

timely consultation is the democratic politician's stock in trade; often it is his weakness! Anyone experienced in the operations of a democracy, with its committees, cabinets, caucuses, trade union meetings, or boards of directors, knows or soon learns the value of having private consultations with his leading associates, before confronting them in public with the need to pronounce judgment on a new issue.

"These processes are equally important in a coalition of states. They are not always followed. But I think that - in our coalition against aggression - we are improving our techniques of co-operation and, more important, increasingly acquiring the habit of consultation. We are learning the value of prior discussion - not as a substitute for action - but as essential for united action.

#### CONSULTATION

"Needless to say, consultation does not mean merely the opportunity either to share in responsibility for implementing a decision already taken, or alternatively to stand aside. Consultation means the opportunity to participate in the give and take of ideas, the weighing of pros and cons, and the formulation of policy.

"This may seem like a tall order between a group of sovereign states - varying so much in power and influence as is the case with the members of our coalition. It is a tall order, and its achievement will take considerable time. In crises, indeed, something less may seem to suffice or may have to suffice. But eventually nothing less than this true consultation will be adequate to consolidate a coalition of free peoples, and to forge out of several democracies a unity deep and strong enough for the international situation of risk and menace with which we may have to live for a long time.

"This broader responsibility does not in any sense remove, or weaken, the direct constitutional responsibility of each democratic government to its own nation. It is something additional. It is nothing formalized. It is, rather, an attitude which must be developed, a quality of outlook that must be achieved.

"This requirement of unity will put a premium on those qualities of detachment, patience, and moral courage which any politician in a democracy needs from time to time if he is to stand firm despite the passing moods and passions of the moment. For though not only interests but intellectual appreciation and the understanding of a situation may be shared in common throughout a coalition, yet the emotions and passions of political moods are usually limited to a single country; at times, indeed, to a section thereof.

"As Gouzenko, and Kravchenko, and Petrov, and many others have proved, the free indivi-

dual is the Achilles' heel of totalitarianism. But a democratic coalition also has its Achilles' heel; in the temptations, which can beset any democratic politician, to yield too much to expediency, to the claims of immediate time and place and circumstance.

"Above all, if we are to make a coalition work, we must accustom ourselves to living with requirements and within a framework, broader than that of our own state.

"This will apply, of course, to the economic as well as to other aspects of policy: Excessive economic nationalism, if unchecked, will sooner or later corrode any coalition, and weaken until it destroys co-operation and unity in foreign or defence policies. Attitudes to neighbours and allies cannot be kept in water-tight compartments.

#### LEADERSHIP

"Finally, those peoples within our coalition whose strength gives them a position of leadership have a special obligation to cultivate the self-denying qualities of patience, restraint and tolerance. In their turn, the smaller and less strong members will have to demonstrate, not a surrender of their identity or free judgment, which would be undesirable and impossible, but a sense of proportion and a recognition that the acceptance of leadership and the possession of power warrant special influence and weight in the counsels of the coalition.

"An acceptance of the over-riding claims of unity, and the acceptance of the delays and concessions which are sometimes necessary to cultivate it, come hardest, of course, to the strongest; for a consciousness of strength naturally encourages self-confidence and is apt to induce a tendency to take for granted the acquiescence of others. The less strong members of a coalition probably find it easier than the stronger to be conscious of the anxieties and attitudes of others; and easier also to recognize the perils of disunity within the greater society of which they form a part.

"The importance of doing what we can to strengthen the unity and cohesiveness of our Atlantic coalition is, in one sense, a new, though a very important principle of Canadian foreign policy. In another sense, however, it is merely a new expression of something that always has been considered a main objective of that policy; good relations and close co-operation between the United Kingdom and the United States. Canada's absorption in this objective is as old as the Canadian nation..."

\* \* \* \*

N. D. C. TOUR: After a two-month tour which saw them visit 12 European and Middle East countries, the Director, staff and members of the National Defence Collège embarked in HMCS Quebec at Brest, France, on May 30 for passage home to Canada.