

of seven members including the concurring vote of the permanent members;—

If that stood by itself it would mean that all the five great powers would have to agree to everything that the Security Council did, but the paragraph has been modified in this way:

provided that, in decisions under Chapter 8, section A,

and in another matter of minor importance—
—a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

That means that if one of the Big Five powers is a party to a dispute which comes before the Security Council, that power cannot vote in any proceedings under section A—that is, for the pacific settlement of the dispute. In other words, it cannot prevent the Security Council from attempting to deal with the dispute by investigating it, or making recommendations or referring matters of law to the courts, and so on. But in respect of any action proposed under section B of Chapter 8, that is economic or military sanctions, any one of the Big Five powers can vote and say, "No, I refuse to allow economic or military sanctions to be taken against me."

A good deal has been said, I think with considerable justification, to the effect that this amounts to dictation by the great powers. Perhaps it does. On the other hand, I suppose it can be said with equal truth that it is no more than the recognition of the facts of life, because no matter what international organization you set up you cannot really coerce a great power. If you attempt to do that the ultimate result will be war, and your international organization will fall to the ground. To give a great power the right of veto under these circumstances is merely to recognize the fact that that great power cannot be coerced.

Hon. Mr. KING: May I interrupt for a moment? I am pleased that my honourable friend has taken this opportunity to clarify the matter now under discussion. When my honourable friend from Waterloo (Hon. Mr. Euler) raised a question in regard to it yesterday I was not certain as to just what voting rights the five great powers would have, and I intimated to him that I would try to clarify the point. That has now been done by the honourable gentleman from Inkerman (Hon. Mr. Hugessen).

Hon. Mr. HUGESSEN: On this question of dictatorship by the great powers there has been a good deal of discussion, and I should like for a few moments to direct the attention of the House to some statements made by various prominent members of the British Government.

This is what the Right Honourable Anthony Eden said on November 16 last:

If the United States, Russia, France and ourselves can work together, understand each other, and resolve our problems, I believe that out of this war a long period of peace may come. There may be some who say that that means a great power dictation. Believe me, it means no such thing. The truth is that unless the great powers can work together the foundations of peace are not there.

Some Hon. SENATORS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HUGESSEN: And Sir Alexander Cadogan, Under-Secretary of the British Foreign Office, and one of the British representatives at Dumbarton Oaks, is quoted as follows:

No one wishes to impose some great power dictatorship on the rest of the world; but it is obvious that unless the great powers are united in aim and ready to assume and fulfil loyally their obligations, no machine for maintaining peace, however perfectly constructed, will in practice work.

At this time, honourable senators, I should like to deal with the position of Canada at the San Francisco conference. We have heard a great deal in the last few months about Canada being one of the middle powers of the world. I think that as a result of the war effort that this country has put forth during the last few years, that is perfectly true. Perhaps it is also true that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals do insufficiently recognize the position of the middle powers—

Some Hon. SENATORS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HUGESSEN:—and that modifications may be advisable in that respect. I cannot help, however, rather deprecating the idea that our delegation to San Francisco should try to push this country into the leadership of the middle powers, and should make claims and advance demands merely to show how important we have become.

Some Hon. SENATORS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HUGESSEN: It seems to me, if I may be pardoned for saying so, that throwing one's weight around, merely for the sake of showing that one has the weight to throw around, is a rather adolescent conception. Moreover, I believe such an attitude is totally unnecessary in our own interest.

I should like honourable senators to consider for a few minutes the position which Canada will occupy in this new set-up. It is an exceptionally favourable one. It is far more favourable than the position ever was under the League of Nations, to which the United States was not a party. Consider for a moment the composition of the Security Council. Under these proposals the two