

ing importance being foreign relations, foreign trade and the constitution of the colonial system of government itself. On these matters the governor would continue to take his instructions from London, but on all other matters he would act under the advice of his colonial prime minister and cabinet, according to the newly-established principles of cabinet government. This federal formula for executive responsibility helped to solve the dilemma of the first British Empire — that dilemma being the old idea that a colonial governor could not respond to two masters if there was to be an Empire at all. He could respond to two masters on different subjects. Thus Lord Durham pointed the way to full colonial domestic self-government coupled with the maintenance of the British connection. There was now no need for a second American revolution. It should be noted that Lord Durham's constitutional solution was made possible largely by the emergence in Britain, a very few years before his mission to British North America, of the full-fledged cabinet system.

Within ten years, Durham's proposal was implemented by the simple device of instructions to the colonial governors by

the British Government to do as the *Durham Report* recommended. This solution reconciled colonial self-government with a real and continuing connection to Britain as the mother country and ended the threat of a second American revolution. Indeed, the Durham solution became the foundation of the modern British Commonwealth.

Finally, we should note that the development of complete independence for Canada as a full member of the community of nations in the earlier years of the present century came as the original Durham reservations on the powers of the Canadian ministers were eliminated one by one, by peaceful evolutionary means. Now, initiative and control concerning the conduct of foreign relations, foreign trade, and the amendment of the Canadian constitution rest with the Canadian ministers of the Crown alone. The procedure to be followed to amend the constitution of Canada still has its uncertainties, but these will be resolved as soon as Canadians can agree among themselves on the matter. Meanwhile, it is at least clear that initiative and power no longer rest in this respect with the British Government or Parliament.

*Durham solution
foundation
of modern
Commonwealth*

Our common heritage

In defending the continent there can be no "Third Option"

By John Gellner

The story is told of an exasperated Lord Kitchen unable to contain himself any longer as he listened to a discussion of military matters in a First World War British cabinet meeting. "Don't you realize, gentlemen", he exclaimed, "that a war is waged not as one wants but as one must." What the doughty Field Marshal was telling his civilian colleagues was that strategic options are likely to be fewer and considerably narrower than the choices usually available to decision-makers in other fields of public policy. This is so because of the immutable determinants of a country's military posture, determinants often so powerful that they make all debate about the basic direction of national

defence policy irrelevant. Of these, the most important is usually geography.

It is in the case of Canada. We share the North American continent with one of the world's two super-powers. We have no land frontier with any other sovereign state. And, situated as we are between the United States and its only major potential adversary, we are the "ham in the sandwich". These are facts that cannot simply be wished away. They result in Canada's defence policy being, of necessity, strongly influenced by U.S. security requirements. As Robert Sutherland put it in a remarkable article in the Summer 1962 issue of *International Journal*: "In the final analysis, a Great Power will take whatever