

The paper will be sent to the Canadian Chiefs of Staff direct by the Service Attachés of the Legation.

The information brought to Ottawa by General Macready, which was summarized in your Telegram No. 30 of January 14th, was accurate on the whole but misleading on one or two points. It may be that the position here changed after his departure for Ottawa. The chief difference between the outline given in your telegram and the situation which has now developed relates to the first international body, which he described as a "small War Council" to make decisions in respect to war policy. It was understood in Ottawa from him, I think, that this would not be a Service body but would be on the political level. It appears, however, that what is contemplated is the organization in London and in Washington of Combined Chiefs of Staff — i.e., a body on the highest Service level.

The principal question causing me concern is the nature of the Canadian representation which should be sought and the status with respect to their British and U.S. colleagues which should be claimed for Canadian representatives on any of the combined organizations. There are now 26 Governments at war with the Axis Powers, and there are also the Free French to take into account. Of these, 10 Governments and the Free French have substantial forces in the field — the United Kingdom, the United States, U.S.S.R., China, Netherlands, India, and the four Dominions. Poland, Belgium, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Czechoslovakia all have a reasonable claim to participate to some degree in the direction of the war. Any Allied war organization which gave full representation to all the belligerents would be like the Assembly of the League of Nations and would inevitably be so ineffective that it could not exercise real control. (We may have to have some such body with a resounding title and no power as a sort of face-saving device.)

How far, then, is Canada entitled to go in pressing a claim to participate in inter-Allied bodies which are designed to co-ordinate the war effort? It is easy to state the general principle, but remarkably difficult to apply it. The principle, I think is that each member of the grand alliance should have a voice in the conduct of the war proportionate to its contribution to the general war effort. A subsidiary principle is that the influence of the various countries should be greatest in connection with those matters with which they are most directly concerned. Among suppliers of war materials for the use of the United Nations, Canada ranks third and only after the United States and United Kingdom. In her direct military contribution of trained fighting men, Canada ranks perhaps fifth or sixth, but comparison here is very difficult. With regard to her direct interests in the conduct of the war, Canada is most immediately concerned with, first, the defence of North America, and, secondly, with operations in any theatre of war in which a substantial number of Canadian forces are engaged.

It is apparent, I think, that during the visit of Mr. Churchill to Washington full consideration was not given to the means of integrating in the combined organizations the other belligerent Governments. The matter of first importance was undoubtedly to develop an effective scheme for co-ordinating the policies of the United Kingdom and the United States, and it may be that the