is evident that without the latter, sovereignty is neither true nor complete. To this end we should support them without patronage and without attaching conditions, in their efforts to reach a stage in which their economic growth will be self-sustaining. This is urgent, because in some cases the countries concerned have not yet consolidated even the initial "break through" towards self-sustaining growth, namely an increase in wealth sufficient to outpace rising population. All this will call in increasing measure for ideas, education, men and money, and the necessity for all our countries giving the maximum support to the United Nations, and the other main international agencies working in this field.

We feel that this is a policy which we can put with confidence to our own people, and to the people of the other countries which lie outside our community. It is a policy that *must* be adopted on its own merits, and not as a reaction to communist policies.

This is the first major challenge to the immediate future.

We shall not be in a position to carry this out unless our home base is secure, economically, politically, and militarily.

The economic objective of policy is simple to state, but difficult to achieve; to combine substantial economic growth with steady prices is our aim. The attainment of this is essential to all our wider policies. One of the most important issues which will face us in the next decade, will be the comparative rate of economic growth in the free and communist worlds. On the outcome of what appears to be a remote economic matter, could depend the fate of great policies in many fields. In spite of progress both in national understanding, and in international co-operation, this problem has not been adequately solved since the end of the war. Its permanent solution calls for tenacity, discipline, and comprehension by all elements in our communities.

This is the second major challenge.

The communist threat for the time being lies more in the economic than in the military field. But this could, and would soon change if our Community either lowered its military guard, or lost its political cohesion.

We welcome the recent increase in political consultation within NATO, and would wish to see its further extension until it becomes a normal part of the formulation of our national policies. By this alone can we achieve effective common policies. These must involve some further pooling of national sovereignties.

On the military side we feel that NATO is serving the interests of peace well. But we urge Governments to give continuous attention to improving their military structure; and in particular we must foster increasing inter-dependence throughout the military field.

Our first military objective is the prevention of war, to give time for a political solution of the deadlock in Europe. For this purpose the sword of the heavy strategic forces remains indispensable, to deter an aggressor from a conscious decision to face all the risk of total war. But perhaps the greatest danger might spring from a weakness inviting exploitation.

Against this, the deterrent must also include shield forces in Europe, and at sea, each being adequate to deal with any attack short of the unmistakable, deliberate, all-out aggression, which would inevitably invoke nuclear retaliation.

At the present moment we are negotiating with the Russians about the limitation and control of armaments, and about a European settlement. These must go on, we hope, to ultimate success. But we recognize that in these, as in the development of nuclear

armaments, lie the seeds of great strains within the alliance.

The third major challenge lies here.

The task which will confront our Governments in the coming years, will be to give practical expression to our recognition that our basic aims are the same, but unless we make a determined attempt to reconcile our differences, we shall endanger our economic relations, the political cohesion of the alliance, and the maintenance of peace.

CLOSING SPEECH

by THE PRESIDENT, Mr. J. J. FENS

AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 10.

The Atlantic Congress 1959 has now come to a close.

This has been a gathering of distinguished men and women from all the NATO countries, who have met in London to consider the many problems facing the alliance and all our countries.

There was but one exception, Iceland, whose absence from the Congress we all heartily regret. But, however much we deplore this fact, it at least serves as a reminder that to-day more than ever before, we must strive to eliminate the frictions and disputes between our countries which have done us so much harm and weakened the common cause.

Unity is not a static thing. It is a continuous growth. The task of preserving and enhancing this unity is not merely one for Governments and Parliamentarians. It is the responsibility of each one of us.

That is why this Congress includes not only politicians and parliamentarians, but also leaders of all branches of public life, of business, professions, trade unions, science and culture and last but by no means least, religion.

Mr. Macmillan in his opening address called it "a backbenchers' effort". This is indeed true—all the more so as we parliamentarians, whatever party we may belong to at home, are in a minority here.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this gathering shows that the Atlantic alliance is something more than an agreement between Governments. It is a true community in the sense that all sections of our societies belong to it, share in its problems and are directly affected by it.

This Congress was convened by the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, an unofficial permanent Conference of Parliamentarians from all the NATO countries, who meet every year to discuss and seek solutions to NATO problems.

To most people NATO has a military sound. But it was originally conceived as an alliance which would also extend to the economic and cultural fields.

This Congress shows that co-operation within the alliance goes far beyond defence. It shows that we intend to co-operate in all spheres and at all levels of public life, and that wherever we have failed in the past, we are determined that we shall not fail again, and wherever we have succeeded we are resolved to do better.

We divided our field of study into five main subjects among five main Committees. These in turn were subdivided into Sub-Committees, sixteen in all, to examine in greater detail specific subjects.

All these subjects have been thoroughly examined by the Committees and Sub-Committees and the results of our deliberations point to the same conclusions.

The problems with which we are faced can only be solved by greater political solidarity, closer collaboration and a deeper awareness of our common destinies, and a stronger will to stay united.

If we are to do this, we must think of the Atlantic Community not as a thing of the future but as a thing of the present. We must behave as if we were already a closely knit, fully integrated community.

Some people have suggested that we should give the community a legal and constitutional expression. Many others think however that the time for that has not yet come; but whatever our views, it is certain that the Atlantic Community must exist in our minds and in our hearts. We must all learn to think and feel as if we were partners in the same endeavour and citizens of the same community. For whether we like it or not, our destiny is the same. We shall all stand or fall together.

This Congress has come about through the efforts and with the help of a great number of people from all our countries. Much thought and a great deal of very hard work has gone into it, and for its success we are indebted in particular to the Governments and Parliaments of the NATO countries, to the NATO Council and the NATO Secretariat, to the International Organizing Committees and their Secretariats, to the National Committees and their Secretariats, as well as to a great variety of national and international organizations.

I would also like to thank all the members of the Preparatory Committee and the Officers of the Congress who have worked so hard and all the delegates, especially those who have come from far away to participate in these meetings.

As one of those who came from abroad, let me say on behalf of all foreign delegates, how much we appreciated the hospitality, kindness and warm welcome which was extended to us by our hosts. I would

especially like to thank the United Kingdom National Committee and in particular the Hospitality Sub-Committee, the office of the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Officers of both Houses of Parliament, the Minister of Works, the Postmaster-General and Her Majesty's Stationery Office, the Lord Mayor, Corporation and City Council of London, the Women's Voluntary Service, and British Overseas Airways Corporation.

To all those who helped us to bring about this Congress I would like to say this:

This meeting was in many ways a success—and you all have a share in its success. But our work is not yet finished. It has only just begun.

We have agreed upon what is to be our task in the years ahead. Now it is our duty to see that it shall be

carried out. Only the future can show how successful and fruitful were our efforts.

I therefore hope that you will continue to support our action to implement the Declaration and the Resolutions of this Congress as much as and as generously as you helped us so far.

In conclusion, I wish to add a personal word. I would like to say how grateful I am for all the help, the co-operation and the encouragement I have received from everyone concerned, but especially for that friendship which so many of you have shown towards me and whose warmth has sustained me throughout these days.

And on that note I hereby declare this Atlantic Congress closed.

REPORT

OF THE ATLANTIC SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE (COMMITTEE A)

as adopted by the Congress at the Plenary Session on June 9.

STATEMENT

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES OF ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

1. The Atlantic Congress states that, in spite of differences in their cultural, political and spiritual outlook, the member countries of the Community must realize that they form a moral unity which expresses itself through common principles.

2. Respect for human dignity is the inalienable basis of civilization. The purpose of a political and economic society is to create conditions enabling every human being freely to fulfil his destiny.

3. The guarantee of this dignity is, first the recognition of objective spiritual values which cannot be altered by any human agency but are the expression of a natural or transcendent law governing communities and individuals alike.

4. Among the fundamental rights which every authority must recognize and guarantee and which are recognized in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the following should be specially mentioned:

(a) The right to life; the worth of the human being—in short, respect for the sanctity of human life.

(b) The right to an inviolate personal life.

(c) Freedom of speech, conscience, opinion, belief, religion and association.

(d) The right of every man to work and to receive its just reward.

(e) The right of the family to stability and the right of parents over their children and their education.

5. The Atlantic Community recognizes that political and economic society is based indissolubly on the dual principle of individual liberty and the common good. It deplores selfish individualism as much as any form of totalitarianism. It is, moreover, open to all political and economic régimes which respect its basic principles.

6. The safeguards of both rights and duties of individuals and peoples must be constitutionally expressed. The Law is the essential instrument

through which the principles of civilization are put into practice.

7. Respect due to every human being implies the duty to bring material and spiritual well-being progressively within the reach of all at both national and international levels.

8. Peace and unity among all men with justice and freedom are the highest expression of the application of those principles which the Community seeks to promote.

9. Civilization is the common product of all peoples. In particular, Asia, Africa and Oceania have a part to play side by side with the western peoples. It is important to realize that the common values of civilization are differently expressed by different peoples according to their various traditions.

10. At a time when the future of the world is at stake, when the enslaved peoples are looking for hope, when the peoples of Africa, Asia and Oceania have a decisive choice before them, the Atlantic Community must put forward a constructive concept of civilization of the future, which is capable of winning everyone's support, and must demonstrate by its actions that it is determined to promote that idea.

RESOLUTIONS

I.—INFORMATION

This Atlantic Congress recommends that the NATO Council should give full effect to the proposals of the NATO Committee of Three pertaining to co-operation in the information field.

The Congress, moreover, feels that NATO should pursue a policy of actively informing citizens of its member nations and of the rest of the world about the purposes, principles and plans of NATO and its efforts to create greater understanding within the Atlantic Community, political, economic and cultural, as well as military.

For that purpose, *the Congress urges the governments* to strengthen the NATO information programme and raise the status of the office of the Director of Information and make it responsible for information media, cultural affairs, press and public relations.

Where desirable, this should include the establishment in member countries of NATO liaison information offices. There should be an adequate budget for all these purposes.

The NATO information division should be given greater freedom to develop imaginative basic information materials to assist both governmental and private organizations. Furthermore, *the Congress urges* governments to give much greater priority to information about NATO in their national information programmes.

The role of the voluntary organizations should be expanded and encouraged with increased moral and financial support. In connection with the 10th Anniversary of the Treaty, a programme with a special fund for supporting approved activities of voluntary organizations proved successful. That fund should be maintained and expanded as a permanent feature of the NATO information budget.

II.—EDUCATION

A. Schools

The Atlantic Congress, believing it to be of the utmost importance that the boys and girls of today should be well equipped to play their part as citizens of tomorrow in the formation of their country's policies:

1. *Welcomes and endorses* the recommendations made to educational authorities and teachers by the International Study Conferences on Education, organized since 1956 by the Atlantic Treaty Association in co-operation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Ministries of Education or equivalent authorities of the fifteen nations;

2. *Hopes* that this systematic international co-operation among those responsible for education in schools and colleges will become a permanent feature of the development of the Atlantic Community under the continuing auspices of NATO and the Atlantic Treaty Association;

3. In particular *the Congress endorses* the recommendations of the Educational Study Conference of September 1958 that the conditions of international life today make it more than ever necessary that boys and girls receive a sound education, so that they may have standards by which to judge international affairs objectively, including the Communist challenge to our civilization. It is necessary that before their schooling is finished they should understand the moral principles which should inspire international conduct, and the opportunities of practical service to mankind which their country's membership of a larger society offers. They should be able to reconcile patriotism and international duty; grasp the principal forces at work in world politics; and realize that they are personally involved in the treaty obligations of their country. Specifically they should learn to appreciate the

necessity for the political, economic and cultural co-operation implicit in Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty and the commitment of Article 5, whereby the allied peoples promise to fight, and, if need be, give their lives for one another if any one of them is attacked.

4. *The Congress therefore calls* upon all educational authorities, public and private, in the Atlantic countries to make better provision for the teaching and study of international relations and languages, especially in secondary schools, and to make available to teachers the necessary aids and material for that purpose.

5. *The Congress also requests* the Governments greatly to increase their financial support for the international visits and exchanges of students and teachers, as one of the most important means of building up among the younger generation a real sense of community among the NATO peoples.

B. Universities

The Atlantic Congress considers that:

1. Students' discussions on all aspects of Atlantic co-operation should be encouraged in Universities, training colleges and students' organizations. A study of NATO should be included in all international study groups.

2. The training of young scientists and the development of facilities for that purpose should be vigorously pursued in co-operation with the Scientific Committee of the North Atlantic Council.

3. In the training of teachers at Universities and training colleges, it should be regarded as a qualification for teaching in general fields that the candidate should have an adequate knowledge of international relations, and attention should be devoted to these subjects in the curriculum.

4. Every graduate should have a working knowledge of the language of at least one other Atlantic country in addition to his own, and every encouragement should be given to exchange visits at the University level.

5. Universities in NATO countries should offer the maximum assistance and co-operation to the authorities of Asian and African Universities and should welcome an increasing number of students from the countries of Asia and Africa and other parts of the world.

6. A conference of University teachers from NATO countries, concerned with public international law and international relations, should be arranged in 1960.

C. Adult Education

Having regard to the need to acquaint adults with the importance of the Atlantic Community and its free institutions, *the Congress recommends* that more encouragement and practical support should be given

by educational authorities in the Atlantic countries to those organizations offering opportunities to adults to study the origins and development of the Atlantic Community.

III.—PUBLICATION OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

The Atlantic Congress resolves:

1. That the proceedings, reports and resolutions of the Atlantic Congress be assembled and bound in appropriate form for the widest dissemination among the libraries, schools and universities, citizens' groups and other suitable organizations and individuals.

2. That the Preparatory Committee and Officers of this Congress make suitable arrangements to carry out paragraph 1 of this resolution.

IV.—STUDIES CENTRE FOR THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

With reference to previous declarations by several organizations, and in particular those of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, the Atlantic Treaty Association, the Declaration for Atlantic Unity, and the Congress on Atlantic Community (Bruges, 1957),

The Congress wishes to remind NATO that its purposes are not only military and political, but also cultural.

Therefore,

The Congress proposes that in the very near future, a Studies Centre for the Atlantic Community be created.

The establishment of the Centre shall be entrusted to a group of persons chosen by the members taking part in the preparation of this Congress, with power of co-option.

REPORT
OF THE ATLANTIC POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(COMMITTEE B)

as adopted by the Congress at the Plenary Session on June 9.

When the North Atlantic Treaty was concluded ten years ago it was easy to foresee that, apart from the conditions of insecurity which brought it into being, it would have to become a structural and prominent element of world policy.

Indeed it not only meets a need for protection, but it brings together peoples having an essential bond of positive solidarity, the same conception of man and his place in society and the same love of democratic liberties.

As the fundamental and permanent nature of the communist menace became clearer, and with the general realization that it came from a civilization opposed to ours and on which it feeds, we have become more conscious of this solidarity and of its extension into all fields of activity.

If we are to survive, we are faced by the necessity of opposing the communist world, which is held together by the violence of its methods and policies, and activated by a new revolutionary faith designed to appeal to the economically less advanced peoples.

Our determination to do this cannot be questioned. But the problem before us is whether the alliance as it operates today gives effective expression to this desire of our peoples, whether we have yet reached a sufficient degree of unity, whether existing measures are adequate to meet the dangers—in a word whether its policy is adequate to meet requirements.

Many people are very sceptical on this point; and the important Congress we are now holding has no other aim than to devote itself to this question.

It is obvious that an alliance between 15 sovereign states is seriously handicapped at the outset in view of the complication of unanimity procedures which paralyse the integration of methods or co-ordination of policies. Our governments already realized this difficulty in 1956 and entrusted the Three Wise Men with the task of making appropriate proposals.

It is unfortunate, however, that in practice little or no account was taken of their advice, neither in the matter of the standardization of armaments nor in the common approach to the relations with the uncommitted countries, or the question of how to achieve a higher degree of economic co-operation.

This then is the crux of the matter. The pooling of our national resources in the traditional form of international co-operation seems today hopelessly inadequate and out of date compared with the new danger that is threatening us all in equal measure.

Of course, one solution would be to bring about some form of political federation of all of our states. The idea of such a federation at this time should not be ruled out, but we must face up to the possibility that it may be psychologically premature. In any event we must proceed beyond the stage of an alliance. In other words what we must do is to create a genuine community.

This will not be an easy task. What it requires is an entirely new enterprise for which there is no precedent in history. It is also one which must be built up on empirical lines combining the maximum amount of boldness in design with a sense of realities.

At all events, there is a fundamental principle which we must acknowledge as the cornerstone of this community; namely, that the traditional concept of the sovereignty of our countries must not be regarded as something unalterable, like Holy Writ. It must also be realized that in our democratic society the rights of the individual, though they remain the general rule of that society, are limited by law in order to preserve the freedom of other individuals, or to ensure social progress in accordance with technical progress. Hence the need for us to accept limitations of the sovereignty of our states; limitations which are urgently called for by the overriding needs of our defence, our well-being and our unity.

In practice, this would require the transfer to a common Authority of that part of our national authority which we are obviously no longer in a position to ensure except in an inefficient and outdated manner. The issue at stake is a practical problem and not one involving some new philosophical doctrine. We simply must learn the lessons of the evolution of the world we live in. It is clear that we are living in an era when safeguarding of the freedom of Man—which is the highest good—will be impossible to ensure without far-reaching structural reforms.

The time has come for this need to be fully understood, for the peril is becoming more serious as well

as more general. It is of course a fact that for the last ten years our immediate security has been ensured by the alliance, and we should be duly thankful for this. But is not our future security endangered by the great strides the communist world has made since 1945, and the deep and ever-spreading roots it is putting down throughout Southern Asia, the Middle East, Africa and now Latin America ?

Is it not endangered also by the methods of economic subversion which the Soviets have perfected but, as yet, made little use of on a large scale ?

We are coming to the decisive moment when the balance of force runs the risk of being upset. NATO must prepare itself to confront simultaneously all these threatening perils, which other Committees of the Congress have been examining and which, while keeping them in mind, we need not go into now.

But NATO can only do this if it maintains its strategy and military potential in a position to deter aggression directed against any of its members, and if it builds up stronger institutions which will effectively place the whole of its means at the service of a policy of closer union which will lead mankind to the new era made possible by scientific, industrial, political and moral progress.

RESOLUTION

I. Defence

The Congress

RECOGNIZING that the military strength of NATO, with its genuinely defensive purpose, has been over the last ten years and still is the essential guarantee of peace,

RECOGNIZING that the political and military development of nuclear armaments and the balance now being reached in nuclear weapons between East and West has considerably modified the situation.

APPROVES the efforts made by the NATO Governments to give effect to the wish of the NATO Peoples for international, simultaneous and controlled disarmament;

Recommends :

1. The military organization of NATO should make it possible to put into operation in its zone a common strategy which would be adopted by all the member States.

The "deterrent" should be in proportion to the threat and the nature of the aggression.

That steps be taken for the military plans of NATO to be co-ordinated as far as possible with other regional security arrangements.

Furthermore, it is recommended to bring the national military establishments into line with such a strategy.

2. The forces forming the European shield should be brought as soon as possible up to the minimum strength laid down in the agreed strategic concept of NATO.

3. With respect to atomic weapons:

(i) Governments should urgently examine all possible means of giving confidence to the members of the alliance—and making it clear to a potential aggressor—that the deterrent forces in the hands of the United States and United Kingdom will be used in the circumstances envisaged in the agreed strategic concept of NATO.

(ii) In order to make possible resistance to limited aggression with the appropriate degree of force and to leave no doubt in the mind of a potential aggressor, NATO governments should urgently re-examine the size, structure and control of NATO's atomic forces.

4. In view of the technical advances, the mounting cost and rapid development of weapons, it has become essential to create a common fund for research, construction and financing of armaments, as well as specialization in the manufacture of military equipment. To this end, governments should take all possible steps, including the provision of alternative employment, to ensure that individual national armaments interests do not conflict with NATO production policy. Without waiting for this to be achieved, the efficacy of existing organizations should be increased and the use of the common fund for infrastructure should be extended to include the manufacture of armaments and other non-static items.

That the solidarity of the allies be given expression through the widest possible interchange of atomic information in all fields.

5. Since air defence cannot be effective except in a large area, it is essential to place it under a single command responsible for the whole of Europe.

That the command structure of the Air and Maritime commands especially should be a matter for urgent investigation by the North Atlantic Council.

6. In view of the existing danger arising from the development of the Soviet submarine fleet, it is essential to strengthen the defence of our naval communications. To counter a possible shortage of foodstuffs and other essential commodities which would result from severed communications or any other cause, it is recommended that stocks of certain essential commodities be built up and dispersed.

7. Since the Home Defence of the various countries and the protection of the civil population determine

the defence potential, they should be developed and co-ordinated through agreements between the governments concerned.

These recommendations presuppose a further strengthening of existing links between Member Nations of NATO and it is highly desirable that every effort be made to progress towards a more closely integrated community.

II. The Political Expression of the Alliance

A guarantee of security having been acquired, and with the Member Nations of NATO growing increasingly aware of their deep solidarity, it has become essential to give a better political expression to this guarantee and this inter-dependence. Efforts have already been made in this direction, and results have been recorded which, however inadequate, still make it possible to claim that NATO is now no longer merely a military alliance but a forerunner of a political community.

It is therefore imperative to examine anew the further possibilities for the development of the alliance. To help in bringing this about, the Political Committee submits the following resolution:

“That in order to consider the further development of the alliance our governments be requested to carry out as soon as possible the remainder of the unanimous recommendation of the Third NATO Parliamentarians’ Conference (out of which the present Congress arose) by bringing about not later than the Spring of 1960 a special conference composed of not more than a hundred leading representative citizens, directed to convene for as long as necessary in order to examine exhaustively, and to recommend as expeditiously as possible, the means by which greater co-operation and unity may best be developed within the Atlantic Community.”

The work of this Conference would obviously be on a very large scale. It would have to give the most careful attention to the problems of the North Atlantic as a whole as well as to the important questions of principle which the Congress has barely touched upon. The Committee is well aware of the discussions now proceeding in other sections of the Congress and of the fact that the numerous problems concerning the aims and institutions of the alliance and the relations of its members with other parts of the world are closely connected. But with regard to the questions before it, the Committee suggest that the Special Conference should consider whether the unity of the Atlantic Community and the efficiency of its institutions would or would not be strengthened by the subsequent

development of the Conference of NATO Parliamentarians and of a small advisory committee composed of eminent personalities attached to the Bureau of the General Secretariat, and also by the adoption by the North Atlantic Council of the weighted preference vote.

The Conference will assuredly realize that good results have materialized from the wider powers and duties recently invested in the Secretary-General. That is why, taking into account the value and significance of these results, the Congress hopes that the North Atlantic Council will examine more thoroughly the question of the Secretary-General’s powers, with a view to enabling him to voice even more fully the opinions of the alliance regarding the problems which arise in its sphere of action and regarding all those problems which may, directly or indirectly, threaten its vital interests in any part of the world.

For the solution of these problems it is absolutely necessary that there should be a greater degree of consultation, which is essential for the co-ordination of policies. For this reason the following resolution has been adopted:

“This Conference expresses its satisfaction at the widening scope of intimate consultation among Member NATO States on political matters, and in accordance with the statement in the 1957 report of ‘the Three Wise Men’ that ‘a member government should not, without adequate advance consultation, adopt firm policies or make major political pronouncements on matters which significantly affect the alliance or any of its members unless circumstances make such prior consultation obviously and demonstrably impossible,’ which statement has already been officially adopted by the Member Governments; stresses the need for further progress in order for the NATO Governments to co-ordinate more fully within the North Atlantic Council their policies on all questions of common concern.”

However sincere, and however systematic, their political consultation may be, between 15 countries there are always liable to be differences. It would be unrealistic to deny this, but in their report for 1956 the Three Wise Men laid down the rule that friendly settlements of any such differences should be sought. It is unthinkable that between allies so closely united as the NATO countries by their history, their civilization and their hopes, conciliation and arbitration should be found to be inadequate. But the present machinery can be improved, and the Congress recommends that a study group be set up to consider methods which might be used and to study possible ways and means, including the creation of a NATO Court of Justice.

NATO might, for example, supply judges who, having the same ideals, would apply the legal principles common to all the nations of the Atlantic Treaty. The peoples of this community have a common heritage of democracy and individual freedom under the rule of law. The proposed study would make use of that heritage to seek new methods of settlement of disputes based on law, the guarantee and the expression of dignity and freedom, the very basis of relationship between man and communities.

In December, 1957, while the world was still stirred by the emotion aroused by the Soviet launching of the first artificial satellite, the meeting of Heads of Government of the NATO countries was an unqualified success, both politically and psychologically. It is highly desirable that such a meeting take place every year, whatever the state of international tension, so that the efforts for closer harmony of national interests may be thrown into sharper relief. This in turn would enhance the realization felt by the Atlantic nations that the bonds between them are far stronger than their divergencies, their solidarity greater than their disagreements.

The foregoing proposals have been drawn up by the Political Committee within the broad principles expressed in the preamble to this report. The Committee does not deny that they are somewhat limited, but holds that, given the short time available and the tremendous scope of the problems to be examined, it could not do otherwise than restrict its discussions. The proposals are submitted to the approval of the Congress and for transmission to the Extraordinary Conference.

RESOLUTION

1. *This Conference* expresses its satisfaction at the widening scope of intimate consultation among Member NATO States on political matters, and in accordance with the statement in the 1956 report of "the Three Wise Men" that "a member government should not, without adequate advance consultation, adopt firm policies or make major political pronouncements on matters which significantly affect the alliance or any of its members unless circumstances make such prior consultation obviously and demonstrably impossible" which statement has already been officially adopted by the Member Governments; stresses the need for further progress in order for the NATO

Governments to *co-ordinate more fully* within the North Atlantic Council their policies on ALL questions of COMMON concern.

2. Recognizing the advantages gained through the recent development in the role of the Secretary-General, in particular in respect of his chairmanship of the North Atlantic Council, the Congress requests the Council to see whether any further means are available for enabling the Secretary-General to express even more fully the point of view of the alliance as a whole on matters arising within its field of action.

3. Meetings of the Heads of NATO Governments, similar to the one held in December, 1957, should take place annually.

4. Believing in the desirability of improving the means of settling disputes among member states, proposes the constitution of a Study Group to investigate new methods in this field, including the creation of a NATO Court of Justice.

5. In order to consider the further development of the alliance our governments be requested to carry out as soon as possible the remainder of the unanimous recommendation of the Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference (out of which the present Congress arose) by bringing about not later than the spring of 1960 a special conference composed of not more than a hundred leading representative citizens, directed to convene for as long as necessary in order to examine exhaustively, and to recommend as expeditiously as possible, the means by which greater co-operation and unity may best be developed within the Atlantic Community.

6. The North Atlantic Council and the member governments be respectfully requested to inform the Fifth NATO Parliamentarians' Conference as to the measures they have taken or are taking in respect of the application, of the above resolution, and that the Fifth NATO Parliamentarians' Conference itself be respectfully requested to inform itself as to the progress made towards the convening of such a special conference.

MOTION ON BERLIN

The Congress endorses the expressed determination of the western nations to safeguard—in accordance with their rights and responsibilities—the freedom of the people of West Berlin.

REPORT
OF THE ATLANTIC ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
(COMMITTEE C)

as adopted by the Congress at the Plenary Session on June 9.

RESOLUTION

The Atlantic Congress, considering the scientific, technologic and economic strength of the Atlantic Community to be of vital importance, and considering the need for economic growth with stable prices and stable exchange rates, and the need for high levels of employment, recommends that:

(a) Governments should adhere to policies for expansion and stabilization to promote high and rising levels of employment and living standards.

(b) Governments should regard further progress towards freedom of trade and currencies as a major and urgent objective of economic policy.

(c) In particular, Governments should take all feasible actions to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade in the Free World, and, considering the major contribution that European Economic Community makes to the political unity and economic strength of the Free World, should work especially for an increase of the benefits of closer economic integration through broadening of the E.E.C. or through some other form of effective multi-lateral association, consistent with the provisions of the G.A.T.T. in which additional countries would participate.

(d) Governments, while recognizing that during this process they may have to resort to temporary expedients, should not take measures which involve a return to restrictions.

(e) Governments should consider the best means of promoting co-operative policies to further the economic progress of developing areas of the Atlantic Community and of the World.

(f) Governments and International Institutions should consider urgently the gaps that exist in the arrangements for collaboration in resolving the economic, scientific, technologic and energy problems of the Atlantic Community.

In the opinion of the Atlantic Congress, these gaps could best be bridged and these recommendations best achieved

(1) by the reinforcement of existing institutions either as now constituted or with some expansion,

(2) by the adoption of revised terms of reference and in a new and more effective approach,

(3) and by consideration of the possibility of transforming the Organization for European Economic Co-operation into an Organization for Atlantic Economic Co-operation in which all the Atlantic countries would hold full membership. Whatever form of new organization is developed, it should be charged with the following functions :

(i) to give immediate and urgent attention to the closer unity of the European Economic Community with the other economies of western Europe and the free world consistent with the provisions of G.A.T.T. and the Charter of the United Nations;

(ii) to promote co-ordinated fiscal, monetary and other policies for expansion and stabilization of the North Atlantic economies;

(iii) to co-ordinate national policies and to develop co-operative policies for accelerating the economic progress of developing areas of the Atlantic Community and of the world.

(g) Governments should consider scientific and technological progress as one of the decisive factors in determining the security of nations and their position in world affairs. The development in the Communist Bloc of scientific research and the expansion in the numbers of their scientists and engineers poses a serious challenge to the Atlantic Community, economically, militarily and in the provision of aid to under-developed territories. This is a challenge which must be met. A mechanism has been created within NATO to implement the proposals already made in the scientific and technologic fields and to recommend new measures to strengthen western science and technology.

This Congress emphasizes that full support of the citizens of the Atlantic Community and their governments is now required to provide action and funds both nationally and through appropriate international organizations on the scale and with the urgency to ensure the security and well-being of our peoples to build adequate foundations for the western world in

science, technology and energy and to make possible an increase in our scientific and technical aid to less developed areas of the free world.

(h) Governments should give high priority to ensuring that all elements in their countries understand these issues and the part which they must play in their solution.

(i) In addition, consideration should be given to the establishment of a World Development Corporation in which the peoples of the world will have an opportunity to be investors and owners, and which will provide long term credits or equity capital either directly or by subsidiary companies in each nation. This will reinforce governmental aids and credits with private capital flowing from and to peoples.

REPORT
OF THE FREE WORLD COMMITTEE
(COMMITTEE D)

as adopted by the Congress at the Plenary Session on June 10.

STATEMENT AND RESOLUTION

1. The Atlantic Community is based on geography, strategy, history, economics, culture and ideals. In the past it has been most aware of its strategic basis in defending its existence. For the future we believe it must be outward-looking, striving to achieve a real partnership with other regions of the world.

2. We believe that this partnership with the rest of the free world can best be based on the belief in the dignity of man and his freedom which is basic to the Atlantic Community. There are many expressions of it, but none more succinct than that contained in the original United Nations Declaration: Freedom of speech, Freedom of religion, Freedom from want, Freedom from fear.

3. This is the philosophy for all men, not just for the Atlantic Community. The problem that faces us in the second half of the twentieth century is how to turn our ideals into reality for all men. If we fail, or do nothing, our ideals, our freedom and perhaps we ourselves will perish. If we succeed, even imperfectly, we believe that we shall have laid the foundations for a real partnership between the most diverse parts of the world.

4. The implications of trying to extend these freedoms are wide and practical. For instance, freedom of speech must entail freedom of political organisation and so, ultimately, the right of self-government. We believe the era of colonialism is ending in the western world (though not in the communist orbit) and should result in the fulfilment of our ideal which is the preparation of peoples to run their own lives in freedom, under the rule of law. In Africa, Asia and Latin America the tide of national independence is today running very high; it is of the utmost importance that the Atlantic Community should be, and should be seen to be, its friend and implementor, not its critic and frustrator.

5. Freedom from fear may be interpreted to cover the whole problem raised by military competition. We believe the whole world owes much of its security and freedom in the past decade to the military strength and cohesion of NATO. This must be safeguarded and maintained, for we are the guardians of freedom—without our free society, freedom would perish from

the face of the earth. We stand not just *against* communism but *for* freedom, justice and the rule of law.

6. Freedom from want is the positive aspect on which the Atlantic Community must concentrate its immediate efforts. The Atlantic nations have already been able to develop their economies and have a duty to, and an interest in, helping the less-developed nations to create economies which are wealth-producing, self-sustaining, and which can take their place in a world economic system. We wish to improve the standard of living in the less-developed countries because we believe in our ideal of freedom, not because we fear for ourselves. To implement this attack on poverty we in the Atlantic Community must be prepared to continue and even extend sacrifices of our own immediate standards of living, though it is essential to maintain and increase our own productivity.

7. Mere economic aid is not enough, people must participate personally in this programme even at the cost of some material sacrifice. To succeed in establishing the right relationships between our Community and other parts of the free world will demand very considerable changes in our outlook, for we must regard ourselves not as outside patrons but as equal partners with them in a joint enterprise of freedom.

PREAMBLE

A. During its first ten years, the Atlantic alliance's primary concern has been to safeguard the territories covered by the treaty from armed aggression. The Atlantic Congress believes that in the years to come, our greatest additional task will be to build bridges of understanding and practical co-operation between ourselves and other countries in the world, particularly the newly emergent states.

B. This task is a vital one. The political, economic and social developments of the less developed and newly emergent countries of the world will have a decisive influence on human affairs. The Atlantic nations, believing as they do in human dignity and freedom under the law as the basis of true progress, bear great responsibilities in this field. Without

seeking to dominate and with full respect for the wishes of the populations concerned, they must aim at the most friendly relations with those countries for the benefit of all and for the maintenance and development of the free world.

C. The peoples now assuming the full rights and responsibilities of nationhood must be free to determine their own destiny. Since genuine independence and self-government must rest upon a sound economic basis, the Atlantic nations in a spirit of partnership with the countries concerned should do all within their power to promote and expand trade and to stimulate economic and social development where it is wanted. In order to be fully equipped to carry out this task, the Atlantic nations should further strengthen and expand the economic links between themselves.

RESOLVED THAT:

D. We, the Delegates to the Atlantic Congress, propose that our nations should form a partnership in freedom with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for the great task of development of those continents. Our nations should provide a massive and sustained effort towards this end, believing it to be as essential to the wellbeing of the world as the welfare or the defence of our own citizens. Its aim would be to help the peoples of the less-developed countries to achieve a rising standard of living together with individual freedom, human dignity and democratic institutions. It should strengthen the economic as well as the political basis of real independence.

E. Economic growth is a basic condition of the political development of these countries. With the resources and the methods of the free world it should be possible in most cases to double the levels of consumption in twelve years or less. Economic development must, however, be accompanied by cultural, social and political development if it is to achieve the best results and realize the hopes of the under-privileged peoples. Thus particular attention should be paid to the needs of the people in terms of food, shelter, health and education, as well as to the establishment of industries and other basic economic facilities, the improvement of agriculture and the reform of land tenure, and the promotion of free, self-help organizations in the field of labour, trade and agriculture.

F. In order to reinforce the attack on world poverty on the scale envisaged we propose that an International Development Association, adequate in scope to meet the challenge, should be established, comprising all nations willing to participate. This Association should be broader than and independent of NATO. It could work either directly or through and with appropriate existing international and regional organizations, including the World Bank and other organs of the United Nations.

G. Finally we recommend close and regular consultation between the member countries about the policies to be followed in order to carry out the tasks described above.

REPORT

OF THE COMMUNIST BLOC COMMITTEE

(COMMITTEE E)

as adopted by the Congress at the Plenary Session on June 10.

This report summarizes the work done by the Communist Bloc Committee (E) and its three sub-committees. The overall assignment was to explore the problems and prospects likely to face NATO countries over the next ten years in their political (E1) and economic (E2) relationships with the Communist Bloc and in the important field of propaganda (E3) through which the two opposing systems of institutional arrangements and values are competing for the allegiance of men's minds.

The respective reports submitted by the three sub-committees were based upon the following common premises:

(1) The aggressive drive of the communist system to attach to its orbit any area that it can take over by military force, threat of force, or by subversion that it may be able to provoke through political, ideological or economic penetration may be expected to continue for the foreseeable future. Therefore it is incumbent upon NATO, over the next ten years, vigilantly and effectively to counter such thrusts severally and in combination.

(2) The primacy of NATO's mission to provide a shield against communist military aggression in any area must be maintained and strengthened, but it is becoming increasingly evident that this, of itself, will not be sufficient to safeguard against a many-pronged drive that, check-mated in one direction, will continue to probe for weak spots that can be exploited by other instrumentalities at its disposal.

(3) All of the sub-committees in the E sector were in agreement that the politically uncommitted nations of the world, and particularly those among them that are still classified in the stage of relatively low industrial development, living standards and economic growth-rates will be a primary target for communist penetration efforts in the years ahead, and that, if they should succumb, it would deal a very damaging blow to free world institutions everywhere.

(4) There was general agreement upon the urgent need for the scope and effective range of NATO's strategy and operations to be broadened to meet

and repel these challenges that promise to be more dangerous in the immediate future than the threat of major war, the likelihood of which has been diminished through NATO's past and current achievement in the field of military preparedness.

In the light of this agreed-upon perspective, our Committee submits to the Atlantic Congress the following recommendations formulated respectively by its three sub-committees:

POLITICAL POLICIES

1. *Negotiation*

While the primary need is to maintain and develop the cohesion, military security and economic capacity of the Atlantic countries, because the world-wide communist threat seems likely to be no less during the second ten years of NATO than it was in the first, the Atlantic powers are nevertheless urged to undertake continued negotiations with the governments of the Communist Bloc for the settlement of differences while rejecting duress, threats and any kind of ultimatum.

2. *Contacts*

Bearing in mind the need to inform the peoples of the communist countries about the West, the Atlantic powers should encourage more contacts and exchanges of visits between western countries and those of the Communist Bloc. But western visitors to communist countries should have adequate information made available to them beforehand. Atlantic countries should pool their experience in meeting communist techniques in this field.

3. *The Satellite Countries*

The Atlantic powers should proclaim their attitude towards the situation of the peoples of eastern Europe. Such a proclamation would be based on the following principles:

(1) There can never be a settled peace in Europe so long as the continent is half free and half subject to Moscow.

(2) While it is no part of NATO's purpose to overthrow existing régimes in eastern Europe by force, the western countries must support by

every peaceful means the right of the peoples of eastern Europe to achieve self determination as laid down in many international agreements.

(3) The Soviet Union's security could be effectively guaranteed if, with the withdrawal of the Red Army, the eastern European countries were neutralized by international agreement.

4. *The Uncommitted Countries*

The countries of the Atlantic Community have a strong joint interest in doing all they can to ensure the success of valid national economic and social programmes in uncommitted countries and in particular of India's Second Five-Year Plan.

ECONOMIC POLICIES

1. We take cognizance of the restrictions currently in force upon the shipment to Communist Bloc countries of goods and services deemed to be directly related to strategic military production. We recognize the continuing need for a concerted policy governing restrictions of this type.

2. With respect to trade in non-strategic materials between free world countries and the Communist Bloc—we believe that it is important that such trade be conducted under conditions of mutual advantage rather than forwarding the interest of the Communist Bloc only. To this end we think that it is requisite that the governments of Atlantic countries agree upon a common set of trade policies governing the trade of each of them with the Communist Bloc designed to prevent the misuse by the latter of their position as traders through foreign trade and currency monopolies which are integrated with centrally directed state economies and often based on forced labour. As a basis of such a common policy, a system of fair trade rules should be worked out that apply to Communist Bloc trade and to restrictions against dumping and discrimination that now are generally accepted in the trade practice of the western world. We recommend that NATO take the initiative in formulating policies of this type and attempting to get the widest possible subscriptions to them by free world countries.

3. We recommend that steps be taken to organize a NATO Economic Council made up of suitable representation from member countries and charged with formulating policy, and forwarding its adoption by appropriate agencies, designed to advance the vital security interests of its members and to protect them from being undermined by communist measures of economic warfare. In the years ahead we believe that this threat to free world security will be of no less importance than military aggression itself.

4. Since we are convinced that we shall be confronted with an ever-increasing economic offensive on the part of the Communist Bloc designed to detach the less developed countries from the free world economic

orbit, we believe that it is necessary for NATO to give increased attention to the problem of satisfying economic aspirations that, in any case, should be forwarded even though no such threat were involved.

5. We think that NATO should take a leading part in formulating effective western trade and aid policies in this field. Their implementation can be better carried out by the NATO members severally or through appropriate joint agencies less associated, in the public mind, with military policy than is the case with NATO. Other Committees of this Congress, dealing with NATO economic policy and NATO relationships with the free world, will no doubt spell out with more particularity the tools for implementing such policy, but we recommend that the following general principles be borne in mind when considering how more broadly diversified growth economies may be forwarded in less developed areas:

(a) Since there is an impressive correlation between economic growth rates and the volume of capital investment, it is important to supply low-interest, long-term credits and local currency loans to the less developed economies.

(b) Much more effort must be put into the training and furnishing of technical personnel to help launch specific development projects.

(c) Since expanding trade opportunities are of utmost concern to under-developed countries it is important to provide them with profitable outlets for their exports. One of the necessary conditions for this is to devise ways, through multilateral agreement, of mitigating the extreme short-term price fluctuations that have characterized markets for many primary commodities. The damage that can be done by drastic reductions in foreign exchange earnings can more than discount the benefits of any aid programmes that we may provide.

(d) In the administration of assistance programmes it is desirable that respectful weight be given to the indigenous development plans of less developed countries. It is possible, for example, that their aspirations for making an early start in the heavy industry field may sometimes be less than wise, but the dangers implicit in over-paternalistic direction may more than counter-balance the cost of a few unwise decisions.

(e) It will be well for the Atlantic countries to give even more attention than they have in the past to utilizing direct private investment as an instrument for promoting dynamic economic growth in the less developed countries. This is an instrument uniquely at the disposal of the western economies. To this end, we recommend that the highly industrialized, capital generating countries of the Atlantic Community should adopt

measures that lend encouragement to provide capital flows—through tax concessions, guarantee provisions against non-business risks, through encouraging the establishment abroad of environments compatible to private business operation, and by special efforts to enlist private technical resources in Government assistance programmes.

PROPAGANDA POLICIES

Noting that ideological aggression constitutes an immediate, serious threat to the free world;

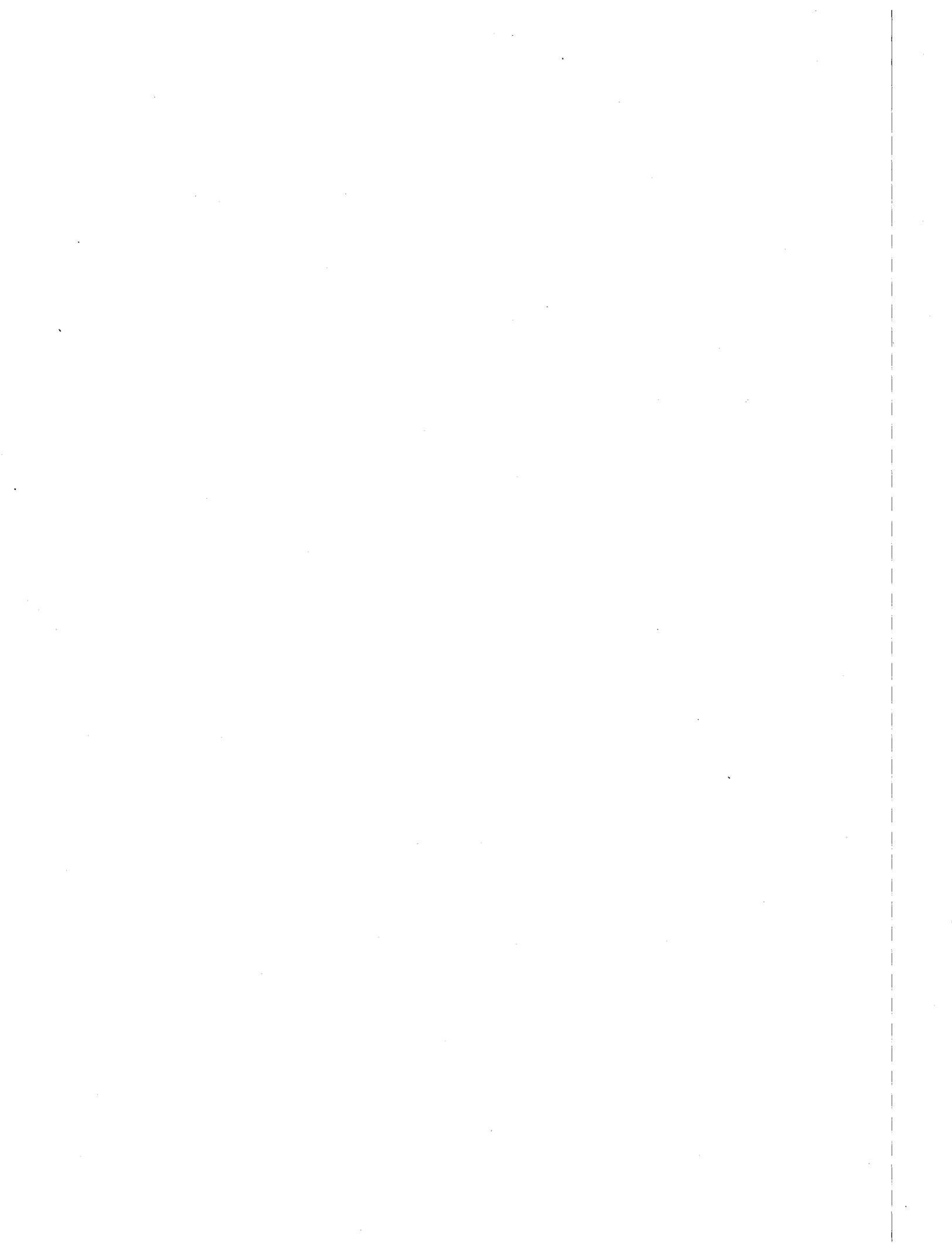
Recognizing the value of the work already carried out by public and private bodies to counter Soviet ideological warfare, but, considering that the resources at present deployed on this front by the Atlantic Powers and the other free countries are wholly inadequate as compared with the colossal machine constructed by Soviet communism to enslave men's minds;

We propose as matters of the utmost urgency that:

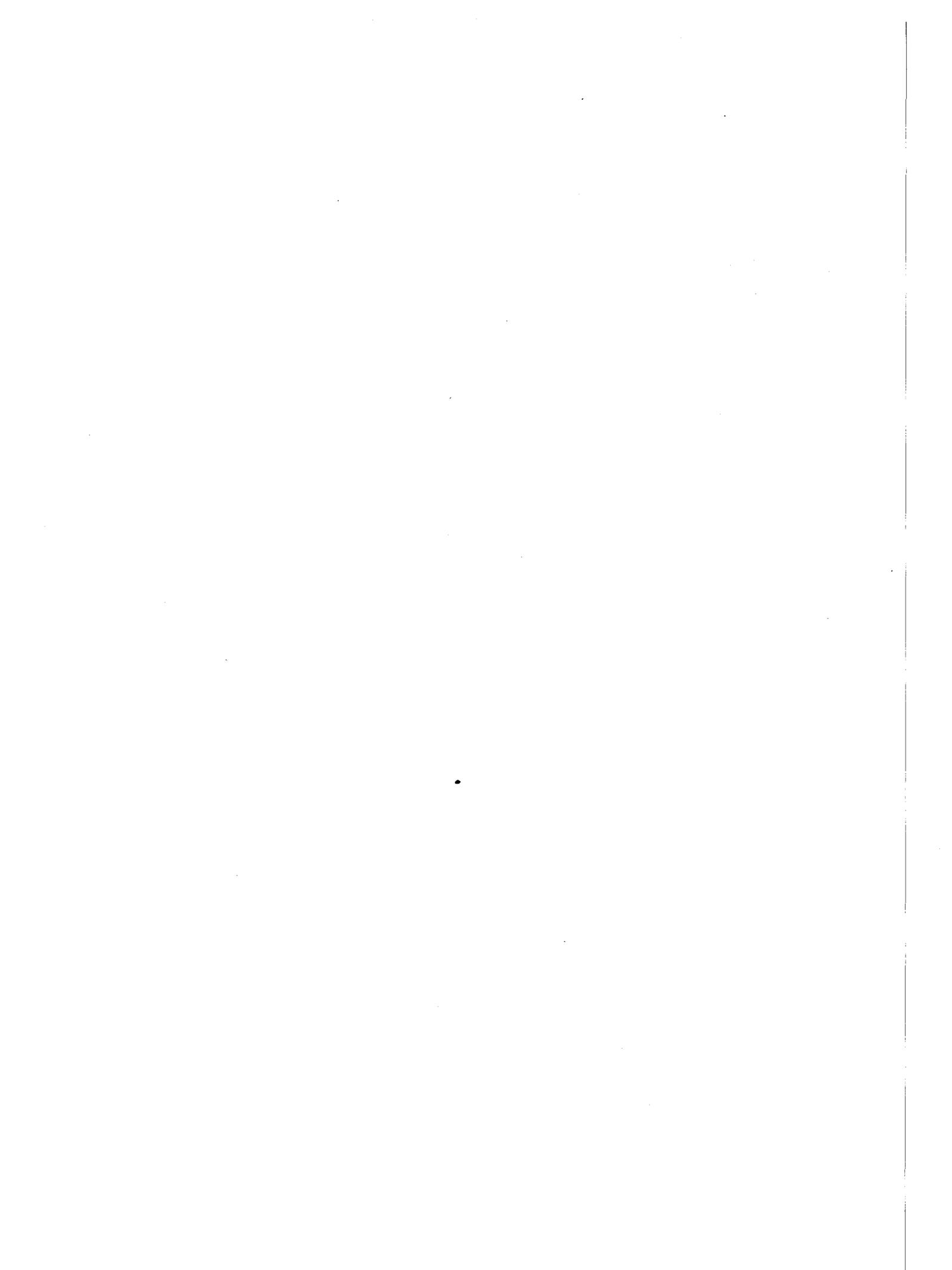
(1) NATO should create a new division to serve the governments of the allied countries as a headquarters to counteract the ideological war waged against them by the Soviets and further recommends that where they do not already have them, the Member States of NATO set up the appropriate agencies necessary to co-operate with the new division;

(2) An international unofficial organization be set up as a separate institution, for the purpose of diffusing throughout the world basic information which will help people to assess and understand more clearly the ideological aggression of totalitarian communism and to appreciate the true value of liberty.

All of the above recommendations have been accepted by the Communist Bloc Committee as a whole without dissenting voice. They are submitted to this Atlantic Congress together with supporting general statements prepared by the Political and Propaganda Sub-Committees. The Rapporteur agreed in our final session to state that, while all of the recommendations were acceptable in the form in which they appear, a minority of the Committee as a whole was unable to subscribe to the description set forth in the background paper of the Propaganda Sub-Committee of how the body called for in Recommendation 2 under Propaganda Policies should be denominated and financed. A relatively small representation of the Committee as a whole felt strongly that the proposed name of "Free World Organization" and any support supplied for its work from individual government or NATO sources would prejudice the effectiveness of its operations. Upon everything else, the Communist Bloc Committee reached unanimous agreement.



APPENDICES



Congress Organization Chart

NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS' CONFERENCE

STANDING COMMITTEE

Bureau HON. LIFE PRESIDENT Senator the Hon. W. McL. Robertson, Canada
PRESIDENT Mr. J. J. Fens, Netherlands
VICE-PRESIDENTS M F. van Cauwelaert, Belgium
Brigadier-General F. Berendsen, Germany
Hon. Wayne L. Hays, United States
General Béthouart, France
TREASURER Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, United Kingdom

Members Mr. H. F. Jones, Canada
Mr. P. Haekkerup, Denmark
M Panos Yokas, Greece
Mr. B. Gröndal, Iceland
General A. Cerica, Italy
M Romain Fandel, Luxembourg
Mr. E. A. Vermeer, Netherlands
Mr. N. Langhelle, Norway
Dr. J. C. da Matta, Portugal
Colonel N. F. Alpkartal, Turkey
Major the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Dugdale, Bt.,
United Kingdom

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY Mr. Douglas Robinson

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Composition as at meetings of July and November 1958

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TREASURER Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, United Kingdom
SECRETARY Mr. Douglas Robinson

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M G. Baloup
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Mr. P. E. Lafontaine

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Professor G. Bassani
Senator G. Messeri
Senator P. Micara
Ambassador Tarchiani

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Mr. H. R. Nord

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Mr. N. Langhelle
Mr. S. Lindebraekke
Mr. P. Monsen
Mr. R. Sem
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PORTUGAL

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Mr. R. Faupl
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Mr. S. F. Gronich
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Senator E. Kefauver
Mrs. O. B. Lord
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INTERNATIONAL

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Secretary-General, Atlantic
Treaty Association
Dr. J. H. Retinger,
Bilderberg Group
Mr. Frank Darvall, Chairman
emeritus, Congress of
European and American
Associations
Mr. Walden Moore, Director,
Declaration of Atlantic
Unity

COMMITTEE SECRETARIES

Congress Declaration Committee

Miss P. E. C. Wood

Main Committees

		<i>Secretary</i>
A.	" Atlantic Spiritual and Cultural Committee "	Mr. J. Huntley
B.	" Atlantic Political Committee "	M J. Blondel
C.	" Atlantic Economic Committee "	Mr. E. G. Thompson
D.	" Free World Committee "	Mr. J. Pinder
E.	" Communist Bloc Committee "	Mr. G. Markham

Sub-Committees

A.1	" Moral and Spiritual Values of Atlantic Community "	Mr. N. Miskin
A.2	" Information and Education "	Mr. D. Blaber
A.3	" Atlantic Institute "	Mr. J. Huntley
B.1	" Coordination of Policies and Settlement of Disputes "	M J. Blondel
B.2	" Atlantic Institutions "	Miss Y. Crosfield
B.3	" Military Questions "	Mr. O. van H. Labberton
C.1	" Resources and Underdeveloped Areas in Atlantic Countries "	Mr. E. Kloman
C.2	" Scientific and Technical Cooperation "	Mr. E. G. Thompson
C.3	" Implications of Western European Economic Integration "	Prof. U. Serafini
C.4	" Freedom of Trade and Currency Questions "	Mr. S. Frowen
D.1	" Conflict and Community of Interests "	Mr. M. Palmer
D.2	" Common Political Policies of the West "	Mr. A. Morris
D.3	" Common Economic Policies of the West "	Mr. J. Pinder
E.1	" Political Policies "	Mr. P. Bucknall
E.2	" Economic Policies "	Mr. G. Markham
E.3	" Soviet and Western Propaganda Techniques "	Mr. E. Langford

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*Distinguished Guest
Speakers*
(on themes of five
main committees)

*Chairmen of Five
Plenary Sessions*

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Canada
PRESIDENT Mr. J. J. Fens, Netherlands
Monsieur F. van Cauwelaert, Belgium
Brigadier-General Berendsen, Germany
Hon. Wayne L. Hays, United States
General Béthouart, France
Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas,
United Kingdom
Senator E. Kefauver, United States

Committee A

ATLANTIC SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE

Speaker Archbishop of York
Chairman M Ivan Matteo Lombardo (It)

Rapporteur
M J.-P. Palewski (F)

Committee B

ATLANTIC POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Speaker Dr. J. M. A. H. Luns
(Chairman : North Atlantic Council)
Chairman Senator Estes Kefauver (US)

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His Excellency M A. de Faria and Mme de Faria—Portugal
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Mr. Edward Cooper (Assistant to Chairman of U.S. delegation)
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Mr. M. Lehman (Aide to Chairman, U.S. delegation)
Mr. Kenneth Moore (Assistant to Executive Director)
Mrs. Martha Finley
Miss Ann Campbell
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REPORTS, PAPERS AND STUDIES

Delegates and others participating in the Congress were provided with documentary and other material for study and reference as follows:—

1. *Papers and Studies*, i.e. papers prepared by National Committees prior to the Congress. Secretariat Analyses and Synopses of these were also provided.
2. *Draft Reports*, i.e. draft reports prepared by Officers of Congress Committees and Sub-Committees prior to the Congress.

Participants also received the following background documents:—

- (a) Report of the Committee of Three.
- (b) The North Atlantic Treaty.
- (c) "First Ten Years of NATO".

For general information, they were given lists of all Congress documents, of delegates, of Papers and Studies by Committees and of Draft Reports by Committees.

Available on request were:—

- (a) North Atlantic Council Ministerial Communiqués—Extracts on Economic and Political Cooperation, 1949–58.
- (b) Proposals of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference to the Committee of Three.
- (c) Secretariat glossary of suggestions on the development of NATO and political and economic cooperation between NATO countries, 1950–59.
- (d) Analyses of Verbatim Reports of 1957 and 1958 Annual Conferences of NATO Parliamentarians.

COMMITTEE A

I—DRAFT REPORTS

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
CO/A/1	Spiritual Issues (also CO/B/2)	Archbishop of York	A.1
CO/A/2	Education	John Eppstein	A.2
CO/A/3	The Spiritual and Cultural Values of Atlantic Community	Father Jean Daniélou	A.1, A.2
CO/A/4	An Atlantic Institute	Chairman and Rapporteur of Sub-Committee A.3	A.3
CO/A/5	Draft Report and Resolution on Universities	John Eppstein	A.2

II—PAPERS AND STUDIES

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
NC/A/US/1	Cultural and Spiritual Cohesion	R. Strausz-Hupé	A.1
NC/A/UK/2	Information Programmes	Commonwealth—American Current Affairs Unit, English-Speaking Union	A.2
NC/A/UK/3	Publicity and Information	Elma Dangerfield, Joint Executive Editor, European-Atlantic Review	A.2
NC/A/US/4	Draft of Study Paper by the American Committee on the Atlantic Institute	Mrs. Oswald B. Lord	A.3
NC/A/UK/5	An Atlantic Institute	Frank Thistlethwaite	A.3
NC/A/C/6	The West, its Roots in NATO	John J. Connolly	A.1, A.2
NC/A/UK/7	Science and Brain Warfare (also NC/E/UK/4)	Sir Bryan Matthews	A.1
NC/A/Ne/8	Draft Resolution on an Atlantic Institute	Netherlands National Committee	A.3
NC/A/Ne/9	Outline of the Netherlands Stand on Moral and Spiritual Values (also NC/B/Ne/10)	Netherlands National Committee	A.1
NC/A/US/10	The NATO Information Programme	Morton White	A.2, A.3
NC/A/F/11	Suggestions for Committee on Spiritual and Cultural Values	Jacques Rueff	A.3
NC/A/Ne/12	Outline of the Netherlands Standpoint on Information and Education Programmes	Netherlands National Committee	A.2

COMMITTEE B

I—DRAFT REPORTS

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
CO/B/1	The Rule of Law CANCELLED, and replaced by CO/B/4	Charles Rhyne	—
CO/B/2	Spiritual Problems (also CO/A/1)	Archbishop of York	B.1
CO/B/3	NATO and the Small States	Paul van Zeeland	B.1, B.2
CO/B/4	Proposal for the Creation of a Court of Justice for NATO	Charles Rhyne	B.1, B.2
CO/B/5	Summary of Papers for Sub-Committee B.3	Henry A. Kissinger	B.3
CO/B/6	Strengthening the NATO Shield	Henry A. Kissinger	B.3

COMMITTEE B—continued

II—PAPERS AND STUDIES			
Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
NC/B/UK/1	The General Policy of the Atlantic Powers (also NC/C/UK/16, NC/D/UK/9, NC/E/UK/6)	Rt. Hon. K. Younger, M.P.	B.1, B.2, B.3
NC/B/UK/2	Atlantic Institutions, Present and Future (also NC/D/UK/20)	Prof. Max Beloff	B.1, B.2, B.3
NC/B/UK/3	Atlantic Institutions	B. David Barton and Martin Maddan, M.P.	B.1, B.2, B.3
NC/B/UK/4	Military Questions	Alastair Buchan	B.3
NC/B/F/5	Report to the Military Sub-Committee	General Carpentier	B.3
NC/B/US/6	The Military Question	Klaus Knorr	B.3
NC/B/B/7	Note on the Belgian Position in matters of Defence	Henri Moreau de Melen	B.3
NC/B/B/8	On Political Co-operation	Henri Fayat	B.1, B.2
NC/B/UK/9	Common Political and Economic Policies (also NC/D/UK/3)	European-Atlantic Group	B.1
NC/B/Ne/10	Outline of the Netherlands Stand on Moral and Spiritual Values (also NC/A/Ne/9)	Netherlands National Committee	B.1
NC/B/US/11	Relations with the Communist Bloc (also NC/E/US/1)	Cyril E. Black and Frederick J. Yeager	B.1, B.3
NC/B/US/12	Problems of Sovereignty in the Modern World	Elmo Roper	B.1
NC/B/US/13	Anarchy and Sovereignty	Adolph W. Schmidt	B.1
NC/B/Ne/14	Atlantic Political and Military Questions	Netherlands National Committee	B.1, B.2, B.3
NC/B/Ne/15	Political Policies (also NC/E/Ne/10)	Netherlands National Committee	B.1
NC/B/C/16	NATO and Canadian Labour (also NC/C/C/23)	K. Kaplansky	B.1, B.3
NC/B/US/17	NATO, New Phase, New Means (also NC/C/US/24, NC/D/US/7, NC/E/US/14,	John H. Crider	B.1, B.2
NC/B/US/18	The North Atlantic Community and the New Asia (also NC/D/US/24)	H. van B. Cleveland	B.1

COMMITTEE C

I—DRAFT REPORTS			
Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
CO/C/1	Scientific and Technical Co-operation	Louis Armand	C.3
CO/C/2	Economic Policy—General (also CO/D/1, CO/E/4)	Sir Leslie Rowan	C.1, C.4
CO/C/3	Economic Development of Atlantic Countries	Professor Ugo Papi	C.1, C.4
CO/C/4	Resources and the Under-developed Regions	Dr. Panayotis Yokas	C.1
CO/C/5	Economic Committee Report (also CO/D/3)	Senator J. K. Javits	C.1, C.3
CO/C/6	Trade and Currency Problems	Sir Leslie Rowan	C.4

II—PAPERS AND STUDIES

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
NC/C/UK/1	Economic Co-operation (also NC/D/UK/22)	Sir Roy Harrod	C.4
NC/C/UK/2	Resources and Underdeveloped Areas in Atlantic Countries (also NC/D/UK/12)	Economist Intelligence Unit	C.1
NC/C/UK/3	Research and Development	Sir John Cockcroft	C.2
NC/C/UK/4	Implications of European Economic Integration	Political and Economic Planning	C.3
NC/C/Italy/5	Commercial Freedom and Stability of Exchange Rates (also NC/D/Italy/26)	Dr. Paolo Pelleri	C.3, C.4
NC/C/Italy/6	The Atlantic Community and Scientific and Technical Co-operation	Dr. A. Albonetti	C.2
NC/C/Italy/7	Some Considerations regarding the Consequences of Economic Integration of Western Europe	Dr. Franco Bobba	C.3
NC/C/UK/8	Britain in the Common Market (also NC/D/UK/13)	Federal Union	C.3
NC/C/Italy/9	Economic Integration and Western Europe	Prof. Glauco della Porta	C.1, C.3
NC/C/C/10	Concerted Convertibility	Bank of Montreal Business Review	C.3, C.4
NC/C/C/11	The European Common Market—Possible Implications for Canada and the United States	George F. Delaney and Arthur J. R. Smith	C.3
NC/C/C/12	Western European Economic Integration	Lawrence E. Kindt	C.3
NC/C/C/13	Scientific and Technical Co-operation in the North Atlantic Community	Canadian Delegation	C.2
NC/C/US/14	Freedom of Trade and Stability of Exchange (also NC/D/US/19)	J. Herbert Furth	C.4
NC/C/US/15	Meaning of the European Common Market to the U.S.A.	Committee of Economic Development	Not to be reproduced or translated
NC/C/UK/16	General Policy of Atlantic Powers (also NC/B/UK/1, NC/D/UK/9, NC/E/UK/6)	Rt. Hon. K. Younger, M.P.	C.1, C.4
NC/C/B/17	Economic Integration of Western Europe	A. Dequae	C.2, C.3

COMMITTEE C—continued

II—PAPERS AND STUDIES—continued

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
NC/C/Ne/18	Technical and Economic Assistance to Underdeveloped member countries of NATO	Netherlands National Committee	C.1
NC/C/US/19	Scientific and Technical Co-operation	Joseph B. Koepfli	C.2
NC/C/US/20	Prosperity for all Atlantic peoples	Ben T. Moore	C.1
NC/C/Ne/21	Scientific and Technical Co-operation	Netherlands National Committee	C.2
NC/C/Ne/22	Economic Co-operation in Western Europe (also NC/D/Ne/23)	Netherlands National Committee	C.3
NC/C/C/23	NATO and Canadian Labour (also NC/B/C/16) ..	K. Kaplansky	C.1, C.4
NC/C/US/24	NATO, New Phase, New Means (also NC/B/US/17, NC/D/US/7, NC/E/US/14)	John H. Crider	C.4

COMMITTEE D

I—DRAFT REPORTS

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
CO/D/1	Economic Policy—General (also CO/C/2, CO/E/4) ..	Sir Leslie Rowan	D.1, D.3
CO/D/2	Economic Policies to Soviet Bloc (also CO/E/2) ..	Dr. W. Beutler	D.3
CO/D/3	Economic Committee Report (also CO/C/5)	Senator J. Javits	D.2, D.3

II—PAPERS AND STUDIES

Number	Title	Author	Sub-Committee
NC/D/C/1	Contribution to Peace of Private Enterprise	H. F. Jones, M.P.	D.3
NC/D/UK/2	Relations between the Atlantic Countries and the Free and Uncommitted World	Lady Jackson	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/UK/3	Common Political and Economic Policies of the Atlantic Community towards a Free and Uncommitted World (also NC/B/UK/9)	European-Atlantic Group	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/UK/4	Atlantic African Relations	Sir Robert Jackson	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/UK/5	Atlantic Community and the Middle East	M. G. Ionides	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/UK/6	Western Interests in Independent Non-Communist Eastern and Southern Asia (also NC/E/UK/11)	A. S. B. Olver	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/US/7	NATO, New Phase, New Means (also NC/B/US/17, NC/C/US/24, NC/E/US/14)	John H. Crider	D.3
NC/D/C/8	Notes for Submission to Free World Committee ..	E. Nelson	D.3
NC/D/UK/9	The General Policy of the Atlantic Powers (also NC/B/UK/1, NC/C/UK/16, NC/E/UK/6)	Rt. Hon. K. Younger, M.P.	D.3
NC/D/UK/10	Economic Capacity—Policy of Sino-Soviet Bloc (also NC/E/UK/3)	Federation of British Industries	D.3
NC/D/UK/11	Relations between the Western World and the Soviet Union in the next ten years (also NC/E/UK/5)	Sir William Hayter	D.2, D.3
NC/D/UK/12	Resources and Underdeveloped areas in Atlantic Countries (also NC/C/UK/2)	Economist Intelligence Unit	D.3
NC/D/UK/13	Britain in the Common Market (also NC/C/UK/8) ..	Federal Union	D.1, D.3
NC/D/UK/14	See NC/A/UK/7 and NC/E/UK/4 (NOT to Ctee D)	Sir Bryan Matthews	—
NC/D/UK/15	China in the 1960's (also NC/E/UK/2)	R. MacFarquhar	D.2, D.3
NC/D/C/16	NATO and Canadian Labour (see NC/B/C/16 and NC/C/C/23) (NOT to Ctee D)	K. Kaplansky	—
NC/D/F/17	Communal Economic Action vis-à-vis "Tiers Monde"	Robert Mossé	D.2, D.3
NC/D/F/18	Community and Conflicting Interests among the countries of the Atlantic Alliance and the Free and Uncommitted World	Jean Cahen-Salvador	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/US/19	Freedom of Trade and Stability of Exchange (also NC/C/US/14)	J. Herbert Furth	D.3
NC/D/UK/20	Atlantic Institutions, Present and Future (also NC/B/UK/2)	Prof. Max Beloff	D.1, D.3
NC/D/UK/21	Soviet and Western Propaganda (also NC/E/UK/9) ..	Prof. Seton-Watson	D.2
NC/D/UK/22	Economic Papers—General (also NC/C/UK/1)	Sir Roy Harrod	D.3
NC/D/Ne/23	Economic Co-operation in Western Europe (also NC/C/Ne/22)	Netherlands National Committee	D.3
NC/D/US/24	The North Atlantic Community and the New Asia (also NC/B/US/18)	H. van B. Cleveland	D.1, D.2, D.3
NC/D/Ne/25	NATO and the Uncommitted Countries	Netherlands National Committee	D.2, D.3
NC/D/Italy/26	Commercial Freedom and Stability of Exchange (also NC/C/Italy/5)	Dr. Paolo Pelleri	D.3

COMMITTEE E

I—DRAFT REPORTS

<i>Number</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Sub-Committee</i>
CO/E/1	The Techniques of Soviet Propaganda	Mme. Suzanne Labin	E.3
CO/E/1	The Techniques of Soviet Propaganda (Summary) ..	Mme. Suzanne Labin	E.3
CO/E/2	Economic Policies to Soviet Bloc (also CO/D/2) ..	Dr. W. Beutler	E.2
CO/E/3	Not issued		
CO/E/4	Economic Policy—General (also CO/C/2, CO/D/1)..	Sir Leslie Rowan	E.2
CO/E/5	Meeting the Challenge of Ideological Aggression ..	Nusret Köymen	E.3
CO/E/6	A proposal for applying GATT trading principles to Communist Bloc trade with the free world	Stacy May	E

II—PAPERS AND STUDIES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Sub-Committee</i>
NC/E/US/1	Relations with the Communist Bloc (also NC/B/US/11)	Cyril E. Black and Frederick J. Yeager	E.1, E.3
NC/E/UK/2	China in the 1960's (also NC/D/UK/15)	R. MacFarquhar	E.1, E.2
NC/E/UK/3	Economic Capacity—Policy of Soviet Bloc (also NC/D/UK/10)	Federation of British Industries ..	E.2
NC/E/UK/4	Science and Brain Warfare (also NC/A/UK/7) ..	Sir Bryan Matthews	E.3
NC/E/UK/5	Relations between the Western World and the Soviet Union in the next ten years (also NC/D/UK/11)	Sir William Hayter	E.1, E.2
NC/E/UK/6	General Policy of the Atlantic Powers (also NC/B/UK/1, NC/C/UK/16, NC/D/UK/9)	Rt. Hon. K. Younger, M.P.	E.1, E.2
NC/E/B/7	East-West Relations	A. Pierson	E.1, E.2
NC/E/US/8	The U.S.S.R. and NATO	Frederick J. Yeager	E.1, E.3
NC/E/UK/9	Soviet and Western Propaganda (also NC/D/UK/21)	Prof. Seton-Watson	E.3
NC/E/Ne/10	Political Policies (also NC/B/Ne/15)	Netherlands National Committee ..	E.1
NC/E/UK/11	Western Interests in Independent Non-Communist Eastern and Southern Asia (also NC/D/UK/6)	A. S. B. Olver	E.1
NC/E/Ne/12	Western Economic Policy and the Soviet Bloc ..	Netherlands National Committee ..	E.2
NC/E/Ne/13	Soviet and Western Propaganda Techniques ..	Netherlands National Committee ..	E.3
NC/E/US/14	NATO, New Phase, New Means (also NC/B/US/17, NC/C/US/24, NC/D/US/7)	John H. Crider	E.2

THE HOSPITALITY SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE U.K. NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE ATLANTIC CONGRESS

The Hospitality Sub-Committee of the U.K. National Committee for the Atlantic Congress was formed under the Chairmanship of Baroness Elliot of Harwood early in March, 1959, with Miss Judy Hutchinson as Executive Secretary. It was represented by the Chairman on the U.K. National Committee, and was asked to undertake the responsibility of preparing a programme of varied entertainment and hospitality for delegates to the Atlantic Congress and their wives and families. Major functions for the entire body of Congress officers, delegates, and others which were part of the official Congress programme were the responsibility of the International Secretariat.

The following kindly undertook to serve on the Hospitality Sub-Committee: Viscountess Harcourt (Vice-Chairman), Lady Dean, Lady Dugdale, Lady Hambro, Lady Hoyer-Millar, Viscountess Kilmuir, Lady Makins, Viscountess Monckton of Brechley, Lady Plowden, Lady Rowan and Lady Soskice, Mr. Colin Coote and Mr. Aidan Crawley. Five committee meetings were held before the Congress opened.

The Chairman and Lady Soskice wrote personally to approximately 100 British Parliamentarians and others asking them if they would offer private hospitality to overseas guests during the Congress. A considerable number of invitations for luncheon and tea, cocktail and dinner parties were received.

To help in planning the programme of entertainment a form was prepared detailing the various items which could be arranged. This was sent to each delegate, together with a personal letter from Sir Thomas Dugdale, a month before the Congress opened.

In order to co-ordinate all arrangements the Canadian High Commissioner and the Ambassadors to all the NATO countries were each asked to appoint a liaison officer.

To welcome the Delegates and their wives, supper parties were given by the Sub-Committee at seven central hotels on the evening before the Congress opened. The members of the U.K. National Committee, U.K. Delegates and also the English hosts and hostesses were invited, and it was hoped that overseas visitors were, by this means, made to feel really welcome immediately they arrived in this country. These parties were followed by a concert at the Royal Festival Hall given by the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

The following evening the Ambassadors of the NATO countries each gave a dinner party for all the members of their delegations before the Foreign Secretary's Reception. The Canadian High Commissioner had given one on June 4.

The Committee approached a considerable number of public bodies and organisations, and, as a result, offers of entertainment were received from:—The London County Council for a tour of the Social Services, The Port of London Authority for a river cruise on their yacht to the Royal Docks. Several of the City Livery Companies, The Mercers, Clothworkers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners and Vintners also offered a variety of parties in their Halls.

The Royal Commonwealth Society and the Overseas League invited Canadian Delegates and their wives to specially arranged luncheon and tea parties, and the Victoria League welcomed all Canadians individually. The B.B.C. arranged for parties to be shown round their Lime Grove television studios.

Dinner and cocktail parties were arranged by the Royal Society, The World Parliament Association, The European-Atlantic Group, The Atlantic Treaty Association, The United Kingdom Council of the European Movement, The Young Conservatives External Relations Sub-Committee, The Council of Industrial Design and the Anglo-Turkish Society.

The Committee decided that the programme should include as many visits as possible to places or ceremonies. The Lord Chamberlain's office arranged a special visit to the State Apartments of St. James's Palace. Members of both Houses of Parliament conducted parties round the House of Lords and the House of Commons on two mornings. The Deputy Governor of the Tower of London arranged for three specially guided parties to be shown round. Tickets were obtained for the final Rehearsal of the Trooping the Colour and for the opening performance of the Royal Tournament.

Invitations for large parties to be shown round English country houses and gardens within reach of London were received from the following:—The Marquess and Marchioness of Salisbury for Hatfield House, The Earl and Countess De La Warr for Fisher's Gate, Viscount Astor for Clivedon, Viscount and Viscountess De L'Isle and Dudley for Penuhurst, Sir Harold and Lady Zia Wernher for Luton Hoo and The Hon. and Mrs. David Bowes-Lyon

to St. Paul's Walden Bury, and the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland for Syon House. This was combined with a visit to Hampton Court Palace.

The climax of the Hospitality programme was a Gala Midnight performance of "My Fair Lady" at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane on the evening of June 8. All officials and delegates and their wives and as many as possible of those who had given hospitality or helped were invited.

The organization of the programme for the 150 wives of delegates and other lady visitors was only made possible by the help of the Women's Voluntary Service, who staffed an information desk in Church House and at six main hotels throughout the Congress.

The preparation could not have been accomplished without the advice and help received from the Law Society, the many members of the Committee, and many others.

The Chairman wishes to record her deep appreciation of the generous help given by so many organisations and private individuals, without which so extensive a programme would not have been possible.

Finally, she wishes to thank Sir Alexander Fleck, the Honorary Treasurer of the U.K. National Committee, the members of the Finance Sub-Committee of the U.K. National Committee, and the many firms which provided the financial support upon which the work and arrangements of the Hospitality Committee were dependent.

PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION

The Atlantic Congress was the most widely publicised event in NATO's tenth anniversary year. This was reflected in the large number of press, radio and television correspondents and reporters attending the Congress, in the thousands of press cuttings received from all over the world and in the extent of the radio, television and newsreel coverage in a large number of countries. Special television and radio studios were set up at Church House for the duration of the Congress.

Press

More than 250 correspondents, representing the world press, including national daily papers, news agencies and periodicals, attended the initial Press Conference. Press releases were issued in both English and French after each meeting. In addition to reports on the proceedings, the reports and papers submitted to the Congress Committees were provided; synopses of these were also distributed, as well as general information concerning the Congress. Working facilities were provided for up to 50 correspondents in the Press Room, where a press hostess was on permanent duty. Press hostesses were also attached to each of the five Committees.

Radio

Radio coverage of the Congress was assured by 50 radio stations with a total minimum broadcasting coverage of 84 hours. The coverage included recordings from the Opening Ceremony and the plenary sessions, reports and commentaries on the proceedings and interviews with delegates. This coverage was only made possible by the technical facilities and help provided by the B.B.C., and also by SHAPE who supplied the magnetic tape for recordings.

Reports and comment on the Congress were also broadcast by Moscow radio and other stations of the Soviet Bloc, including Communist China. Reports on these broadcasts were provided by the B.B.C. Monitoring Service.

Television and Newsreel Coverage

The opening Ceremony received wide coverage. Newsreel films were distributed to 140 television stations in a world-wide distribution. Newsreels of the Ceremony were seen in cinemas of all the NATO countries and of 22 non-NATO countries. Television and film coverage also included speeches at the plenary sessions, and interviews with some of the principal guests and delegates.

LANGUAGE SECTION

At least fourteen countries of the Atlantic Community were represented by members of the Language Section, the largest ever assembled for a Congress in London. The 34 interpreters and 21 translators were recruited by M Jean de Lafforest, chief interpreter to the Atlantic Congress and the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, assisted for administrative purposes by Transla Ltd.

At the Opening Ceremony simultaneous interpretation was provided in Westminster Hall for the first time in history. This was also the first time that words spoken by Her Majesty the Queen had ever been heard—both in English and in French—through its most recent version: radio-induction. Similar equipment, which enables participants to move about freely while listening in, was also installed for some of the committee meetings.

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The President and Members of the North Atlantic Council

The Secretary-General and Officers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

The Supreme Commander, Allied Powers in Europe, and his Staff

The Lord Chamberlain and his Officers

The Honourable Corps of the Gentlemen-at-Arms

Her Majesty's Bodyguard of the Yeoman of the Guard

Lt.-Col. The Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Adeane, K.C.B.,

K.C.V.O.

Cdr. Richard Colville, C.V.O., D.S.C., R.N.

The Belgian Embassy

The Office of the High Commissioner for Canada

The Danish Embassy

The French Embassy

The Embassy of the Federal German Republic

The Greek Embassy

The Icelandic Embassy

The Italian Embassy

The Luxembourg Embassy

The Netherlands Embassy

The Norwegian Embassy

The Portuguese Embassy

The Turkish Embassy

The United States Embassy

The Lord Great Chamberlain and his Officers

The Lord Chancellor and Officers of the House of Lords

The Speaker and Officers of the House of Commons

Mr. P. F. de Zulueta, Prime Minister's Private Secretary

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Officers of the Foreign Office

The Minister and Officers of the Ministry of Works

The Postmaster-General and Officers of the General Post Office

Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Her Majesty's Department of Customs and Excise

The Government Hospitality Fund

The Chairmen, Officers and Members of National Committees

The Hospitality Sub-Committee of the U.K. National Committee

The Dean of Westminster, Very Rev. Alan Campbell Don, K.C.V.O., M.A., Hon. D.D.

The Commissioners of Church House

The Officer Commanding the Brigade of Guards and the Directors of Music of the State Trumpeters and the Band of the Welsh Guards

The Officer Commanding R.N. Reserve Fleet, Chatham

The Lord Mayor and the Corporation of the City of London

The Atlantic Treaty Association

The Bilderberg Group

The British Atlantic Committee

The Congress of European and American Associations Declaration of Atlantic Unity

The European-Atlantic Group

The Inter-Parliamentary Union

The International Sugar Council

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Sir William Walton, Mus.D.

Mr. Martin Maddan, M.P.

Mr. Bartley Powell

The City of London Police

The Metropolitan Police

The Conservative Central Office

The Labour Party

The Liberal Party

The National Book League

The Society of Scribes

The Women's Voluntary Service

The Over Forty-Fives Association

The United Services Corps

The British Broadcasting Corporation

The Independent Television Authority

Tyne Tees Television

The British Overseas Airways Corporation

The Charing Cross Hotel

Claridge's

The Mayfair Hotel

The Piccadilly Hotel

St. Ermin's Hotel

Quaglino's Restaurant

The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane

The Royal Festival Hall

The Amalgamated Typewriter Co., Ltd.

Barrow, Hepburn & Gale, Ltd.

Capital Publicity & Display, Ltd.
The City Display Organisation
Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd.
Daimler Hire, Ltd.
Fleet Secretaries
Frames Tours, Ltd.
Joseph Fraye & Co., Ltd.
Jalmar
London Diary Publications, Ltd.
David Neil & Company

Newman Neame, Ltd.
The Palantype Organisation
Presto Products
Recorded Sound, Ltd.
Ring & Brymer (Birch's), Ltd.
Roneo, Ltd.
Charles Skipper & East, Ltd.
Tannoy Products, Ltd.
Transla, Ltd.
Turtle & Pearce, Ltd.

