

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY  
ORGANIZATION PARLIAMENTARIANS'  
CONFERENCE

1955-1959

Introduction by  
Geoffrey de Freitas

Member of Parliament



Published in English and French by  
**The Hansard Society for Parliamentary  
Government**

5s.

79-80 PETTY FRANCE, LONDON, S.W.1

## The Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government

This booklet is one of a wide range of publications produced by the Society.

The Society, founded by Sir Stephen King-Hall in 1944, is a non-governmental, non-profit making educational body dedicated to promoting the cause of parliamentary government in its various democratic forms, such as the British and Commonwealth Parliaments; Congress; the Bundestag; the French and Italian Assemblies, etc.

The Society is *not* a British Society. The Council (of which Sir Stephen King-Hall is Chairman) which is the body elected by the members of the Society includes distinguished personalities from the NATO countries, such as M. Vincent Auriol (France) Herr Eugen Gerstenmaier (Germany) and Mr. Walter Lippmann (USA).

Educational tasks are undertaken by the Society in a variety of ways. These include the publication of books about various Parliaments and the problems and workings of the institutions of parliamentary government; educational work for Africans; the provision of lecturers on the American system of government and on the problems of parliamentary government in Africa, as well as lecturers on how the British parliament works.

The Society publishes *Parliamentary Affairs*, a quarterly journal of 136 pp., the contents of which cover the whole field of the institution of parliamentary government.

Membership of the Society is open to all who support its objects. Individual membership fee is 30s per annum, corporate membership (i.e. firms and associations) two guineas. Both individual and corporate members receive free copies of the journal *Parliamentary Affairs* and they also have the right to purchase all the Society's publications at a reduced rate.

For full particulars of the work of the Society you are invited to send a post-card to The Secretary, The Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 79/80 Petty France, London S.W.1.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY  
ORGANIZATION PARLIAMENTARIANS'  
CONFERENCE

1955-1959

Introduction by  
Geoffrey de Freitas

Member of Parliament



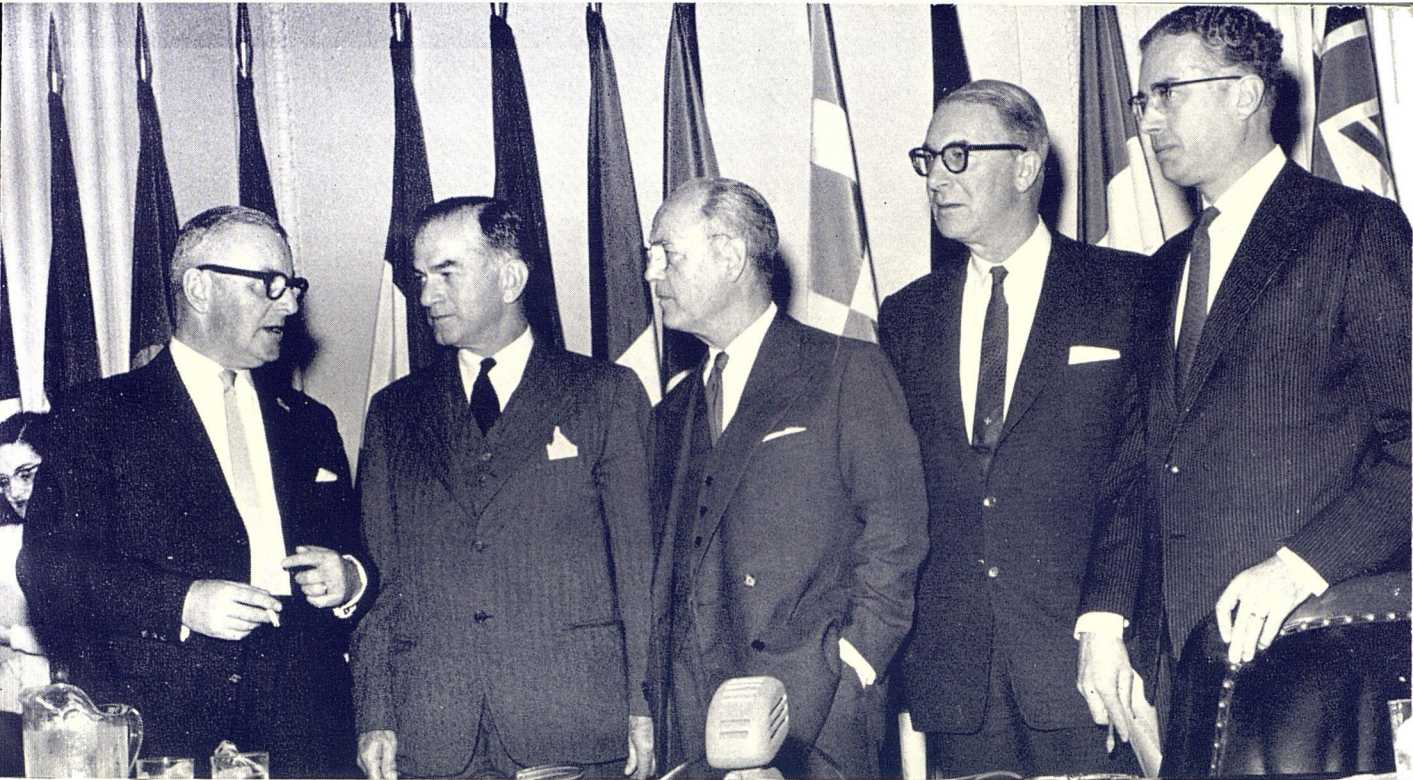
Published in English and French by  
**The Hansard Society for Parliamentary  
Government**

79-80 PETTY FRANCE, LONDON, S.W.1









5th Annual Conference, Washington, November, 1959

Mr. J. J. Fens, M.P.  
(Netherlands)  
outgoing President

Senator  
Fulbright  
(U.S.A.)

Senator Bethouart  
(France)  
incoming President

Senator  
Kefauver  
(U.S.A.)

Mr. G. de Freitas, M.P.  
(U.K.)  
Treasurer

## INTRODUCTION

BY GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, MP (UK)

*One of the founders of the Conference and an officer  
from 1956 to 1960*

I have been asked to write a note on the early history and a postscript on the future. Inevitably it is somewhat personal.

This pamphlet begins by referring to the Norwegian initiative in the Council of Ministers. Of course, a lot had happened before that. It was only the final step in the long campaign of a few parliamentarians to get their governments interested in a forum for discussing problems of the Atlantic community.

From 1951, at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, and in the House of Commons at Westminster, I had advocated an Atlantic consultative assembly to debate matters beyond the military problems in which NATO was concerned. The hope was that the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe—a non-military organization—would develop into an Atlantic consultative assembly. At Strasbourg, Mr. J. J. Fens, of the Netherlands, M. Pierre Olivier Lapie, of France, and Mr. Finn Moe, of Norway, supported this idea. At Westminster there was no support.

In 1953 Senator Robertson got in touch with me through the Canadian foreign service and subsequently wrote to ask me to help in arranging a meeting of NATO Parliamentarians in 1955. Our conceptions originally had little in common. Senator Robertson believed that what was needed was an annual meeting of parliamentarians supporting NATO and that the suggestion of a consultative assembly would frighten off the North Americans. I felt that the political and economic affairs of the Atlantic community needed inter-parliamentary debate in a consultative assembly. It is not too fanciful to recall that this difference of approach had a parallel in English history. The Tudor idea of parliament was of men coming together from all parts of the country to

learn what the government was doing and to return to their cities and counties to explain what was happening. It was not until the Jacobean period that Parliament began to think of itself as a body of men coming together to criticize the government and to suggest alternative policies.

In our conference the Tudor conception has prevailed. As a result, governments such as the British, which were hostile in 1955, are now reconciled to it.

Senator Robertson had asked me to sound out the Government and the Speaker. I found that the Government was very much opposed to a conference, but that the Speaker and the Lord Chancellor were willing, if asked directly, to choose a delegation if the Foreign Office would pay its expenses. For this and other reasons, the invitations to the conference went from the Speakers of the Canadian and Norwegian Parliaments direct to the Speakers of the other Parliaments.

Walter Elliot was not at first in favour of the conference. He had to be convinced that it would serve a good purpose. Clement Davies and I eventually persuaded him to accept the Speaker's invitation to lead the British delegation. Once he was involved he played a leading part in establishing the conference and he worked hard for it until his death soon after the 1957 conference. He was one of the three delegates who guaranteed the expenses of the first meeting. So little help was forthcoming from the staff at NATO Headquarters that my own private secretary served the international Standing Committee and many of the translations were done by friends from the Secretariat of the Council of Europe who had come to the Palais de Chaillot as spectators.

At no time in the years covered by this pamphlet could the small secretariat have been maintained unless the Treasurer for the time being had guaranteed either the bank overdraft or the rent of the offices. It was not until last year that the Standing Committee altered the rules and gave the Treasurer the powers he needed to carry out his duties properly. It was not until this year that all countries had paid off the arrears in their contributions. The job of Treasurer of an unofficial international organization is diffi-



cult. On giving up my treasurership two months ago, I was able to tell members of the Standing Committee that for the first time our finances were satisfactory and that we had a few thousand pounds banked as a reserve. But I added this warning: "Many difficulties have been caused in the past by the failure of some governments to realize that the Conference has no financial reserves. . . . Unless these annual contributions are paid regularly, we could easily return to the difficulties of the past." The very next week I received a letter from the Foreign Office of one of the largest countries in NATO saying that they were making their contribution for the current year only on the assumption that the budget had been fully spent and that there were no reserves. Obviously, the accounting systems of our national treasuries are designed to drive the treasurers of international organizations to suicide.

Mr. Douglas Robinson's role in the establishment of the Conference cannot be overestimated. His youthful imagination, initiative and drive were tremendous and at the beginning these were far more important than the political and administrative experience and the languages which he lacked. It was only in 1959 that the Standing Committee decided that they needed as Executive Secretary someone with experience of working on an international staff and with a good knowledge of European languages.\*

This pamphlet deals with the period ending with the Conference of November 1959. It will be valuable to the historian because I am told that one of the consequences of the amateurish way in which the Conference was run is that the minute book of the Standing Committee cannot be found.

Early in 1960 the Standing Committee decided to move the international office from London to Paris. There were many of us who feared that it would be housed in the new NATO building and that this would lead to the Conference falling into the clutches of the NATO Secretariat and becoming no more than a public relations exercise for the military

\* Mr. Robinson left early in 1960. His successor is Mr. Otto van H. Labberton of the Netherlands.

staffs. Fortunately, Senator Bethouart has found an office for the small secretariat in the building used by the staff of Western European Union and it moves there today. It will be housed among men and women who serve parliamentarians as well as governments. This is as it should be. The Conference was founded by parliamentarians for parliamentarians, and it will preserve its vitality only so long as it remains essentially parliamentary.

*24th June, 1960*

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE  
NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS' CONFERENCE  
1955-1959

In December 1953 the then Secretary-General of NATO, Lord Ismay, submitted to the Ministerial Conference of the NATO Council the following recommendation :

"The Council in Permanent Session has recently agreed, as a first step, to suggest that member Governments should encourage the setting up of groups of parliamentarians especially interested in NATO. These groups might develop their own contacts with each other and may perhaps wish to have a combined meeting, say in Paris, to discuss matters of common interest. The international staff would, of course, give all possible information and technical assistance."

This recommendation provided the incentive for the formation early in the following year of the first of such groups, the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, under the leadership of Senator Wishart McLean Robertson, then Speaker of the Canadian Senate. It also gave encouragement to the Norwegian Storting which, on the initiative of Mr. Finn Moe, at that time Chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, had earlier called upon its government to work towards the creation of a NATO Consultative Assembly.

The efforts of both these groups of parliamentarians were assisted throughout 1954 by the Sponsors of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity, who were instrumental in arranging discussions between them and leading parliamentarians from Belgium and France in the autumn of that year.

As a result, the Canadian Association, with the agreement of the Secretary-General and Permanent Council of NATO, was able to request the presidents of the Parliaments in all member countries to send delegates from their Parliaments to attend a meeting in Paris in July 1955.

**THE FIRST CONFERENCE—1955**

The invitations for the first Conference were sent in May 1955. No administrative organization of any kind existed at that time, beyond the physical hospitality extended by NATO at the Palais de Chaillot. The late Colonel Walter Elliot (UK), later appointed Treasurer, made himself responsible for much of the organization and called in Mr. Douglas Robinson, who had been active in promoting the Declaration of Atlantic Unity, to assist him.

The meeting took place at the Palais de Chaillot from 18th to 23rd July, 1955, under the title "Conference of Members of Parliament from the NATO countries". About 200 delegates (listed in Appendix 3) from the fifteen member countries attended, though the Italian delegation was prevented by a temporary internal political situation from arriving until the final day.

Somewhat overshadowed by the Summit talks concurrently being held in Geneva, the meeting opened with a brief working session and elected Senator Wishart McLean Robertson (C) as its President.

The first two days were devoted mainly to a series of addresses, heard in closed session, on the subject of the North Atlantic Treaty and NATO, given by Lord Ismay, General Gruenther, General de Chassey and other members of the staff of NATO and SHAPE. These were followed by speeches on the subject of European integration delivered by Mr. J. S. MacLay (UK) then President of the Assembly of Western European Union, Jonkheer Van Naters (N) and M. Ockrent (B).

The second and public part of the meeting was opened in the name of the French Government by M. Palewski, and then proceeded to a general debate on NATO and its wider aspects. As was to be the case in subsequent years, a considerable part of the discussions centred on the political and economic implications of the Treaty, which were felt to be deserving of greater attention if the Alliance was to become fully effective. One of the principal speakers in this section was Mr. John Diefenbaker (C).

Not unnaturally, however, the meeting was mainly pre-

occupied with decisions affecting its own future. In the main, there were four different conceptions of the kind of permanent parliamentary forum which might be established by the NATO countries. There was, first, the Canadian proposal for the setting up of NATO Parliamentary Groups in each of the legislatures of member countries and for these to be linked by an International NATO Parliamentary Association, following the example of similar bodies such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Some representatives of continental countries, on the other hand, favoured the establishment of a parliamentary assembly with consultative status attached to NATO, along similar lines to the Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Of considerable interest is the spirited reaction caused by the third suggestion that the fifteen Governments should be requested to ask the NATO Council to invite parliamentarians to an annual conference. This idea was forcefully rejected and clearly showed the strong desire of the delegates to organize their annual meetings without any dependence on governmental decisions.

In the event, it was a fourth proposal which gained unanimous approval. Based on the view that a consultative assembly was not, at this stage, practicable because of the opposition of member governments, whilst Parliamentary Associations could easily serve to restrict the influence of the conference by nominating the same delegates year after year, without ensuring accurate representation of the political composition of their legislatures, it proposed that future conferences be convened in the same manner as the first. This meant that the President or Speaker of each Parliament was to be requested to select the delegations.

The final resolution establishing both the Conference and this procedure is reproduced below :

"The present meeting of the Parliamentarians of the NATO Groups :

"INVITES the Presidents of the various interested Parliaments to appoint delegations, using any procedure which they shall deem suitable, to attend a similar meeting next year.



"Expresses the hope that the Governments of the countries represented here will facilitate the holding of new meetings, through the agency of the Atlantic Council.

"CONSIDERS furthermore that, before closing the meeting, it would be appropriate to establish a continuing committee made up of the members of the Bureau and of other members of the organizing committee, to the number of fifteen, and including a representative of each NATO country, with these countries having the right to replace the delegate so appointed. It would be incumbent on this committee to organize the next meeting.

"THE PRESENT ASSEMBLY considers, in addition, that this continuing committee should have at its disposal a Secretariat, the members of which would, for the time being, work part-time.

"The participating Governments or the interested parliamentarians, in common agreement, should provide for the financing (which will have to be modest) of this Secretariat."

No date was fixed for the next meeting, but it was agreed that the new Continuing Committee would meet as soon as possible to consider administrative matters, and in particular to draw up a budget.

It is interesting to note that the first conference consisted virtually entirely of plenary sessions, the sole committee being for editing the resolutions.

### **The Year 1955-56**

The impetus of this first conference was such as to lead to a remarkably rapid development of the organization. The Continuing Committee, renamed "Standing Committee" at its third meeting, met altogether four times in the interval between the first and second conferences.

Its first meeting took place immediately after the end of the conference, when it was constituted with one representation from each national delegation.

On this occasion the Committee adopted a preliminary budget for a part-time secretariat covering a period of nine months, national contributions to which were to be in accord-

ance with the NATO cost-sharing formula. It also set up a sub-committee to draft rules of procedure, which met subsequently in Brussels.

At its second meeting, held in the House of Commons in London in September 1955, it was quickly realized that a part-time secretariat would be inadequate for organizing the next conference, and a budget of £4,047 was therefore agreed. This was sufficient for the establishment of one small office with a secretary charged with the arrangements for the conference and any activities in relation to this which the Committee deemed necessary. This office was opened in London at the end of January 1956.

By the time of its third meeting at The Hague in February 1956, however, it was already clear that the budget had to be increased by a further £3,000 for the new financial year from 1st July, 1956, to 30th June, 1957. Other points decided were the preliminary agenda for the next conference, the need for some inter-conference activities to maintain the interest of parliamentarians, the draft rules of procedure, and the avoidance of a limit to the size of delegations. A communiqué released to the press reaffirmed the Committee's support of NATO and the ideals on which it is based, its belief in the necessity for the closest co-operation between NATO countries, and its resolve to proceed with the arrangements for the second conference of NATO Parliamentarians to be held in Paris on or around 19th November.

The fourth meeting of the Standing Committee took place in very special circumstances at the Palais de Chaillot in September. The Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council, held in May 1956, had elected a Committee of Three—colloquially known as the "Three Wise Men"—to consider ways and means of achieving closer political and economic co-operation. At its first meeting in June, the Committee of Three, consisting of the Foreign Ministers of Italy, Norway and Canada—Sgr. Gaetano Martino, Mr. Halvard Lange and Mr. Lester Pearson—had agreed to invite the Standing Committee to meet them in September.

The officers of the Standing Committee met in Brussels at the end of July to consider the proposals which should be

put forward. After their approval by the remainder of the Committee, these proposals were submitted to the Committee of Three for study prior to the September meeting.

The Standing Committee met on 10th and 11th September to finalise its preparations for the meeting with the Committee of Three the following day. It also took the opportunity of considering the arrangements for the November conference, and revised the preliminary agenda to allow for a debate on military and cultural co-operation, as well as discussing the methods and extent of financing the existing organization.

The actual meeting on 12th September was chaired by Mr. Halvard Lange in the absence of Sgr. Martino and heard the proposals of the Standing Committee for political and economic co-operation. It also discussed the more formal recognition of the Conference by the North Atlantic Council, a subject which the Committee regarded as being of vital importance.

The other important subject discussed with the Committee was the result of the questionnaire sent to each of over 5,000 members of the Parliaments of the fifteen NATO countries, in nine different languages. This ambitious project had been undertaken earlier in the year in order to elicit the views of the parliamentarians on co-operation within the Alliance. The questions it asked can be summarized as follows :

- (i) Political aspects of NATO : How much interest is there in NATO in each country? Should the Treaty be revised, and in what respects? Should NATO pronounce in disputes between member countries? Should there be a common foreign policy? Should there be a Consultative Parliamentary Assembly? What is the importance of the Conference, and how often and long should it meet?
- (ii) Economic aspects : Should there be : an Atlantic Payments Union? mobility of labour between NATO countries? an Atlantic overseas investment programme? rationalization of military production? rationalization of civilian production?
- (iii) General : Are the present problems of the NATO

countries primarily political, economic or military; and what are they? What is the greatest single obstacle to closer unity within the Alliance; and how can this unity be advanced by individual parliamentarians? Should the system of Parliamentary NATO Groups be extended?

The interim results obtained were placed before the Committee of Three in a detailed analysis of the replies which was subsequently circulated to the same parliamentarians. This showed the following opinions :

A majority of those who replied (not more than 20 per cent of the total asked) favoured a revision of the Treaty, particularly to increase economic co-operation. Similarly, there were majorities in favour of steps leading to closer co-operation between member countries, including the establishment of a Consultative Parliamentary Assembly, a common foreign policy, pronouncements by NATO upon disputes between member countries, the creation of an Atlantic Payments Union, mobility of labour between NATO countries, an Atlantic overseas investment programme, and the rationalization of military production.

Replies to the general questions showed an awareness of the limitations of the national approach and the reluctance of individual countries to see their problems in relation to the wider community. A few respondents specifically referred to the need for some merging of national sovereignties, whilst many felt the lack of a common sense of purpose and direction. On the whole, however, differences appeared to arise more on matters of detail than on general principles.

It can be assumed that the September meeting with the Standing Committee, and perhaps the survey of parliamentary opinion, had a profound influence on the Committee of Three. This is evident from their Report, approved by the North Atlantic Council in Ministerial session on 13th December, 1956, which contains many of the recommendations of the Standing Committee's memorandum, and is well summarized in the communiqué published at the end of that meeting :

"As a major forward step in the development of NATO in the non-military field, the Council approved the recommenda-

tions of the Committee of Three in their report to the Council. In doing so, the Council approved wider and more intimate consultation among the member states on political matters. The Council also approved arrangements to aid the settlement of disputes among members and adopted measures for strengthening the organization of NATO internally and for further co-operation between members in certain economic and cultural fields."

The importance which the Committee attached to the Conference is clearly indicated in Section 2(IV) of their report :

"58. Among the best supporters of NATO and its purposes are those Members of Parliament who have had a chance at first hand to see some of its activities and to learn of its problems, and to exchange views with their colleagues from other parliaments. In particular, the formation of national Parliamentary Associations and the activities of the Conference of Members of Parliament from NATO countries have contributed to the development of public support for NATO and solidarity among its members.

"59. In order to maintain a close relationship of Parliamentarians with NATO, the following arrangements are recommended :

"(a) that the Secretary-General continue to place the facilities of NATO headquarters at the disposal of Parliamentary Conferences and give all possible help with arrangements for their meetings;

"(b) that invited representatives of member governments and the Secretary-General and other senior NATO civil and military officers attend certain of these meetings. In this way the parliamentarians would be informed on the state of the Alliance and the problems before it, and the value of their discussions would be increased."

Several other projects were also under consideration at this time. A Parliamentary NATO Journal, with an estimated circulation of 8,000, was to have carried articles by parliamentarians and others in the field of Atlantic relations. A full information service to be provided by the secretariat to assist parliamentary debates and other purposes was also proposed. Both these



ideas were, however, stillborn, as the necessary finance was lacking.

The value of exchange visits, particularly by European parliamentarians to North America, was also recognized at this time, although for similar reasons its realization was delayed until the following year.

The first year of the life of the Conference therefore saw it firmly established in three of the most important directions. Its own organization was secured by sustaining the interest and determination of the formal parliamentary groups in Belgium, Canada, France, Norway and Turkey, and of individual parliamentarians in the other ten countries, as well as by the setting up of its own secretariat. In the second place, its survey of parliamentary opinion widely advertised both its existence and its interests, not only amongst parliamentarians but also to a large section of the informed public throughout the member countries. Lastly, its relations with NATO itself became established and more formalized through its consultation with the Committee of Three. This was indeed remarkable progress in so short a time.

### **THE SECOND CONFERENCE—1956**

The second conference took place at the Palais de Chaillot from 19th to 23rd November, 1956, when some 175 delegates once again represented each of the fifteen countries. Of great significance was the United States delegation, which included eight senators, among them Senator Lyndon Johnson, the majority leader. The new President was the Hon. Wayne L. Hays (USA) who took over from Senator Robertson (c) who became Honorary President.

Not only had many good lessons been learned from the first conference, but the experience throughout the year had pointed to a number of substantial improvements to be made in the organization of the conference. Most important was the inclusion in the agenda of committee sessions, for it had become obvious that the effective outcome of the conference depended on the study of the ideas and material submitted to it by special committees capable of reducing them to a set of clear expressions and workable proposals. The following

committees were therefore established, though only for the duration of the conference :

Political	Chairman : M. Fayat (B)
Committee :	Rapporteur : Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas (UK)
Military	Chairman : M. A. Gilson (B)
Sub-Committee :	Rapporteur : Lt.-Gen. Calmeyer (NE)
Economic	Chairman : Senator McLean (C)
Committee :	Rapporteur : Mr. G. Ruygers (NE)
Cultural	Chairman : M. F. Van Cauwelaert (B)
Sub-Committee :	Rapporteur : Gräfin Finckenstein (G)

These committees were responsible for producing a set of draft resolutions which were debated and subsequently adopted by the full conference in plenary session. This in fact established the pattern for all subsequent conferences, with increasing emphasis on specialization of a greater number of committees.

Other innovations included the presence of observers, some private, others specially invited to represent their organizations. Also for the first time, a document was circulated giving brief biographies of delegates, which undoubtedly facilitated communication and exchange of ideas between them. The conference organization as a whole was improved considerably, largely due to the longer period available for preparations. Nevertheless, the Parliamentary Secretary, in presenting the report of the Standing Committee, felt it necessary to stress that "financial problems" had once again delayed the preparations far longer than was desirable for the firm establishment and efficient running of the conference.

Lord Ismay once again welcomed the conference in an address at the opening session, in which he took the opportunity of surveying the whole field of NATO activities. He dwelt particularly on the new trends then developing for increased consultation and co-operation, especially in a number of new fields, and referred to the work of the Committee of Three in this connection.

This address, together with a subsequent one by General Gruenther, provided the conference with the necessary facts

and stimulus for their subsequent debates, the substance of which found expression in the resolutions which are summarized below. It is of interest to record that among the more prominent speakers in the debates were Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, M.P. (UK), and M. Michel Debre (F).

Like its forerunner, the second conference was also somewhat overshadowed by world events, this time in Suez and Hungary. Reflections of this can be seen in a number of its resolutions, primarily, of course, the emergency resolution expressing profound shock at the events in Hungary and emphasizing the consequent imperative need for unity and solidarity among the member nations of NATO. The influence of Suez can be clearly detected in the resolution of the economic committee on the problem of oil and petroleum supplies, which asked for this to be considered as of common concern and for the NATO Council, as well as each delegation with its own government, to give it immediate attention.

The economic committee also sponsored two other resolutions, the first of these dealing with an expression of concern over the problem of aid to under-developed countries. Although the committee itself agreed that no decision could be taken on this matter at that time, it decided that the resolution should be transmitted to the Governments and Parliaments of all member countries and invited its rapporteur to prepare a report for the 1957 conference. It therefore laid the foundation for the active and continuing attention which this problem has received at all subsequent conferences.

The committee's third resolution was of equally far-reaching importance, though in the first instance more for the conference itself. This called for the establishment of a special committee on scientific and technical personnel, which was to be immediately charged with preparing for the next conference its conclusions and recommendations relating to the training of scientific and technological personnel, the comparative utilization by NATO and the Soviet bloc of their existing resources in this field, and the development of such resources for security and economic growth. Senator H. M. Jackson (USA), the proposer of this resolution, became the first chairman of this committee, which was to consist of one member from each delega-

tion, when it was established as soon as the conference had passed the resolution.

The political committee contented itself with one resolution which did, however, stress the most important aspect of closer political consultation by recommending that this should be as far as possible at ministerial level.

The cultural committee, too, produced just one resolution, calling for the formation of a group of experts to study opportunities for cultural progress within the community, as well as for the organization within the framework of NATO of a conference of educationalists to study methods of training sufficient quantities of scholars and technicians to maintain the leading position of the Atlantic Community in the pure and applied sciences.

Because of the lack of prepared subjects for discussion, the military committee was unable to propose resolutions, but nevertheless submitted a report which indicated that it was also anxious for a political-strategic NATO control to be established. Whilst the report discussed a number of strategic considerations facing the alliance, it was reluctant to make definite statements, partly for lack of information, but partly also because, with the NATO shield not yet completed, it seemed unrealistic to set up new objectives.

The conference also concerned itself with the problems outlined by Lord Ismay and General Gruenther, calling on the Standing Committee through a resolution to give them their urgent attention. This led to two further resolutions being adopted, the one specifically directing the Standing Committee to prepare a paper on these questions so that the next conference could consider whether it should meet more frequently, seek consultative status, increase the size of the Standing Committee, or take any other action that might be desirable. The second resolution stated that an annual budget of £15,000 would be required and asked the Standing Committee to take this up with their respective governments, as well as with NATO.

It can be concluded that the second conference was successful not only in bending to its task in the political, economic and educational fields with a clearer sense of direction, but

also in being regarded as a responsible instrument in the fashioning of the alliance by the heads of both NATO and SHAPE.

### **The Year 1956-57**

In the interval between the second and third conferences the Standing Committee met five times. Apart from the preparations for the third conference, the year was largely devoted to establishing firmer relations both with the NATO Secretariat and between the parliamentarians themselves.

The first meeting of the Standing Committee took place immediately after the end of the 1956 conference, and this was followed by a meeting of the Bureau (the President, Vice-Presidents and Treasurer) in Washington on 23rd and 24th January, 1957, which also provided the opportunity for a meeting with members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees, as well as a visit to the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT) at Norfolk, Va. These two encounters laid the foundation for many subsequent visits and instructional tours by European parliamentarians.

The Bureau also visited Ottawa, where they were received by Mr. Charles Cannon and attended a dinner given by the Speaker and members of the House of Commons, including the Opposition leader, Mr. John Diefenbaker.

The Standing Committee met again in Brussels on 26th March. Among the procedural decisions taken were steps for raising additional finance, the adoption of the calendar year as the financial year from 1st January, 1958, and further amendments to the rules of procedure. The most important developments, however, were the outlining of a procedure for the officers of conference committees so as to ensure well-considered draft reports being submitted to the next conference, and agreement on the matters to be raised with the new Secretary-General of NATO.

M. Paul-Henri Spaak had been appointed to succeed Lord Ismay on his retirement and had agreed to meet a deputation of members of the Standing Committee. This meeting took place at the Belgian Foreign Ministry in Brussels on 11th May and, as a result of a lengthy discussion on the aims of the



Parliamentary NATO Conference, M. Spaak expressed himself in full agreement with them and assured the deputation that on taking up his appointment he would further encourage the co-operation which already existed between the Conference and the NATO Secretariat. M. Spaak also received sympathetically a suggestion for a financial contribution from NATO funds.

The Standing Committee met in Brussels both before and after this meeting and, on the basis of M. Spaak's reaction, agreed a budget of £15,000 for the period 1st July to 31st December, 1957. Other matters decided were the date of the next conference, the issue of invitations for a proposed visit of selected parliamentarians to SACLANT and, coupled with this, a further meeting of the Standing Committee in Washington on 18th June.

After leaving Brussels, the President and the Executive Secretary embarked on official visits to Norway, Germany and Luxembourg, where they had meetings with, among others, the Norwegian Minister of Defence, heads of Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees, and leading members of industry, trade unions and the press.

The visit of forty-one European and Canadian parliamentarians to SACLANT on the 20th and 21st June was preceeded by two days in Washington where they were entertained by senior members of the State Department and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Detailed briefings, as well as hospitality, were provided by the Pentagon.

SACLANT, with its demonstrations of the striking power of well-combined operations, proved of extreme value to the parliamentarians in gaining an insight into modern military developments. Beyond this, however, first-hand acquaintance with the United States meant for most of the delegates a wholesome reorientation and provided an experience which cannot have failed to touch their political deliberations since. Efforts to increase the frequency, range and participation of such exchanges were therefore redoubled after this first experiment.

The Standing Committee, which met in conjunction with this visit, gave its main consideration to the forthcoming conference. In this it was assisted by a report from the Executive

Secretary on his private discussions with M. Spaak and General Lauris Norstad—the successor as Supreme Allied Commander to General Gruenther—in Paris, both of whom had frankly delineated the problems facing NATO and its military and political organizations. Due account was taken of these views in preparing the agenda for the conference.

When the Standing Committee met again on 26th and 27th August at No. 10 Carlton House Terrace, London, it proceeded to finalize these arrangements. This meeting included a session with the officers of the political, military, economic and cultural conference committees and an examination of some of their draft reports, as well as an agreement on the inauguration of the new committee on Scientific and Technical personnel.

Members of the Committee were entertained by the Secretary of State for War, the United States Minister, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, the British delegation to the second conference, Atlantic organizations in London and others.

The year therefore saw a further consolidation of the organization, particularly in its relations with NATO, though a settlement of its eventual status remained elusive. Budgetary prospects improved and allowed the secretariat to work on more ambitious projects. A greater amount of travelling was therefore also possible and permitted the President's goodwill tour in Europe as well as the parliamentarians' visit to the United States, which was the outstanding achievement of the year.

### THE THIRD CONFERENCE—1957

The third conference was held again at the Palais de Chaillot and took place from 11th to 16th November, 1957. Despite the absence of Portuguese and Turkish delegations due to national elections, the number of delegates increased to over 160. This included a French delegation numbering forty-five. From the United States there were nine Congressmen and seven Senators, including Senator Saltenstall and Senator Estes Kefauver, the former Democrat Vice-Presidential candidate.

In the absence from Paris of M. Spaak, the conference was

opened by Baron Bentinck, the Deputy Secretary-General of NATO. Other formal addresses were given by General Schuyler, Chief of Staff at SHAPE, General Thomas Power, Commanding the Strategic Air Command, and Admiral Jeraud Wright, the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic. M. Spaak himself was able to join the conference on the third day and to deliver an address on "NATO in a Changing World".

For the first time the conference was given the complete range of publicity and many sections were televised and broadcast. In addition, a number of sound and film interviews were recorded and sent out to member countries. Very wide press coverage was also obtained. These arrangements became firmly established in subsequent conferences.

Mr. J. J. Fens (NE) was elected President.

The committees created for this conference also elected their officers, after reorganizing the previous structure in accordance with the now desirable distribution of work. Senator Kefauver (USA) succeeded M. Fayat as Chairman of the political committee, Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas (UK) remaining as its rapporteur. The military committee became independent of the political committee but retained its Chairman, M. Gilson (B), and rapporteur, General Calmeyer (NE). A Vice-Chairman was, however, added in the person of Brigadier Prior-Palmer (UK).

The economic and cultural committees were merged in a general affairs committee under the Chairmanship of M. Van Cauwelaert (B); whilst Senator Javits (USA) became rapporteur of the economic section and Mr H. F. Jones (C) his counterpart for the cultural section. The newly created scientific and technical committee retained Senator Jackson (USA) as its Chairman, and Mr. C. L. Patijn (NE) became its rapporteur.

There was a marked improvement in the work of these committees compared with those of the second conference (the first conference having had no committee at all) by virtue of the draft reports prepared by their officers. This is amply illustrated in the many important resolutions that it adopted, some of which have only recently assumed their real significance.

Unlike previous conferences, world events, in particular the preceding Eisenhower-Macmillan meeting in Bermuda and

news of the forthcoming heads of governments meeting in Washington, contributed to the liveliness of debates. The scientific and technical report also gained much force from the recently launched Russian Sputnik.

Among the four resolutions of the political committee, the most important were those dealing with political solidarity and the proposed Atlantic Congress. The first of these stressed the necessity for more frequent meetings of heads of governments and foreign ministers, whilst the second definitely instructed the Standing Committee to arrange a meeting of leading citizens for the convening of an Atlantic Congress to mark the tenth anniversary of the Treaty in 1959.

The other two political resolutions dealt with the importance of Article 2 of the Treaty and the links to be established between the Conference and NATO, which was to be asked to prepare each year a report for discussion by the conference. The latter also called for the present short-lived conference committees to be put on a permanent basis.

The general affairs committee also submitted four resolutions. That on economic affairs dealt with ways of gaining the information for its annual report and also returned to its theme of the previous year by calling for study and co-ordination of aid to under-developed areas covering technical personnel and assistance, investment and development of resources. The other resolutions dealt with co-operation for solving the refugee problem, more effective NATO propaganda through a publication on its achievements, and a request to the Standing Committee to study proposals for an Atlantic Institute.

The scientific and technical committee's resolution directed the Standing Committee to urge the North Atlantic Council to bring its exhaustive report on the provision of scientific and technical personnel to the attention of the heads of governments, as well as to take other action for making its recommendations widely known. Amongst these were positive and detailed programmes for the training of teachers and students, exchanges and research projects, some of which have since been successfully implemented.

From the military committee came a resolution proposing a more closely co-ordinated Atlantic defence policy and collabor-

ation between the political and military sections of NATO, and the extension of the successful infrastructure methods to other fields.

A resolution was also passed adopting a budget of £40,000 for the calendar year 1958.

Without question, this conference proved that the organization had indeed a useful rôle to fill. Its previous preoccupation with its own establishment had fully given way to an organized, if ambitious, programme of work. Due very largely to the reports prepared in advance by the committee officers, this work could be tackled immediately and against an accurately informed background, in addition to which the plenary debates were stimulated by the forthright and factual addresses of the guest speakers. Though not all the resolutions were completely realistic, enough was there to show that the conference had come of age.

### **The Year 1957-58**

Although an important year for the conference, the Standing Committee was beset by a number of problems. Foremost was the grave loss it suffered in January through the death of Colonel the Rt. Hon. Walter Elliot (UK), its Treasurer. Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas (UK) was elected in his place.

The Standing Committee was also able to meet only twice between the third and fourth conferences. The first meeting did not take place until 17th and 18th March, and was held in Bonn together with the Chairman and rapporteur of the political committee. It noted that the reports and resolutions of the third conference had been sent to the North Atlantic Council and M. Spaak, as well as to Foreign and Defence Ministers in the NATO countries. The President had asked heads of governments to give attention to the resolutions on the Atlantic Congress and the provision of scientific and technical personnel at their December meeting. Their final communiqué had subsequently referred to the "valuable proposals" of the scientific and technical committee of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference.

The meeting was devoted mainly to consideration of implementing the main conference resolutions, and particularly

the initial steps for the organization of the Atlantic Congress. It also agreed on a meeting to be held under the auspices of the officers of the military committee, which actually took place at the NATO headquarters in Paris in May and was attended by leading members of Parliamentary and Party Defence Committees from all the European member countries. Presided over by M. Gilson (B), the Chairman of the military committee, its object was a thorough military briefing by General Norstad and a debate on papers submitted by the rapporteur of the military committee and Admiral Heye (G). An address by M. Spaak was also heard.

On 19th March, 1958, the President, accompanied by Senator Kefauver, Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas and the Executive Secretary, met M. Spaak in order to express the Standing Committee's appreciation of the reference to the scientific and technical committee's proposals contained in the communiqué of the heads of governments. They also discussed other resolutions which had been considered by the heads of governments and the North Atlantic Council, as well as questions relevant to the Atlantic Congress.

Between 9th and 16th June forty members of European and Canadian parliaments visited Washington, the Strategic Air Command and SACLANT at the invitation of General Power and Admiral Wright. Their visit, the first to SAC and the second to SACLANT, was organized in co-operation with the State Department and included attendance at a session of the Senate and a luncheon given by the Chairman of its Foreign Relations Committee. The group also met and heard Mr. Christian Herter, then Under-Secretary of State.

To show the close co-operation which had been developed with SHAPE, it is interesting to note that General Gruenther had visited Scotland in 1956 on the initiative of the Executive Secretary, and similar arrangements were made by him for a visit by General Norstad, which took place on the 18th June. At his suggestion also, *The Scotsman* carried NATO supplements to coincide with both visits.

The Bureau held a meeting in Paris on 12th and 13th July to discuss with distinguished private citizens from the NATO countries the preliminaries in connection with the organization

of the Atlantic Congress. This is described more fully in the section dealing with the Congress.

The second meeting of the full Standing Committee took place in London on 8th and 9th September. It considered specifically the arrangements for the fourth conference, the implementation of recommendations made by the July meeting of the Bureau and other preparatory work for the Atlantic Congress, as well as the forthcoming visits of the President to the United States and Norway. Further visits of parliamentarians to Washington, SACLANT and the Strategic Air Command in 1959 were also discussed. The Committee also attended a reception given in its honour by the Earl of Gosford, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, on behalf of her Majesty's Government.

The last fortnight in September saw the visit of the President, accompanied by the Executive Secretary, to the United States. They heard Mr. Lester Pearson, M. Spaak and the late Mr. Dulles addressing the Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Treaty Association in Boston and held discussions with Congressman Hays, the U.S. member of the Standing Committee, and with Senators Kefauver and Javits on matters affecting the political and economic committees.

Meetings also took place in Washington and New York with officials of the Departments of State and Defence, as well as with distinguished private citizens, in connection with the Atlantic Congress, and they were able to attend the initial meeting of the U.S. *ad hoc* national committee for the Congress.

On the military side, the President visited the officers commanding the Strategic Air Command, SACLANT, and the U.S. Army Ordnance Missile Command at Huntsville, Alabama.

Despite the rare meetings of the Standing Committee, the year therefore saw a further and important extension of the organization's activities and contacts. The Atlantic Congress had taken root and preparations for it were already well advanced by the time the fourth conference opened; whilst regular visits to Europe and North America became firmly established due both to the larger budget and the growth of personal relationships.



**THE FOURTH CONFERENCE-1958**

The fourth conference opened at the Palais de Chaillot on 17th November, 1958, and lasted five days. The number of delegates totalled 181, which again included a numerically strong French delegation, and this time these represented all fifteen countries. Mr. J. J. Fens (NE) was re-elected President.

It was considered of importance that Mr. J. J. Fens should serve a second term as President in view of his personal involvement with the preparations for the Atlantic Congress. It was made clear, however, that this was an exceptional measure and that future presidents would again be limited to one term of office.

The conference committees were once more set up on a revised basis, the main change being that the economic committee was separated from the cultural part of the previous general affairs committee, which was established as a separate committee devoted to cultural affairs and information. The officers were appointed as follows :

Political Committee :	Chairman : Senator E. Kefauver (USA) Rapporteur : M. Henri Fayat (B) Rapporteur for Atlantic Congress : Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas (UK)
Economic Committee :	Chairman : Senator J. K. Javits (USA) Vice-Chairman : Senator V. Leemans (B) Rapporteur : Mr. Helge Seip (N)
Military Committee :	Chairman : Brig. O. L. Prior-Palmer (UK) Vice-Chairman : Senator H. Moreau de Melen (B) Rapporteur : Lt.-Gen. M. R. H. Calmeyer (NE)
Scientific and Technical Committee :	Chairman : Senator H. M. Jackson (USA) Rapporteur : Mr. C. L. Patijn (NE)
Cultural Affairs and Information Committee :	Chairman : M. F. Van Cauwelaert (B) Vice-Chairman : Mr. Noel Dorian (C) Rapporteur : M. G. Vedovato (IT)

Due undoubtedly to the interim work of the committee officers in preparing their draft reports, the resolutions put to and passed by the conference were considerably more comprehensive, more clearly conceived and covered a much wider area.

The economic committee submitted an 11-point resolution covering expansion of world trade and co-ordination of trade policies; support for the International Bank, the I.M.F., the U.N. Special Fund and regional authorities; an International Development Association; the European Free Trade Area and G.A.T.T. negotiations; commodity trade; Soviet economic warfare; and the strategic implications of certain tariffs between member countries. A second resolution called on OEEC to seek means of urgently accelerating the rate of investment in less developed areas within the member countries, whilst a third asked the committee to study with the appropriate international organizations a system of guarantees against foreign private investment risks.

A resolution from the political committee on disarmament supported the Geneva talks on the controlled suspension of nuclear tests and hoped for a successful resumption of negotiations in the U.N. Disarmament Committee. A resolution on Berlin protested at the actions of the Soviet Government and called on the four powers to stand firm. Reflecting some lively debate on two disputes within the alliance, the third resolution referred to Cyprus and the Icelandic fisheries dispute in calling on the Council and Secretary-General, as well as member countries, to renew their efforts for a peaceful settlement.

The three last resolutions from the political committee called on NATO to develop more effective consultation techniques, urged parliamentarians and the Secretary-General of NATO to give active support to the Atlantic Congress, and, finally, stressed the need for "appropriate assistance for committee work of the Annual NATO Parliamentarians' Conferences".

Military committee resolutions dealt with weak points in the NATO defence structure and equipment, such as clarification of the conditions under which nuclear weapons would be used, the need for fast air and submarine troop-carriers, naval strength in the North Atlantic, emergency co-ordination of

merchant shipping by a Defence Shipping Authority, and the possible extension of the infrastructure system to defence equipment.

They also recommended more frequent meetings of Defence Ministers, bringing up to strength NATO ground forces, the maintenance of adequate home defence forces by member governments, powers for dealing with surprise attacks to be given to NATO commanders, standardization of systems and armaments, and amendment of the Brussels Treaty to allow Germany to build coastal anti-submarine craft.

The cultural affairs and information committee resolutions reminded the Secretary-General of NATO of the resolution of the previous conference proposing a publication to give publicity to NATO, undertook for the committee itself to conduct a study of methods to serve the same purpose, and ensure discussion of the problem at the Atlantic Congress. They also invited the Secretary-General of NATO to convene a conference for a comprehensive study of teaching programmes and educational systems in member countries.

Also recognizing the fundamental importance of education and specialized training, the scientific and technical committee asked for the results of the OEEC surveys in this field to be made available to the Secretariat annually, as well as for OEEC to centralize and strengthen its efforts in collecting the most detailed information. A further resolution directed the Standing Committee to urge on the North Atlantic Council the adoption of the proposals contained in its report for an increase in the Science Fellowship and joint NATO research programmes, an integrated development and research policy, and exchange of technical information. The committee's last resolution drew attention to the neglect of Asian and African languages and invited its own Chairman, together with the Chairman of the Cultural Affairs and Information Committee and appropriate authorities, to explore the possibility of sponsoring an advanced study group on improvements in this direction, and to report any findings of such a group to the fifth conference.

As at previous conferences, plenary sessions were addressed by leading and authoritative personalities, which included General Norstad; M. René Sergent, the Secretary-General of

OECE; Dr. Strauss, the Federal German Defence Minister; Maj.-Gen. Medaris, commanding general, U.S. Ordnance Missile Command; and M. Spaak.

The day before the official opening of the conference was primarily devoted to a meeting of the Standing Committee with representatives of national committees of distinguished citizens which had been formed for the Atlantic Congress, due to open in London on 5th June, 1959, and to consist of 650 leading citizens from the NATO countries.

On the closing day the United States member of the Standing Committee, Mr. Hays, issued an invitation on behalf of the U.S. delegates for the conference to meet in Washington in 1959. Although all the conferences up to that time had been held in Paris, and it had been recommended by the Committee of Three that NATO should continue to extend facilities at its headquarters to the conference, it was considered appropriate to hold the fifth conference in North America, both to mark the tenth anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty and because the Atlantic Congress was to be held in London in the same year. The conference therefore accepted this invitation with enthusiasm.

The general impression given by the fourth conference was one of serious and mature deliberation, and many of its resolutions were received accordingly. One sign of this maturity was the fact that virtually no further discussion took place on the ultimate status of the conference: the tasks in hand had become more important and left little room for introspection.

### **The Year 1958-59**

Inevitably, most of the first eight months of this year were devoted to preparations for the Atlantic Congress and this great and outstanding event itself. The history of this, notable not only for its result but equally as an almost unique example of private international co-operation, merits the special section given to it.

During the year the Bureau alone met once—in The Hague in January—whilst the Standing Committee met four times: once immediately after the fourth conference in Paris, and subsequently again in Paris on 26th and 27th January and 18th

April, 1959. All these meetings were concerned mainly with the Atlantic Congress, but naturally also discussed implementation of the resolutions of the fourth conference and arrangements for the fifth.

Its fourth meeting took place in Istanbul on 9th and 10th July. In addition to steps for following up the recommendations of the Congress, the Committee discussed budgetary and administrative questions in some detail. The draft agenda and plans for a tour of the United States military installations by selected delegates in connection with the fifth conference were approved. Arising from the decision at the August 1957 meeting of the Standing Committee to request committee chairmen to prepare draft reports for the annual conference, it was also agreed that meetings of the political and economic committee officers, together with one delegate from each country who would also be a member of the committee at the conference, should take place in Brussels on 28th and 29th September. This was an important step, since it constituted the first time that such preliminary committees had been convened outside the annual conference, and proved to have a salutary effect on their performance at the subsequent conference. Both committees prepared draft resolutions, and the economic committee also charged the Secretariat with investigation of a proposal for co-ordinating aid and assistance to under-developed countries.

On the occasion of the Istanbul meeting, the Standing Committee was entertained by Mr. Refik Koraltan, the President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and paid a visit to the Naval Training Establishment on the island of Yassiada at the invitation of the Ministry of National Defence. This was followed by meetings with the Chief of the Turkish General Staff, General Erdelhün, and the Director of the Commercial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The brevity of this summary of the year's activities is by no means a true reflection of its importance. As has been said, a great effort went into the Atlantic Congress, and through the Congress a number of other projects, such as the creation of an Atlantic Institute, which had been under consideration for some time, were effectively pursued. In addition, the organization of the fifth conference, which did not have the benefit of

the conference services of the Palais de Chaillot, was given a great deal of careful preparation. As part of this, the Executive Secretary paid two visits to the United States during the year.

### **THE ATLANTIC CONGRESS, 1959**

The effective origin of the Atlantic Congress was the adoption by the third conference of the proposal that such an event should take place in order both to mark the tenth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty and to study the effective broadening of the basis of the alliance during the next ten years as allowed for in Article 2 of the Treaty. The conference therefore charged the Bureau and the officers of the political committee (late constituted as the Congress Preparatory Committee) with the responsibility of initiating the project.

In 1958, meetings took place between the Bureau and a number of distinguished private citizens which resulted in the establishment of national committees for the Congress in each of the fifteen member countries. When the fourth conference met in November 1958, heads of governments of eleven of the NATO countries had agreed to be patrons and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II had graciously consented to open the Congress in Westminster Hall.

It is unnecessary to list in detail the great number of meetings, discussions and conferences which took place in many countries and together formed the complex chain of organization culminating in the Congress itself. Two points are important to note, however. The entire organization, with the exception of the formation and travelling arrangements of national delegations and the raising of the necessary finance, was the responsibility of the International Secretariat which was suitably enlarged under the direction of the Executive Secretary. Also, a company known as Atlantic Congress Limited was formed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, with a Board including Sir Thomas Dugdale, the Chairman of the United Kingdom National Committee, in order to receive and administer the funds raised by national committees.

Completing the organizational structure, there was in addition an Organizing Sub-Committee, also under the chairman-

ship of Mr. de Freitas, responsible to the Preparatory Committee.

The widest possible choice was left to the national committees in the selection of their delegations, and in the event these included leaders from practically every field—politics, industry, commerce, finance, labour, education, the churches, etc. These were the men and women who met together to examine the foundations on which NATO is built and to attempt the design of a more far-reaching structure—the Atlantic Community. The basic significance of the Congress lay not only in their quality and numbers, but in the vast efforts and resources that went into its making.

The political significance of the Congress, however, was the searching examination to which it subjected the full range of problems facing the NATO countries in their relations with each other, with the free and uncommitted world and with the Communist bloc. Five main committees, assisted by sixteen sub-committees, studied these problems under the watch-word "outward and forward looking".

Moral and spiritual values of the Community, information and education and the creation of an Atlantic Institute were the main topics of a spiritual and cultural committee, whilst the political committee probed the co-ordination of policies, Atlantic institutions and military questions.

Realistically, the economic committee was by far the largest and concerned itself with resources and under-developed areas, scientific and technical co-operation, European economic integration and freedom of trade and currency questions.

Conflict and community of interests in the free world were discussed by a special committee, which also examined common political and economic policies of the west. By contrast, such policies in relation to the Communist bloc were studied by another committee, together with Soviet and western propaganda techniques.

After the formal opening by Her Majesty the Queen in Westminster Hall on 5th June, 1959, at which both the Prime Minister and the President of the Congress, Mr. J. J. Fens, also spoke, the Congress opened its plenary sessions at Church House, Westminster. In the course of five days it heard

addresses from His Grace the Archbishop of York, Dr. Luns, Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, Mr. J. F. Cahan, Deputy Secretary-General of OEEC, Admiral Jerauld Wright, General Norstad, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of the Howard University, Washington D.C., and Mr. J. Oldenbroek, Secretary-General of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

A special plenary session was held on 9th June under the Chairmanship of H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands and included speeches by the Hon. Lewis Douglas, M. Spaak, Mr. Halvard Lange, the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition.

The five main committees and their sub-committees held their meetings at five hotels in London. It is impossible here to give an adequate summary of their final resolutions. Bearing in mind the watch-word of the Congress, however, a few of the most important can be seen amply to satisfy its injunction: looking forward within the Community, the economic committee called for the transformation of OEEC into an Organization for Atlantic Economic Co-operation to be considered. Looking outward, the joint responsibility of the Community for the economic growth of under-developed countries was stressed by almost every committee. Looking at the further development of the alliance, the political committee resolved to press for a special conference of leading citizens to examine means of fostering greater co-operation and unity within the area, whilst the spiritual and cultural committee urged for the same purpose the creation of an Atlantic Studies centre or Institute.

A summing up of this unique and outstanding occasion is perhaps unnecessary. Subsequent and current events, particularly in the few fields mentioned, may not have been directly inspired or moved by the Congress; but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that they received an impetus without which they might still have been tomorrow's problems. And amongst these may be reckoned Atlantic co-operation itself.

#### **THE FIFTH CONFERENCE, 1959**

Some 143 delegates gathered in Washington for the fifth



conference from 16th to 20th November, 1959. Despite the fact that Luxembourg was not represented, 110 of these came from Europe. The conference, which had been officially invited by both Houses of Congress, met in the Caucus Room of the Old House of Representatives' Office Building on Capitol Hill. Not only was this the first meeting in Washington of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, but it was also only the second conference there of any international parliamentary organization.

In the ten days before the conference opened, some thirty-eight European and Canadian delegates made a tour of U.S. defence commands and bases under the auspices of the State Department. In addition to return visits to SACLANC and the Strategic Air Command, this included the Strategic Army Corps, the Army Transportation Centre, the Headquarters of the Tactical Air Force, and the North American Air Defence Command. The tour made a profound impression on the delegates, and the last-mentioned of these visits proved particularly relevant to subsequent debates on integrated European air defence.

At its first session the conference elected Senator Béthouart (F) as its President.

The conference was again addressed by a number of eminent speakers, who this year included Mr. Christian Herter and Mr. Dean Acheson, the present and former U.S. Secretaries of State; Professor Hallstein, President of the Commission of the European Economic Community; M. Spaak; Admiral Jerauld Wright; General Kuter, Commander-in-Chief of the North American Air Defence Command; and General Thomas White, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force. M. René Sergent, though not an official speaker, attended the economic debate and was asked to comment upon it.

Some of the substance of these speeches provoked lively debate, particularly in the military committee, whose resolutions stressed the urgent need for common systems of detection, identification and direction in European air defence, as well as the extension of the infrastructure programme to non-static items. They also deplored the failure to introduce standardization of supply lines, weapons and equipment; called for the

overhauling of the NATO command structure; and asked for the views of the Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council on these resolutions.

The theme running through all the resolutions of the political committee was closer co-operation between the Atlantic nations, a united stand in the face of problems, and new initiatives in negotiations. European integration, disarmament, Berlin and consultation within NATO were the subject of resolutions in this spirit. In the light of a possible lessening of east-west tension, they also proposed an eventual collective security system for the whole of Europe, with North American participation, in the hope that both a German settlement and a solution for the present captive nations could be arrived at. In a general declaration on disarmament, the conference stressed that this should be subject to international control and inspection and guaranteed by international law and an international police force.

The committee also recalled a previous resolution that a conference of representative citizens should examine co-operation within the Atlantic Community and urged the Standing Committee to assist in establishing this, particularly in view of the possible invitation by the Congress of the United States to other legislatures to nominate delegates. In a further resolution it was suggested that this conference could undertake a full reappraisal of the objectives, means of action and organization of NATO necessitated by the rapidly changing world situation, a subject on which the rapporteurs of each committee were also asked to submit memoranda to the sixth conference.

In adopting the political committee's resolutions, the conference also recommended obtaining an annual report from the Secretary-General of NATO on the working of the alliance, stressed the importance of the proposal for establishing an Atlantic Institute and, finally, called for a more adequate budget for the annual conference to make possible interim sessions of committees at least twice a year.

This last point also formed the main substance of a document submitted by all the committee Chairmen to the Standing Committee, who undertook to investigate the financial implications.

From the economic committee emerged resolutions recommending closer co-ordination of economic policies, based on regional groupings, within OEEC; the avoidance of barriers to trade within the member countries; and that attention be given by the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association to under-developed regions in NATO countries. On matters outside the North Atlantic area, attention was drawn to the duty to help less-developed countries and it was recommended that OEEC should convene a commission of international economists to make an assessment of their needs. On the same subject the committee welcomed the proposed establishment of an International Development Association, as well as the OEEC studies on an international convention for the protection of foreign investments, and the increase in the resources of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It also recommended that member countries should make their proper contributions to the U.N. Special Fund and Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, investigate means of assisting primary producing countries through commodity price stabilization and, where necessary, adjustment assistance, and define conditions constituting dumping or economic warfare as a first step towards discouraging or countering such disruptions.

The scientific and technical committee had produced the two reports requested at the fourth conference and its resolutions dealt with steps to gain acceptance of their recommendations. For the scientific and technical report it emphasized points for the attention of the North Atlantic Council, in particular an increase in the NATO Science Fellowship programme, NATO oceanographic expeditions, a NATO-wide co-operative effort in peaceful outer space research, a NATO commission to study the establishment of a central depository of scientific and technical information, and a decision by SHAPE to set up an Atlantic Institute for Defence Studies. Out of its report on Asian and African languages, it highlighted the following points for similar consideration: the appointment of a NATO Language-area advisor; publication of a guide to teaching materials and an inventory of resources for language and area studies; inauguration of a Language Fellowship programme; establish-

ment of institutes and seminars for advanced studies; and continuation of the London Study Group on Asian and African Languages.

Support for these proposals also came from the Cultural Affairs and Information Committee, which otherwise contented itself with advancing again the resolutions of the Atlantic Congress in its field, and specifically the establishment of an Atlantic Institute.

The committee officers elected for the current year were as follows :

Political Committee :	Chairman : M. H. Fayat (B) Vice-Chairman : Dr. J. W. Kucherepa (C) Rapporteur : Mr Finn Moe (N)
Economic Committee :	Chairman : Senator Javits (USA) Vice-Chairman : Prof. F. Burgbacher (G) Rapporteur : Mr. A. Kershaw (UK)
Military Committee :	Chairman : Brig. Sir Otho Prior-Palmer (UK) Rapporteur : General Couzy (NE)
Scientific and Technical Committee :	Chairman : Senator Jackson (USA) Rapporteur : Dr. C. L. Patijn (NE)
Cultural Affairs and Information Committee :	Chairman : M. F. van Cauwelaert (B) Vice-Chairman : Mr. N. Dorion (C) Rapporteur : M. J. Bordeneuve (F)

The conference also approved a budget of £40,000 for 1960.

Although the conference was, as usual, organized by the International Secretariat, it was this time with the full co-operation of the United States Congress as well as the assistance of a number of very able American staff. A number of functions were given for delegates by the Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Livingston T. Merchant; the General Chairman of the United States Committee for the Atlantic Congress, Mr. Eric Johnston; the Joint Chairmen of the U.S. delegation, Senator Fulbright and Congressman Hays; and the American Council on NATO.

### THE RECORD

In order to gain an impression of the record of the conference, it will be useful to draw up a short list of its major activities.

In addition to staging five annual conferences, the Conference :

1. conducted in 1956 an international survey of parliamentary opinion throughout the fifteen NATO countries;
2. met NATO's Committee of Three Foreign Ministers in September 1956, and presented proposals which were ultimately taken into consideration in their report;
3. initiated, sponsored and organized visits by some forty European and Canadian parliamentarians on three occasions in 1957, 1958 and 1959 to Washington and United States Defence Commands;
4. established a special committee on the Provision of Scientific and Technical Personnel whose proposals were recognized by the Heads of Governments meeting in 1957, which led to the establishment of the NATO Science Committee with a programme incorporating these proposals;
5. sent its President and Executive Secretary on official visits to five member countries in 1957 and 1958, and held meetings of the Standing Committee in a further five at various times;
6. organized a meeting of over 250 Members of Parliament on the occasion of General Norstad's first official visit to the United Kingdom in 1958;
7. initiated and organized the Atlantic Congress held in London in June 1959;
8. recommended and sponsored the creation of the Atlantic Institute now being established.

In more general terms, throughout the four years of its existence, the conference has investigated and pronounced upon every aspect of the Atlantic Alliance. It has addressed recommendations to the fifteen governments through its members, and through its Standing Committee to the North Atlantic Council and other organizations. Some of its proposals have been heeded and are helping to shape our future. Others, ill-timed perhaps or less well conceived, have made no mark.

But above all, it has proved that the Atlantic Community has a living reality in the co-operation and common purpose of its individual members.

### *Appendix I*

#### THE BUDGET

For easy reference, and as an interesting reflection of the growth of the conference, a summary of the budget is given below :

Budget for period	July 1955 to June 1956 ... ..	£4,047
	July 1956 to June 1957 ... ..	£7,167
	July 1957 to December 1957 ...	£15,000
	January 1958 to December 1958	£40,000
	January 1959 to December 1959	£40,000
	January 1960 to December 1960	£40,000

Contributions to the annual budget are allocated between the member countries in accordance with the NATO cost-sharing formula, detailed below, and are generally paid from parliamentary funds :

	<i>per cent</i>		<i>per cent</i>
Belgium ... ..	2·86	Italy ... ..	5·96
Canada ... ..	5·80	Luxembourg ...	0·09
Denmark ... ..	1·65	Netherlands ...	2·85
France ... ..	17·10	Norway ... ..	1·15
Germany ... ..	16·10	Portugal ... ..	0·65
Greece ... ..	0·39	Turkey ... ..	1·65
Iceland ... ..	0·05	United Kingdom ...	19·50
		United States ...	24·20

The total budget for the organization of the Atlantic Congress was £66,000 which, together with their own expenses, was largely raised privately by the National Committees. The allocation was, however, on a somewhat different scale, Europe and North America collectively paying 50 per cent each.

*Appendix 2***THE SECRETARIAT**

Some of the development of the Secretariat has been described in conjunction with the growth of the conference. For easy reference it may, however, be useful to summarize it separately.

The first conference was organized without a permanent staff at all. After the experience of having to complete all the detailed arrangements in a mere five weeks, the conference decided to offer Mr. Douglas Robinson, whose responsibility they had been, an appointment on a part-time basis.

By the time of the second meeting of the Standing Committee in September 1955, it had, however, become clear that this was a most inadequate arrangement, and he was therefore offered a full-time appointment. A one-room office was established at Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, London, S.W.1, at the end of January 1956.

From then on, through the second and third conferences and until the appointment of an assistant executive secretary in May 1958, the Secretariat consisted of Mr. Robinson and a secretarial staff varying from one to four according to the volume of work. The office removed to 15 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, in June 1957, and to its present premises at 73 Great Peter Street, London, S.W.1, in December 1958.

From 1958 onwards the permanent staff increased further with the addition of another assistant executive secretary in August of that year. This was due in part to the preparations for the Atlantic Congress, which also required the employment of a temporary staff of twenty-three (excluding extra assistance during Congress week), but also because of an increase in other activities and the need to improve on the earlier improvisation necessitated by slender budgets.

By the time of the fifth conference, the Secretariat consisted of the executive secretary, two assistants, an office manager and a translator, four secretaries, a part-time finance officer and his part-time assistant, and three juniors.

*Appendix 3***LIST OF DELEGATES AND OFFICERS****1955-1959***Delegate*

- Aaebrek, K. (N) 56  
 Abdesselam, R. (F) 59  
 Adelman, Count (G) 57, 59  
 Aguedo de Oliveira, A. (P) 58, 59  
 Aiken, G. D. (USA) 59  
 Alduzi (F), 57, 58  
 Alpkartal, N. F. (T) 58, 59sc  
 Amulree, Lord (UK) 55, 56  
 Anderson, R. L. (D) 59  
 Anfuso, V. L. (USA) 55, 56, 59  
 Anstruther-Gray, Sir W. (UK) 58  
 Armengaud (F) 57, 58  
 Arrighi (F) 57-59  
 Aseltine, W. M. (C) 55, 59  
 Athanassiades-Novas, G. (Gr) 56  
  
 Balcer, L. (C) 55  
 Baldwin, G. W. (C) 59  
 Baran, S. (T) 55, 56, 58, 59  
 Bardoux, J. (F) 55  
 Barrachin, E. (F) 55-58  
 Barré, H. (F) 55-57  
 Barres, P. (F) 55  
 Barry, R. R. (USA) 59  
 Bartnes, I. (N) 55, 58, 59  
 Baunsgaard, H. (D) 59  
 Baylot, J. (F) 59  
 Beaubien, A. L. (C) 57  
 Beaufort, Rev. (Ne) 59  
 Becher, B. (G) 57, 58  
 Becker, F. J. (USA) 55-57  
 Berendsen, F. (G) 56vp-58vp  
 Bergesen, O. (N) 58, 59  
 Berghuis, W. P. (Ne) 59  
 Bertelson (B) 55, 57  
 Berthoin (F) 57  
 Béthouart, Gen. (F) 55-57, 58sc, 59p  
 Betts, J. E. (USA) 58  
 Bible, A. (USA) 59  
 Bichet (F) 56-58  
 Bidault, G. (F) 55  
 Bigg, F. J. (C) 58  
 Billiemaz, A. (F) 59  
  
 Billotte, P. (F) 55  
 Birch, N. (UK) 59  
 Birrenbach, K. (G) 59  
 Bismarck, Prince O. von (G) 55, 58, 59  
 Bjarnason, A. (I) 56  
 Bjornsson, B. F. (I) 55sc  
 Blaisse, P. A. (Ne) 55, 56  
 Bogh, A. (D) 59  
 Boisvert, M. (C) 55  
 Boivin, M. (C) 58  
 Bonnefous, E. (F) 55, 56vp-58vp  
 Bordeneuve, J. (F) 59rcic  
 Bouhey (F) 56-58  
 Boulangé, M. (F) 58  
 Bourgouin, P. (F) 59  
 Bozbag, H. (T) 55, 58, 59  
 Bradette, J. (C) 59  
 Brasseur, M. (B) 58  
 Bratteli, T. (N) 55  
 Breivik, B. (N) 58, 59  
 Bridges, S. (USA) 58  
 Brizard (F) 57, 58  
 Brooks, A. J. (C) 55  
 Brown, G. (UK) 56-59  
 Browne, J. F. (C) 59  
 Bryson, H. A. (C) 56  
 Budakoglu, E. (T) 55  
 Buggenhout, Van (B) 56, 57  
 Buhl, M. (D) 56  
 Bundvad, K. (D) 56  
 Burcak, R. S. (T) 55, 56, 59  
 Burgbacher, Dr. F. (G) 58, 59vcec  
 Bustorff Silva, A. J. (P) 55, 56  
  
 Cadorna, R. (It) 57sc, 59  
 Caeiro da Matta, J. (P) 55sc, 56sc, 58sc  
 Calheiros Lopes, A. (P) 58  
 Calmeyer, Gen. (Ne) 56rmc-58rmc  
 Canfield, G. (USA) 57-59  
 Cannon, C. A. (C) 55, 56sc, 57sc  
 Caron, A. (C) 55  
 Cauwelaert, F. Van (B) 55vp, 56vp, ccc, 57vp, cgac, 58vp, ccic, 59sc, ccic



Cayeux (F) 56-58  
 Cerica, Gen. A. (It) 57, 58sc,  
 59sc  
 Chaban-Delmas, J. (F) 55  
 Chamant, J. (F) 59sc  
 Chauvet (F) 56-58  
 Chetwynd, G. (UK) 58  
 Chevigny, P. de (F) 59  
 Chot (B) 56  
 Ciselet, Mme. (B) 55, 56  
 Clark, F. M. (USA) 56  
 Cobanoglu, E. (T) 56  
 Corbett, H. J. (USA) 57-59  
 Corniglion-Molinier (F) 56-58  
 Correia de Oliveria, J. G. (P) 55  
 Coste-Floret, A. (F) 55-57  
 Coude du Foresto (F) 57, 58  
 Couzy, Gen. (Ne) 59rmc  
 Crathorne, Lord (UK) 58sc, 59sc  
 Crouzier, M. (F) 58  
 Crumpacker, S. J. (USA) 55  
 Cruz, B. de (P) 56  
 Curtis, C. T. (USA) 56

Dahl, O. (N) 58  
 D'Argenlieu (F) 55, 56  
 Davies, C. (UK) 56-59  
 Davies, W. R. (C) 55  
 Debré, M. (F) 55-57  
 de Freitas G. (UK) 55, 56rpc,  
 57rpc, 58t-59t  
 Dehousse, F. (B) 55-58  
 Deixonne (F) 56, 57  
 Dejardin (B) 56  
 De Keyser (B) 56-57  
 Dekinder (B) 55  
 Delbos, Y. (F) 55  
 Deliaune, G. (F) 55  
 Dessureault, J. M. (C) 56  
 D'Estaing, G. (F) 56-58  
 Destenay (B) 55, 56, 58, 59  
 Devinat (F) 56-57  
 Diefenbaker, J. G. (C) 55  
 Diera, M. (F) 59  
 Dijk, F. G. van (Ne) 58  
 Dinsdale, W. G. (C) 59  
 Dirksen, E. M. (USA) 58  
 Dix, A. V. (USA) 55  
 Dollinger, I. (USA) 58  
 Dorion, N. (C) 58vccic, 59vccic  
 Drouin, M. (C) 59  
 Dufresne, J. W. (C) 56  
 Dupraz, J. (F) 58

Durak, S. (T) 55

Einarsson, S. (I) 57  
 Einer-Jensen (D) 55  
 English, R. (C) 57, 58  
 Elliot of Harwood, Baroness  
 (UK) 59  
 Elliot, W. (UK) 55t-57t  
 Ellsworth, H. (USA) 56  
 Eudes, R. (C) 59

Fairclough, Mrs. E. L. (C) 55  
 Fairey, F. F. (C) 55  
 Fandel, R. (L) 55-56, 57sc-58sc,  
 59sc  
 Fanelli, A. (It) 57  
 Farny, O. (G) 55-59  
 Fayat (B) 55, 56cpc, 58rpc,  
 59cpc  
 Feller (G) 55  
 Fens, J. J. (Ne) 55ps, 56ps, 57p,  
 58p, 59vp  
 Ferguson, Muriel M. C. Q. (C)  
 55  
 Fernandes, M. A. (P) 58  
 Fimmer (B) 55  
 Finckenstein, Countess E. (G)  
 56rc  
 Fisher, D. M. (C) 58  
 Fletcher-Cooke, C. (UK) 58  
 Fortin, L. (C) 59  
 Fraser, A. M. (C) 55  
 Fraser, T. (UK) 55  
 Fredriksfryd, E. (N) 56  
 Frelinghuysen, Jr. P. (USA) 59  
 From, S. (D) 55  
 Fulbright, J. W. (USA) 56, 59  
 Furler, H. (G) 56, 58  
 Gaitskell, H. (UK) 56  
 Garcia Alves, C. (P) 55, 56  
 Garcia Ramires, S. (P) 55, 59sc  
 Garland, J. R. (C) 56  
 Gaumont, E. (F) 55  
 Gedat, G. A. (G) 58  
 Gent, A. de (B) 57  
 Georgoulis, S. (Gr) 55  
 Gerbrandy, P. S. (Ne) 56  
 Gilson (B) 55, 56cmc, 57cmc  
 Godin (B) 56  
 Goedhart, F. J. (Ne) 55-58  
 Goes van Naters, Jonkheer (Ne)  
 55

Goeting, A. (D) 57, 58  
 Goschen, Viscount (UK) 55-58  
 Gou, de (Ne) 56  
 Granli, L. (N) 57  
 Grave, J. (N) 5  
 Green, T. F. (USA) 56-58  
 Grimond, J. (UK) 55  
 Grondal, B. (I) 56sc-58sc, 59  
 Groon-Hagen, K. (N) 57  
 Gudmundsson, G. I. (I) 55  
 Culez, I. (T) 56, 59  
 Guerrieri, F. (It) 57  
 Guiez (T) 58

Haabrek, K. (N) 55  
 Haas (G) 55-57  
 Haekkerup, P. (D) 55sc-59sc  
 Hafstein, J. (I) 55-57, 58sc, 59sc  
 Hahn, F. G. I. (C) 55  
 Hallett, J. Hughes (UK) 55, 56  
 Hambro, C. J. (N) 56  
 Hanbidge, R. L. (C) 58  
 Hareide, E. (N) 56  
 Harkness, D. S. (C) 55  
 Hartke, V. (USA) 59  
 Harvey, A. V. (UK) 55, 56  
 Haughland, J. (N) 55  
 Hays, W. L. (USA) 55sc, 56p, 57vp-59vp  
 Heald, Sir L. (UK) 56  
 Healey, D. W. (UK) 55, 56  
 Healy, J. C. (USA) 57  
 Hegna, T. (N) 55  
 Hellyer, P. T. (C) 55, 59  
 Helmken (G) 56-58  
 Henderson, A. (UK) 58, 59  
 Henriksen, B. (N) 57  
 Heye, H. (G) 55-59  
 Hoel, O. (N) 56  
 Hoff, G. (N) 55  
 Hollingworth, A. H. (C) 56  
 Hordvik, O. (N) 55  
 Horn, J. C. van (C) 57  
 Horner, R. B. (C) 58  
 Howard, G. (UK) 59  
 Hoyaux, G. (B) 57  
 Hruska, R. L. (USA) 57  
 Hunter, J. (C) 55  
 Hutchison, Sir J (UK) 57, 58

Ingvaldsen (N) 57  
 In't Veld, J. (Ne) 55-58

Jackson, M. (USA) 56cstc-59cstc

Jacquinet, L. (F) 55-57  
 Jaeger, R. (G) 55sc, 56, 57, 58sc, 59  
 Janssen (B) 55  
 Jaquet, G. (F) 55  
 Javits, J. K. (USA) 57rec, 58cec, 59cec  
 Jellicoe, Earl (UK) 59  
 Jenkins, R. (UK) 57  
 Johanson, A. (N) 58  
 Johnson, L. (USA) 55, 56  
 Johnson, W. M. (C) 55  
 Jones, A. F. (C) 57rec  
 Jones, H. F. (C) 58sc, 59sc  
 Jones, I. (UK) 58  
 Jonsson, B. (I) 58  
 Jorgenson, W. H. (C) 58  
 José Moreira, A. (P) 59  
 July (F) 56-58

Kalantzakos, A. (Gr) 59  
 Karlsen, J. (N) 56  
 Kasimatis, G. (Gr) 59sc  
 Kefauver, E. (USA) 57cpc, 58cpc, 59  
 Kershaw, A. (UK) 58, 59rec  
 Kessel von (G) 56  
 Kesseri, G. (It) 58  
 Keyzer, de (B) 55  
 Kiesinger, K. G. (G) 55, 57, 58  
 Kinder, de (B) 56  
 Kielseh-Moe, P. (N) 56  
 Kjos, A. (N) 55  
 Kliesing, G. (G) 56, 58, 59vp  
 Klompé, Miss M. A. M. (Ne) 55  
 Kocabiyikoglu, A. (T) 56, 58, 59  
 Koersen, Th. D. J. M. (Ne) 57-59  
 Kohlhasse, H. A. (G) 57  
 Korteweg, Prof. (Ne) 59  
 Korthals, H. A. (Ne) 55-57  
 Kreitmeyer, R. (G) 58, 59  
 Kuchel, T. H. (USA) 56-58  
 Kucherapa, J. W. (C) 58, 59vpc  
 Kuehn, R. (F) 55  
 Kurtbek, S. (T) 55sc-57sc  
 Kyllingmark, H. (N) 55

Laffargue (F) 57  
 Langhelle, N. (N) 55, 57sc, 58sc, 59vp  
 Lapie, P. O. (F) 55vp, 57, 58

Larose, R. (C) 55  
 Larsen, G. A. (N) 55  
 Larsen, P. (D) 58  
 Lauscher, Dr. H. (G) 58, 59  
 Lautz, Dr. J. von (G) 58  
 Layton, Lord (UK) 59  
 LeCompte, K. (USA) 56-58  
 Leduc, Y. (C) 56, 58  
 Leemans, V. (B) 55, 58vcec  
 Lefrancois, J. E. (C) 58  
 Lemke (G) 56-58  
 Leotard, P. de (F) 55  
 Letourneau, J. (F) 55  
 Leynen (B) 56  
 Liaroutsos, P. (Gr) 56  
 Liautcy, A. (F) 55  
 Lipkowski, de (F) 56-58  
 Listowel, Earl of (UK) 55, 56  
 Lochen, E. (N) 55  
 Longchambon (F) 57, 58  
 Longden, G. (UK) 55, 56  
 Lopes de Almeida, M. (P) 55  
 Lowzow, Mrs. M. A. von (D) 56

McBain, J. A. (C) 58  
 McCarthy, E. (USA) 56-57  
 McCulloch, H. B. (C) 56  
 MacEwan, H. R. (C) 59  
 McGovern, G. S. (USA) 58, 59  
 McGregor, R. H. (C) 57  
 MacInnis, D. (C) 58  
 Maclay, J. S. (UK) 55  
 McLean, A. N. (C) 55, 56cec, 57  
 McLean, J. A. (C) 56  
 MacRae, J. C. (C) 59  
 Maddan, M. (UK) 57  
 Maltais, A. (C) 57  
 Manteuffel, H. von (G) 56  
 Manzini, R. (It) 58  
 Marcilhacy (F) 57, 58  
 Marck (B) 55, 56  
 Martin, F. S. (C) 55  
 Martin, M. W. (C) 59  
 Matser, C. G. (Ne) 57, 58  
 Matthes (G) 55, 56  
 Maupcou, J. de (F) 55-58  
 Mayer, D. (F) 56, 57  
 Mellish, R. (UK) 58  
 Menard, J. (F) 59  
 Mende (G) 55-57  
 Menthon, de (F) 56, 57  
 Meris, A. (F) 59  
 Meris, M. (L) 55, 56

Merred, A. (F) 59  
 Metayer, P. (F) 59  
 Methot, L. (C) 57  
 Micara, P. (It) 58, 59  
 Michener, R. (C) 56, 58  
 Mihas, A. (Gr) 57  
 Milner of Leeds, Lord (UK) 59  
 Mitchell, D. R. (C) 58  
 Moch, J. (F) 56, 57  
 Moe, F. (N) 55vp, 59rpc  
 Molter (B) 56  
 Monette, G. (C) 58  
 Montgomery, G. W. (C) 57  
 Moore, F. (F) 59  
 Moreau de Melen, H. (B)  
 58vcmc, 59  
 Morsno, A. P. (USA) 56  
 Mott-Radcliffe, Sir C. (UK) 58  
 Moustier, de (F) 56, 57  
 Moutet, M. (F) 55-58  
 Mundeleere (B) 55  
 Mutter (F) 56-58

Naegelen (F) 56-58  
 Naudet (F) 56, 57  
 Neddaf, L. (F) 59  
 Nicolay, F. de (F) 59  
 Ninn-Hansen, E. (D) 59  
 Nixon, G. E. (C) 57, 59  
 Noel, L. (F) 55  
 Noel-Baker, P. J. (UK) 55, 57  
 Noiret, Gen. (F) 59  
 Nord, E. (N) 55  
 Normann, A. C. (D) 58  
 Nothomb, Baron (B) 55-58

Ocak, A. (T) 56, 58, 59  
 Oestergaard, K. (D) 57  
 Offerdal, H. (N) 59  
 Ogmore, Lord (UK) 57, 58  
 Onhon, S. (T) 56  
 Orth (G) 58

Pagel (G) 55  
 Pairen (B) 56  
 Palewski, J. P. (F) 55  
 Pallett, J. C. (C) 57, 58  
 Pannell, T. C. (UK) 55-57  
 Parmentier (B) 56, 57  
 Patijn, C. L. (Ne) 57rstc-59rstc  
 Patterson, Rev A. B. (C) 56  
 Pedersen, J. M. (D) 59  
 Peel, W. J. (UK) 59

- Pezé, E. (F) 59  
 Philpott, E. (C) 55, 56  
 Pholien (B) 56  
 Pierson, M. A. (B) 55-56, 58  
 Pictte, J. (F) 57, 58  
 Pinchard, R. (F) 59  
 Pineau, C. (F) 55  
 Pisanelli, G. C. (It) 55sc, 56sc, 58  
 Pisani, E. (F) 56, 57, 59  
 Plaisant, M. (F) 57, 58  
 Pommer, W. A. (C) 55  
 Porte, L. de la (F) 59  
 Portmann (F) 57, 58  
 Power, C. G. (C) 58  
 Prentice, R. E. (UK) 59  
 Prior-Palmer, Sir O. (UK) 56, 57vcmc, 58cmc, 59cmc  
 Probst, W. (G) 57-59  
 Purdy, G. T. (C) 55  
  
 Queiro, A. (P) 59  
  
 Rager, E. (D) 56  
 Ramires, S. (P) 56  
 Raymond-Laurent (F) 55  
 Reedtz-Thott, Baron (D) 55  
 Regier, E. (C) 57  
 Reichstein, W. (G) 56  
 Reijers, J. (Ne) 55  
 Remoortel, W. Van (B) 58, 59  
 Riel, H. van (Ne) 57  
 Robertson, W. McL. (C) 55p, 56hp-59hp  
 Robichaud, H. J. (C) 58  
 Rodopoulos, C. (Gr) 58  
 Rofadeo, F. (It) 56  
 Roosjen, A. B. (Ne) 55, 57, 58  
 Rogadeo, F. (It) 56  
 Roux, C. (F) 59  
 Rubinacci, L. (It) 57, 58  
 Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, Jonkheer (Ne) 55  
 Russell, R. B. (USA) 56  
 Ruygers, G. J. N. M. (Ne) 56rec  
  
 Saeter (N) 57  
 Saltonstall, L. (USA) 57  
 Samuelsberg, H. (N) 59  
 Sayar, E. (T) 56  
 Schaus, E. (L) 55, 56sc, 57, 58  
 Schmitt, Mrs. C. (G) 59  
 Schmitt, R. (F) 59  
  
 Schneider, N. C. (C) 57  
 Schneider, P. (F) 56-58  
 Schouwenaar, Mme. (Ne) 58  
 Schryver, de (B) 55  
 Schumann, M. (F) 55, 57, 58  
 Schwertner, E. (G) 58  
 Seip, H. (N) 57, 58rec, 59  
 Selden, Jr, A. I. (USA) 57-59  
 Sharples, R. (UK) 55-57  
 Shepherd, Lord (UK) 59  
 Shipley, Mrs. A. (C) 55  
 Short, E. W. (UK) 59  
 Siemens (G) 56  
 Simoes de Almeida, J. A. (P) 58, 59  
 Sitlinger, J. (F) 59  
 Small, R. H. (C) 58  
 Smet, P. de (B) 57  
 Smith, F. E. (USA) 56-59  
 Soares da Fonseca, J. (P) 56, 58, 59  
 Soerensen, Ad. (D) 57  
 Soerensen, Ax. (D) 57  
 Sourou-Apithy (F) 55  
 Staf, C. (Ne) 59  
 Steele, T. (UK) 59  
 Stewart, A. (C) 55  
 Stingl, J. (G) 59  
 Storeide, H. (N) 56  
 Strater (G) 55  
 Stratheden and Campbell, Lord (UK) 58  
 Strauss (G) 55  
 Studer, I. W. (C) 55  
 Sundt, A. (N) 55  
 Svensen, H. (N) 57-59  
  
 Taddei, L. (It) 55  
 Tahon (B) 56  
 Talmadge, H. E. (USA) 58  
 Tekil, F. (T) 55, 56  
 Teynham, Lord (UK) 55-57  
 Themelis, G. (Gr) 56, 57  
 Thomas, R. (C) 57  
 Thome-Patenotre, Mme. (F) 56, 58  
 Thorarinsson, T. (I) 59  
 Thye, E. J. (USA) 56  
 Tilanus, H. W. (Ne) 55  
 Timurtas, H. (T) 55, 58, 59  
 Tjalma, J. (Ne) 55-58  
 Toft, H. C. (D) 58  
 Tokus, A. (T) 58, 59

Torp, H. (N) 55	Vogel, Dr. R. (G) 59
Torp, O. (N) 55	Vranopoulos, D. (Gr) 58
Toumpas, J. (Gr) 56-58	
Triboulet (F) 56-58	Watnebryn, O. (N) 57, 58
Tucker, W. A. (C) 56	Weber (G) 55, 56
Turton, R. H. (UK) 57	Wegmann (G) 55
	Welter, Ch. J. I. M. (Ne) 55-58
Udall, S. L. (USA) 55	Weyer, W. (G) 57
	Wiley, A. (USA) 59
Vandervelde, Mme. (B) 56, 58	Williams, R. D. (UK) 59
Vassor (F) 56-58	Windlesham, Lord (UK) 57, 58
Vatnaland, E. (N) 56	Witewaall van Stoetwegen, Miss (N) 57, 58
Vedovato, G. (It) 58rcic, 59	
Verdier (F) 56, 57	Yetkin (T) 58
Vermeer, E. A. (Ne) 55sc-58sc, 59	Yokas, P. (Gr) 55sc-58sc
Viatte (F) 57	Yver, M. (F) 55
Villancourt, C. (C) 55	
Visch, E. (Ne) 58	Zannis, E. (Gr) 55
Vivian, Dr. R. F. (C) 57	Zeuthen, Mrs. E. (D) 55

**Key**

P	President
HP	Honorary Life President
VP	Vice-President
T	Treasurer
PS	Parliamentary Secretary
SC	Standing Committee Member
CPC	Chairman, Political Committee
VCPC	Vice-Chairman, Political Committee
RPC	Rapporteur, Political Committee
CEC	Chairman, Economic Committee
VCE	Vice-Chairman, Economic Committee
REC	Rapporteur, Economic Committee
CMC	Chairman, Military Committee
VCMC	Vice-Chairman, Military Committee
RMC	Rapporteur, Military Committee
CCC	Chairman, Cultural Committee
RCC	Rapporteur, Cultural Committee
CGAC	Chairman, General Affairs Committee
CCIC	Chairman, Cultural Affairs and Information Committee
VCCIC	Vice-Chairman, Cultural Affairs and Information Committee
RCIC	Rapporteur, Cultural Affairs and Information Committee
CSTC	Chairman, Scientific and Technical Committee
RSTC	Rapporteur, Scientific and Technical Committee





