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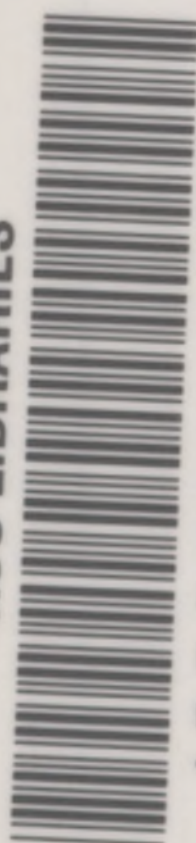
COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE
KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 1964 ✓

REPORT

OF THE

DELEGATION APPOINTED TO ATTEND THE
COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE IN
KINGSTON, JAMAICA
NOVEMBER 16-21, 1964

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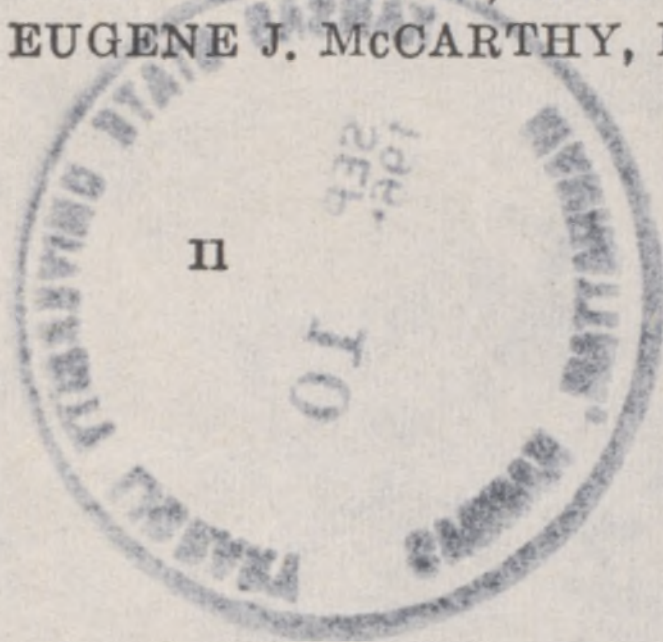
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

MAY 4, 1965.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Pursuant to the authority contained in Senate Resolution 339, 88th Congress, 2d session, agreed to July 23, 1964, the President pro tempore appointed a four-member delegation to attend the 10th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in Kingston, Jamaica, and I was designated to serve as chairman of the group. The other members of the delegation were Senator Gaylord Nelson, Senator J. Caleb Boggs, and Senator Jack R. Miller.

I transmit herewith the delegation's report on the Conference. The report includes background information on the composition and functions of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the nature of U.S. participation, a summary of the proceedings of the Jamaica Conference, and the texts of speeches made by Senator Boggs, Senator Miller, and myself.

The members of the Senate delegation believe that their participation in the Conference was a valuable experience. The Conference was the occasion for interesting and stimulating exchanges of views between legislators from all over the world who share a common language and a heritage of respect for parliamentary democracy. These discussions and personal contacts with fellow legislators from other countries make a significant contribution toward bringing about better international understanding and help strengthen the bonds of common interests shared by the English-speaking peoples.

The members of the Senate delegation are convinced of the constructive influence of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and of the merits of participation in these annual conferences by delegates representing the U.S. Senate. It is the unanimous recommendation of the delegation to the Jamaica Conference that the Senate should accept any future invitations that may be extended by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to participate in such conferences.

Sincerely,

JOHN SPARKMAN, *Chairman.*

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COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION MEETING, KINGSTON, JAMAICA

PART I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND OF ASSOCIATION

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, whose history goes back for over half a century, is an organization dedicated to promoting understanding and contact among members of the parliaments of the Commonwealth of Nations through periodic conferences and continuing exchanges of information and visits. The Association also seeks to promote communication and cooperation between members of the Commonwealth parliaments and members of the legislatures of countries outside the Commonwealth which share common democratic traditions and have similar legislative origins.

The Association, originally designated the Empire Parliamentary Association, was founded in 1911 at the time of the coronation of King George V. Beginning with only six branches in the United Kingdom and the Dominions, the Association is now a worldwide organization composed of 92 branches representing all parts of the Commonwealth of Nations. After World War II, the structure and organization of the Association were modified to reflect the rapid evolution of vast areas of the British Empire into sovereign members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The independence of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon were followed by constitutional changes in the Association in 1948, at which time its name was changed from Empire Parliamentary Association to Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Since its founding the Association has held conferences in various parts of the Commonwealth. In 1959 the Association decided to hold its conferences annually, rather than biennially as had been the custom since World War I.

B. COMPOSITION OF THE ASSOCIATION

In accordance with the terms of its constitution, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is composed of branches formed in the legislatures of the various Commonwealth countries and consists of main branches formed in the national parliaments of independent member countries of the Commonwealth, state, and provincial branches formed in the state or provincial legislatures within these member countries, and auxiliary and affiliated branches formed in the legislatures of other parts of the Commonwealth under responsible or representative government.

Branches are placed in one of several categories, depending primarily on the degree of sovereignty or of self-government exercised by the parliament in which it has been formed, or on the constitutional

position of the legislature in the federations of the Commonwealth. The main branches existing in the fully self-governing countries of the Commonwealth are the most senior, while the subsidiary branches are the most junior.

The formation of new branches, as laid down by the constitution of the Association, may be effected by resolution of the members of the parliament in a general meeting convened for the purpose. Application is then made to the General Council for recognition as a branch of the Association of the appropriate category.

All members of a Commonwealth parliament are entitled to become members of the Association, without election or other formality. On ceasing to be a member of parliament, a member may become an associate of his branch.

The speaker or presiding officer of the parliament is normally, but not necessarily, honorary president of the branch, and where the parliament has two houses, the presiding officers serve as joint honorary presidents. The leaders of the parliamentary parties usually serve as vice presidents.

The clerk or secretary of the parliament or of either house almost invariably serves as honorary secretary of the branch. Each branch is completely autonomous. Its members elect each year an executive committee, normally representative of all main parties and groups in their parliament, and have their own branch rules, which must, of course, conform to the constitution of the Association.

Associated groups may be formed in the legislatures of certain countries which are not members of the Commonwealth but which are closely connected with it by reason of common parliamentary institutions or practices, common language and interest, and past political traditions. The General Council, described below, may invite such groups to take part in certain sessions of parliamentary conferences, to exchange information, and to afford facilities to members of the Association. These groups are, however, only associated with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; they are not represented on the General Council and they have no part in the direction of the Association's affairs.

C. THE GENERAL COUNCIL

The Association works through a General Council whose offices are located in the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom at Westminster. The General Council was formed by decision of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in London in 1948 for the purposes of having a central organ to carry on the continuing work of the Association and to serve as a liaison and coordinating agency among the various branches. The branches in the national parliaments of the independent members of the Commonwealth are represented on the Council by two members each. Special arrangements are made for the representation of the auxiliary and territorial branches, while the branches in colonial legislatures are grouped together and send representatives to the Council in rotation.

The General Council elects the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Association, who preside at its annual meetings. Both officers are normally elected from among the councilors appointed by the branches of the Association. The General Council also appoints a secretary

general, who is the chief executive officer of the Council and of the Association. The Council likewise appoints an editor of publications, who also serves as deputy secretary general. The Secretary General and the Secretariat of the General Council are in constant contact with the secretaries of the branches of the Association, and thus help maintain the continuity of the Association and its services.

The activities of the Association are financed by annual contributions from the branches on a basis agreed upon with the General Council.

D. FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association provides the sole machinery for regular consultation and exchange of ideas and information among members of Commonwealth parliaments. The principal task of the Association is the organization of the annual Parliamentary Conferences. These Conferences are attended by delegates from the various Commonwealth parliaments and legislatures and are held at one of the Commonwealth capitals. The country in which the Conference is held acts as host. Tours are also arranged by the host country for visiting delegates which enable them to acquire firsthand knowledge of each other's countries, peoples, and problems. None of the members of the Senate delegation was able to participate in the preconference tours of Jamaica last year. It is recommended, however, that members appointed to the U.S. delegation should, in the event they are invited and can make appropriate arrangements, participate in the tours arranged by the host country.

Area conferences have also become an important feature of the Association's activities. The branches in Australia, in Canada, and in southeast Asia regularly arrange area conferences in their respective countries or regions. The agendas for these occasions normally include subjects of special regional interest which would be less appropriate for discussion at the main Commonwealth Conference, but which are discussed with great mutual benefit by the members concerned.

In addition, the Association arranges for delegations of parliamentarians to travel among the member countries during the periods between conferences in order that they may familiarize themselves with conditions in various parts of the Commonwealth. To assist such delegations when they visit other member countries, the Association provides a number of facilities, such as introductions and hospitality, information on matters of particular interest to delegates, and travel concessions.

The Office of the General Council also maintains a regular flow of information to branches and to members, including two quarterlies, the Journal and the Report of Foreign Affairs. Another service sponsored by the Association is a course on parliamentary practice and procedures, held at Westminster each year, for which the United Kingdom branch and the General Council are joint hosts.

E. ADVANTAGES OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION

Although the Association does not claim credit for specific constitutional changes or far-reaching legislative developments in the member countries, it has played an important and constructive role in shaping

agreement among Commonwealth countries on mutual problems and on broader issues of foreign affairs as well. Moreover, as a worldwide organization representing nations of every major region in different stages of political and economic development and of varying outlook on world affairs, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association exercises a considerable impact on world opinion in many areas of international relations. The Conferences provide a valuable forum in which members of the Commonwealth may exchange views, set forth and often resolve disagreements, and shape consensus and common approaches to mutual problems.

The overriding value of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is its continuing contribution to the improvement of parliamentary and constitutional practices throughout the Commonwealth. The Association is a significant institution of the Commonwealth of Nations, both a product and a strengthening force of a worldwide community dedicated to human welfare and free institutions.

PART II. NATURE OF U.S. PARTICIPATION

A. INVITATION TO THE UNITED STATES

In May 1964, on behalf of the Jamaica branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Honorable D. B. Sangster, chairman of the General Council, extended to the Senate an invitation to designate four Members of the body to attend the Conference. Although the U.S. Congress is not a member of the Association, Members of both Houses have been invited for a number of years to attend such meetings in the capacity of observers. Senators attended meetings held in Australia (1950), Canada (1952), India (1957), Australia (1959), London (1961), and Nigeria (1962). A delegation was appointed to attend the meeting held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in 1963, but was unable to attend because of the pressure of Senate business.

B. LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

Legislative authority to provide for the appointment of delegates to the Jamaica Conference and for payment of their official expenses was provided in Senate Resolution 339, which was reported (S. Rept. 1173) by Senator Fulbright from the Committee on Foreign Relations on July 8, 1964. It was reported favorably by the Committee on Rules and Administration on July 22 (S. Rept. 1227) and agreed to by the Senate on July 23.

In accordance with the provisions of Senate Resolution 339, the President pro tempore on August 17, 1964, appointed a four-member delegation consisting of Senator J. W. Fulbright, of Arkansas; Senator Gaylord Nelson, of Wisconsin; Senator J. Caleb Boggs, of Delaware; and Senator Jack Miller, of Iowa. Later, because of a conflict in schedules, Senator John Sparkman, of Alabama, was appointed to replace Senator Fulbright as chairman of the delegation.

PART III. THE JAMAICA CONFERENCE

The Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association convened in Kingston, Jamaica, on November 16, 1964, and its formal proceedings were terminated on November 21. The Conference was preceded by a 2-week tour of Jamaica, in which most of the delegates from Commonwealth nations participated. The Conference was attended by 124 delegates from 67 branches of the association, observers representing 6 other branches, and the delegation representing the U.S. Senate. (See app. A for a list of those attending.)

The U.S. delegation participated in the final sessions of the Conference dealing with international affairs and attended other meetings as observers.

A. AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference agenda included the following topics for discussion:

- (1) Trade and aid.
- (2) Commonwealth organizations.
- (3) Educational cooperation within the Commonwealth.
- (4) The future functions and role of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.
- (5) The way ahead for the Commonwealth.
- (6) The role of the Speaker in Parliament.
- (7) International affairs.

B. VIEWS OF DELEGATES

The opening of the Conference took place with a formal ceremony in the assembly hall of the University of the West Indies. His Excellency the Honorable Sir Clifford Campbell, Governor-General of Jamaica, delivered the opening address. In the speech, he summarized the significance of the Association in these words:

The Association fosters the spirit of unity in combining together people who, irrespective of race, religion, nationality, or culture, can meet on one common ground, observing the rules of law, the freedom of the individual citizen, and the ideals of democracy.

The members of the U.S. delegation participated in the sessions on November 20 and 21 on international affairs, after sitting in as observers on earlier meetings. The sessions devoted to international affairs covered the gamut of world problems which have confronted free world nations over the last year: the Malaysian-Indonesian conflict, financing United Nations peacekeeping operations, trade and aid problems of underdeveloped nations, Communist Chinese subversion in Asia and Africa, the conflict between India and Pakistan, racial discrimination in Africa, and many others.

The first session was opened by the Honorable Enche Mohamed Ghazali bin Haji Jawi, Minister of Lands and Mines, and leader of the Malaysian delegation, who made a spirited appeal to the delegates, and to world opinion, on the Malaysian-Indonesian conflict. He was followed by Senator Sparkman, who discussed some more hopeful signs for achieving world peace and the necessity for the newer nations to adhere to principles of parliamentary democracy. "Democratic governments," he said, "can and must be tolerant of temporary

deviations from democracy in the underdeveloped world. But there must be no compromise over the interpretation and meaning of freedom. Mistakes will be made by governments—they must be freely debated. Opposition will be vocal and at times seemingly intolerable—it must be permitted to oppose. Temptations to take undemocratic shortcuts to achieve worthwhile goals will be great—they must be resisted. Foreign-owned business interests will be singled out for attack—they must be given fair treatment. The going will not be easy, but democratic government is a difficult and fragile form of human activity at best.” (Senator Sparkman’s speech appears in app. B.)

A number of speakers from Asia and Africa, seemingly stimulated by Malaysia’s plea for help from other members of the Commonwealth, talked of nonalignment. Mr. B. Soysa, the leader of the Ceylon delegation, in stating the approach taken by his Government, said:

I am not in any way complaining about aid; we all ask for aid, but the grant of aid should not be used as a means of political leverage in regard to maneuvering these countries into various political positions, and that is why my country has taken up the position of nonalignment in regard to world camps.

The leader of the Kenya delegation, Senator E. M. C. Chokwe, was even stronger in his attitude. He believed that—

* * * the big nations of the world today sometimes behave like the big fish which live on the small ones and that around this Conference many of the participating members of the Commonwealth are not strong enough to defend themselves, let alone to help others, and they can only assist in international peacekeeping operations by maintaining strict neutrality by being nonaligned to any of the big powers.

Views such as these were sharply attacked by delegates from the developed nations, such as R. Cleaver, a Member of Parliament from Australia, who said, following the speech by the delegate from Kenya:

My very good friends from the African States need perhaps to remember that a few less words about Africa and a few more positive words about support for other members of the Commonwealth might not be inappropriate.

The late Lord Morrison, of the United Kingdom, made an eloquent plea for free world collective security efforts, which he felt were essential to preservation of the peace. “Malaysia,” he said, “is an illustration of the value of the doctrine of collective security and collective security has been exceedingly important in the postwar world. It could have been very important, if the peaceful democratic nations had joined together for collective security before the Second World War. It could have prevented the Second World War, but there was not enough faith in it, and the question for us today is—do we believe or do we not believe in collective security.” And on the principle of nonalignment voiced by other delegates he said that “* * * if every country was nonaligned, if there was no collective security, if there was no coming to the rescue of a country which is attacked, would that not be a provocation to the aggressor to aggress; would it not open the door to more wars and more aggression?”

Senator Boggs, speaking at the second session on international affairs, described the role of the Senate in the foreign policymaking process, with particular reference to the role of the opposition party. In his discussion he pointed out that “although Congress frequently places restrictions on foreign aid or other bills, tying the President’s hands, such limitations on Presidential action in the foreign field are

restrained by an acute awareness that Congress has neither the authority, nor is it equipped, to conduct foreign policy. This is not to say there should not be criticism in the Congress of foreign policy. There is no dearth of this. Republicans and Democrats alike agree that foreign policy is a legitimate subject for political debate. Constructive and responsible criticism is, indeed, essential to success of the bipartisan principle." (Senator Boggs' speech is included here as app. C.)

At the same session Senator Miller spoke of the threat to the United Nations involved in the failure of Russia and other nations to pay their assessments for peacekeeping operations. He stressed particularly the importance to the small nations of adhering to the provisions of the charter. "Let one of them [the charter provisions] be stamped on with impunity by any member, large or small, and the honor, the dignity, and the self-respect of every other member will have been wounded, and the integrity of the United Nations will have been damaged," he said. (Senator Miller's speech is included as app. D.) A number of other delegates also expressed concern over the U.N. financing problem during the sessions on international affairs.

The sessions in which the Senate delegates participated were marked by lively and stimulating discussions on a number of other issues of more direct interest to the members of the Commonwealth, such as questions involving British Guiana, Southern Rhodesia, India, and Pakistan. The delegates from the Senate were impressed with the quality of the debate, the restraint shown in discussing highly emotional issues, and the fairness and dignity with which the proceedings were conducted. Participation in the Conference was a rewarding experience which exemplified the basic strengths of parliamentary government.

C. CONCLUSION

The Members of the U.S. Senate delegation are deeply grateful for the invitation to attend the 10th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. We wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Jamaica branch, which was our host, and to the Conference officials, their staff, and delegates for their warm hospitality and freindly assistance in making our participation in the Conference such an educational and enjoyable experience.

We value highly this conference as a forum for the exchange of views and discussion of common problems. Every nation, young or old, which shares our concepts of liberty can learn much from such meetings. Great diversity in geography, religion, and culture is represented at Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences, but these differences pale into insignificance when compared with the unity created by common dedication to principles advancing individual freedom and liberty. Through the mutually beneficial discussions at these annual Conferences, we strengthen the ties that bind us, gain a better understanding of our fellowmen from all parts of the world, and receive renewed dedication to the task of creating a better society for all mankind.

We deem it an honor and a privilege to have attended the Kingston Conference and it is our unanimous recommendation to the Senate that on any future occasions that the Commonwealth Parliamentary

Association invites members to participate in its Conferences, timely and appropriate arrangements should be made for such participation.

PART IV. FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Senate Resolution 339 provided for a sum not to exceed \$10,000 to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate to cover the cost of travel and other official expenses for the Senate delegation attending the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference in Kingston, Jamaica. The delegation and staff incurred total official expenses of \$2,073.03.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF DELEGATES AND OBSERVERS ATTENDING THE 10TH COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE AND MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE STEERING COMMITTEE

CONFERENCE STEERING COMMITTEE

Chairman: Hon. D. B. Sangster, M.P. (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Jamaica).

Vice Chairman: Hon. W. B. Tennent, M.P. (New Zealand).

Members:

Dr. the Hon. Lim Swee Aun, J.P., M.P. (Minister of Commerce and Industry, Malaysia, Immediate Past Chairman).

Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G. (President of the Senate, Commonwealth of Australia, Councillor appointed under Clause 24 of the Constitution).

Hon. R. A. Njoku, M.P. (Minister of Transport and Aviation, Federation of Nigeria, Councillor appointed under Clause 24 of the Constitution).

Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P. (United Kingdom, Councillor appointed under Clause 24 of the Constitution).

Senator the Hon. A. W. Roebuck, Q.C. (Canada, first Chairman of the Association).

DELEGATIONS

Aden: Hon. Ali Muhammad Luqman, M.L.C.

Alberta (Canada): Hon. H. E. Strom, M.L.A. (Minister of Agriculture).

Antigua: Hon. V. C. Bird, M.L.C. (Chief Minister).

Australia (Commonwealth):

Hon. Peter Howson, M.P. (Minister for Air, Leader of the Delegation).

Senator R. Bishop.

Mr. P. E. Lucock, M.P. (Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees).

Mr. R. Cleaver, M.P.

Mr. W. C. Coutts, M.P. (Deputy Opposition Whip).

Mr. C. H. Webb, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. A. G. Turner (Clerk of the House of Representatives).

Bahamas: Senator the Reverend R. S. Barrett.

Barbados:

Mr. E. L. Carmichael, M.P. (Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly).

Secretary to the Affiliated Branch Delegations: Mr. H. O. St. C. Cumberbatch (Clerk of the House of Assembly).

Bermuda: Mr. A. A. Francis, M.C.P.

British Columbia (Canada): Mr. W. M. Skillings, M.L.A.

British Guiana: Mr. D. Jagan.

British Honduras: Hon. S. B. Vernon, J.P., M.L.A.

Canada (Federal):

Mr. J. T. Richard, M.P. (Leader of the Delegation).

Senator the Hon. Allister Grosart.

Mr. J. E. Walker, M.P. (Government Chief Whip).

Mr. A. D. Hales, M.P.

Mr. H. W. Herridge, M.P.

Mr. R. Beaulé, M.P.

Mr. A. B. Patterson, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. T. R. Montgomery (Clerk-Assistant of the House of Commons).

Ceylon:

Mr. B. Soysa, M.P. (Leader of the Delegation).

Senator E. La Brooy.

Mr. P. Perera, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, C.B.E. (Clerk of the House of Representatives).

10 COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

East Pakistan: Mr. Gamiruddin Prodhan, M.P.A. (Senior Deputy Speaker of the Provincial Assembly).

Gambia, The: Hon. L. B. M'boge, M.H.R. (Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives).

Ghana:

Mr. A. K. Puplampu, M.P. (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leader of the Delegation).

Alhaji Yakubu Tali, M.P. (Tolon-Na) (Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly).

Mr. J. D. Wireko, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. L. P. Tosu (Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly).

Gujarat (India): Hon. F. H. Palejwala, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

India (Union):

Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, M.P. (Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha. Leader of the Delegation).

Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose, M.P.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi, M.P.

Secretary: Shri P. K. Patnaik (Deputy Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariat).

Isle of Man: Mr. J. M. Cain, O.B.E., J.P., M.H.K.

Jamaica:

Hon. D. C. Tavares, M.P. (Minister of Housing, Leader of the Delegation).

Senator the Hon. G. S. Ranglin (President of the Senate).

Hon. R. C. Lightbourne, M.P. (Minister of Trade and Industry).

Mr. F. A. Glasspole, M.P. (Deputy Leader of the Opposition).

Mr. W. O. Isaacs, M.P.

Senator Dr. Kenneth McNeill.

Secretary: Mr. H. D. Carberry (Clerk to the Houses).

Jersey: Senator C. S. Dupre, M.C.

Johore (Malaysia): Hon. Tuan Haji Ali bin Haji Raya, J.M.N., P.I.S., M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

Kenya:

Senator the Hon. T. M. C. Chokwe (Speaker of the Senate, Leader of the Delegation).

Hon. T. Malinda, M.P.

Hon. J. K. Gatuguta, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. L. J. Ngugi (Administrative Secretary to the National Assembly and Clerk to the Senate).

Madras (India): Sri V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.L.C.

Malawi:

Hon. I. K. Surtee, M.P. (Speaker of the National Assembly, Leader of the Delegation).

Hon. R. B. Chidzanja, M.P. (Minister of Home Affairs).

Hon. A. M. Nyasulu, M.P. (Minister of Natural Resources).

Secretary: Mr. L. J. Mwenda (Clerk of Parliament).

Malaysia:

Hon. Enche Mohamed Ghazali bin Haji Jawi, M.P. (Minister of Lands and Mines, Leader of the Delegation).

Enche Kam Woon Wah, J.P., M.P.

Hon. Haji Ahmad bin Saa'id, J.P., M.P.

Secretary: Enche Ahmad bin Abdullah (Clerk to the Senate).

Malta:

Hon. T. Caruana Demajo, M.P. (Minister of Justice, Leader of the Delegation).

Hon. E. Attard Bezzina, M.P.

Dr. the Hon. G. J. Hyzler, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. J. Said Pullicino (Clerk of the House of Representatives).

Manitoba (Canada): Hon. Gurney Evans, M.L.A. (Minister of Industry and Commerce).

Mauritius: Hon. A. R. H. Mohamed, M.L.A. (Minister of Social Security).

Mid-Western Nigeria: Hon. J. W. A. Ohiwerei, M.H.A.

Negri Sembilan (Malaysia): Hon. Inche Ariffin bin Ali, A.M.N., P.J.K., M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

New Brunswick (Canada): Mr. C. Savoie, M.L.A.

Newfoundland (Canada): Hon. G. W. Clarke, M.H.A. (Speaker of the House of Assembly).

New South Wales (Australia): Mr. W. C. Fife, M.P.

New Zealand:

Mr. J. H. George, M.P. (Senior Government Whip, Leader of the Delegation).

Mr. E. P. Aderman, M.P.

Hon. M. Moohan, M.P.

Nigeria, Federation of:

Hon. N. T. Mbu, M.P. (Minister of State for the Navy).

Alhaji the Hon. R. A. Afolabi, M.P.

Senator Alhaji A. T. Metteden.

Secretary: Mr. J. O. Adeigbo (Clerk of the Parliaments).

Northern Ireland: Hon. Mrs. D. McNabb, O.B.E., J.P., M.P.

Northern Nigeria: Hon. Obaike Odeh, M.H.A.

Nova Scotia (Canada): Hon. S. T. Pyke, M.L.A. (Minister of Highways and Minister of Public Works).

Ontario (Canada): Hon. D. H. Morrow, M.P.P. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

Pahang (Malaysia): Hon. Enche Awang Ngah bin Tok Muda Haji Ibrahim, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

Pakistan:

Chaudhri M. A. Cheema, M.N.A. (Senior Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Leader of the Delegation).

Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, M. N. A.

Secretary: Mr. W. B. Kadri, S.Q.A., C.S.P. (Secretary to the National Assembly).

Perak (Malaysia): Hon. Enche Mohd. Ali Zaini bin Haji Mohd. Zain, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

Prince Edward Island (Canada): Mr. G. J. MacKay, M.L.A.

Quebec (Canada): Mr. F. Boulais, M.P.P.

Queensland (Australia): Mr. W. E. Knox, M.L.A.

Rajasthan (India): Hon. R. N. Mirdha, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly).

Sabah (Malaysia): Hon. Dato' Pang Tet Tshung, M.L.A. (Minister for Finance).

Sarawak (Malaysia): Hon. Dato' S. K. Ningkan, P.D.K., Member of the Council Negri (Chief Minister).

Saskatchewan (Canada): Secretary to the Canadian Provincial Delegations: Mr. C. B. Koester (Clerk of the Legislative Assembly).

Selangor (Malaysia): Hon. Raja Nong Chik bin Raja Ishak, P.J.K., M.L.A.

Sierra Leone:

Hon. G. Dickson-Thomas, M.P. (Minister of Housing and Country Planning, Leader of the Delegation).

Hon. M. A. Tarasid-Tarawallie, M.P.

Hon. M. O. Bash-Taqi, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. J. W. E. Davies (Clerk Assistant of the House of Representatives).

Singapore (Malaysia):

Enche Othman bin Wok, M.P. (Minister for Social Affairs).

Secretary to the Malaysian State Delegations: Mr. Neo Seng Kee (Third Clerk-Assistant of the Legislative Assembly).

South Australia: Hon. B. H. Teusner, M.P. (Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly).

Southern Rhodesia: Mr. W. J. J. Cary, M.P.

Tanzania:

Miss B. C. Johansson, M.P. (Leader of the Delegation).

Mr. J. A. Mhavi, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. P. Msekwa (Clerk of the National Assembly).

Tasmania (Australia): Mr. T. G. Pearsall, M.H.A. (Opposition Whip).

Trengganu (Malaysia): Hon. Dato' Kelana Di-Raja (Wan Daud bin Haji Wan Ahmad), S.M.T., M.L.A. (Member of the Executive Council).

Trinidad and Tobago:

Hon. Saied Mohammed, M.P. (Minister of Works, Leader of the Delegation).

Hon. V. L. Campbell, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary (Development) to the Prime Minister).

Senator Dr. A. R. Sinanan.

Secretary: Mr. G. R. Latour (Clerk of the House of Representatives).

Uganda:

Hon. G. L. Binaisa, Q.C., M.P. (Attorney General, Leader of the Delegation).

Hon. V. K. Rwamwaro, M.P.

Hon. S. K. E. Okurut, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. B. N. I. Barungi (Acting Clerk of the National Assembly).

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United Kingdom:

Lord Taylor of Harlow (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs, Leader of the Delegation).

Mr. D. S. Box, M.P.

Mr. D. Chapman, M.P.

Mr. J. A. Farr, M.P.

Mr. T. G. P. Kitson, M.P.

Mr. C. Mapp, M.P.

Rt. Hon. Lord Morrison of Lambeth, C.H.

Mr. L. Spriggs, M.P.

Miss J. Vickers, M.B.E., M.P.

Mr. E. Wainwright, B.E.M., M.P.

Secretary: Mr. J. W. M. Batten, M.V.O.

Victoria (Australia):

Mr. L. M. Fennessy, M.P.

Secretary to the Australian States' Delegation: Mr. J. A. Robertson, J.P.
(Clerk of the Parliaments).

West Bengal (India):

Dr. the Hon. S. K. Chatterji, M.L.C. (Chairman of the Legislative Council).

Secretary to the Indian State Delegations: Shri P. Roy (Secretary to the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council).

West Pakistan: Mr. M. H. Siddiqui, M.P.A.

Western Australia: Hon. A. R. Jones, M.L.C.

Western Nigeria: Hon. T. E. Elushade, M.H.A. (Chief Government Whip).

Western Samoa: Mr. Tuaopepe Tame, M.P.

Zambia:

Mr. H. J. E. Stanley, M.P. (Leader of the Delegation).

Dr. K. D. Konoso, M.P.

Mr. A. K. Walubita, M.P.

Secretary: Mr. E. A. Heathcote (Clerk of the Legislative Assembly).

ASSOCIATED GROUPS

United States of America:

Senator John J. Sparkman (Leader of the Delegation).

Senator Gaylord Nelson.

Senator James C. Boggs.

Senator Jack R. Miller.

OBSERVERS

Cayman Islands: Hon. T. W. Farrington, J.P., M.L.A.

Dominica: Hon. C. A. Active, M.L.A.

Grenada: Hon. R. C. P. Moore, M.L.C.

Montserrat: Hon. B. W. Edwards, M.L.C. (Minister for Social Services).

St. Lucia: Mr. M. du Boulay, M.L.C.

St. Vincent: Mr. H. F. Young, J.P., M.L.C.

Southern Rhodesia:

Mr. P. H. Mukudu, M.P.

Mr. L. J. Howe-Ely (Clerk of the House, Legislative Assembly).

Inter-Parliamentary Union: Mr. James Douglas (Assistant Secretary General).

APPENDIX B

TEXT OF SPEECH BY SENATOR JOHN SPARKMAN

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Conference, we want it to be known that we appreciate the invitation extended to us year by year to join in this part of the Conference as observers. This is one of the reasons why we have accepted every time, and I am sure that we shall look forward in the future to continue to receive these invitations and, if we do, we shall certainly accept.

On behalf of the delegation from the U.S. Senate I wish to express our gratitude for the invitation extended to us by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I know that I speak for my fellow delegates when I say that this has been a truly memorable Conference. These meetings are not only necessary as forums for the discussion of mutual problems, but they are also relaxed and natural occasions because of the common bonds of language and heritage shared by the delegates.

We start out more than halfway down the long and tortuous road to international understanding by our agreement on principles of government and standards of conduct, accepted by all English-speaking peoples.

According to our Webster's Dictionary the word "Commonwealth" in its older meaning was synonymous with the general welfare. This, I believe, denotes quite clearly the objectives we seek. And the more current definition—"a state or nation where there is self-government"—describes the means by which we are trying to achieve these objectives.

Delegates to this Conference typify the diversity of mankind, and at the same time demonstrate man's common aspiration for a free society. From throughout the free world men have assembled here to rededicate themselves to the never-ending task of making society more responsive to human needs, and to advancing the cause of freedom throughout the world. Differences in culture, religion, and geography become insignificant in the light of our common bonds of language and government.

It is fitting that we should be meeting only a few weeks after the British and American elections. Both were of great significance, each in its own way. Victory by the Labor Party demonstrated once again the capacity of the parliamentary system to respond peacefully and with a minimum of disruption in the affairs of government to the popular will, as expressed in free elections. Our American elections gave a resounding vote of confidence to middle-of-the-road policies in both domestic and foreign affairs. Clearly, the American people do not want radical changes in their foreign policy. But contrast the British and the American elections with the recent changes in leadership in the Soviet Union. We know what the issues were in the British and American elections, and we have some basis for interpreting their meaning. We can only speculate as to the reasons for Mr. Khrushchev's deposition and its meaning for the free world. Regardless of its meaning these three events coming within such a short period illustrate, far better than words can tell, a major difference in the free and in the communistic worlds—the methods by which their leaders are selected.

In spite of the potential danger from recent events in the Soviet Union and Communist China, there is reason to believe that the world is a safer and saner planet than it was a few years ago. True the threat of nuclear annihilation still hangs over every nation, large or small, but the threat has been diminished with the realization by the great powers that nuclear war is unthinkable.

Some of the hopeful signs pointing to a brighter outlook for the future of mankind are—

- the nuclear test ban treaty which prevents further poisoning of the atmosphere—as the China test proves, however, this is only a first step;

- the direct line from Moscow to Washington which reduces the chance of war by mistake or miscalculation;

- the joint undertaking not to orbit weapons of mass destruction in outer space;

- the mutual steps to cut back on the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons;

- the obsolescence of the bipolar structure of world power and world influence;

- the shattering of the illusion of a monolithic Communist empire under the thumb of Moscow; and

- the demonstration anew by the United Nations of its potential for trouble suppression.

As long as the Communist world holds its determination to export revolution and subversion the world will be engaged continuously in a balancing act between mutual destruction and an uneasy peace. As our world and theirs become more complex and the affairs of mankind more interrelated the base for a lasting peace should become wider and the chance for upsetting the balance through accident or inadvertence less likely.

This coming Sunday will mark the anniversary of the late President Kennedy's assassination. The great young leader once said that our national aim should be to make the world safe for diversity. This aim is particularly appropriate for Americans who are as diverse as their land, but it is also appropriate for the commonwealth of nations which represents, as does the United States, great diversity within unity. I believe that most of the delegates here could find satisfaction in, and personal application in their own country of, Plato's description of Greek democracy 2,500 years ago. He wrote that it was a "charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike." There is much wisdom in this description that could be followed by many of the new nations, where democracy exists more in name than practice.

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In our form of government there is plenty of room for diversity and innovation, while following democratic practices. All too often, however, in the new nations we find that every citizen is equal but some are more equal than others. It is to the elimination of shortcomings such as these in struggling democratic societies that the commonwealth of nations and the United States should direct more attention. We must somehow get across the message that development and democracy must go hand in hand if either is to succeed.

It is strange but true, that the more successful is U.S. foreign policy the more other countries will be independent of us. Many American businessmen faced with stiff competition from Western Europe now think that the Marshall plan was perhaps too successful, and a number of our Government officials, frustrated with tariff, trade, and defense problems, might agree. In half a century we have helped half a hundred peoples to national independence and now, because of our success, we find that they are far less comfortable to live with. Success has indeed made our foreign policy questions more frustrating and complicated. Not the least of these problems of success is the retreat from the ideals of democracy by some of the new nations who began their independence without adequate foundations for democratic government. After two decades of national liberation, oppression by foreigners has virtually ceased to exist. But in some areas it is being replaced by an equally oppressive form of undemocratic behavior—abuse of power by dominant majorities within nations. All too often national rather than individual liberty seems to awaken a passionate defense and democracy and individual freedom suffer the consequences.

Every nation represented here can trace its democratic traditions directly to the signing of the Magna Carta at Runnymede on the Thames in 1215. This great charter of liberties of the English-speaking people is the foundation of the constitution of every English-speaking nation. The rights set forth in that document which we too often take for granted have been expanded and strengthened over centuries. Freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, the right to the traditional safeguards of the Anglo-Saxon legal system and the right to be free from undue governmental oppression—these are basic concepts of our society. If democratic government is to survive in this ever more complex world the developed nations of the free world must rededicate themselves to these fundamental freedoms and draw the newer nations more closely into this democratic fellowship.

Democratic governments, however, can and must be tolerant of temporary deviations from democracy in the underdeveloped world. But there must be no compromise over the interpretation and meaning of freedom. Mistakes will be made by governments—they must be freely debated. Opposition will be vocal and at times seemingly intolerable—it must be permitted to oppose. Temptations to take undemocratic shortcuts to achieve worthwhile goals will be great—they must be resisted. Foreign-owned business interests will be singled out for attack—they must be given fair treatment. The going will not be easy, but democratic government is a difficult and fragile form of human activity at best.

The developed nations, those more experienced in democratic government, cannot expect perfection in political behavior from the newer nations. "Perfectionism, no less than isolationism, or imperialism or power politics, may obstruct the paths to international peace," President Roosevelt said nearly 20 years ago. In this very imperfect world, dealing with imperfect human beings, perfection is an unattainable but nevertheless worthwhile goal.

We of the democratic nations of the world are somewhat like the Oscar Wilde character who said that, "All are in the gutter, but some of us are looking at the stars." Any nation, young or old, which strives to provide democratic government is reaching for the stars. And it is within the power of the developed nations to help extend the reach of the newer nations. This is a great challenge and an unavoidable task for all parliamentary governments. We must work harder to promote the ideals of democracy which have been successful in our own nations. As heirs to the spirit of the Magna Carta this is the correlative duty of the rights it conferred. We can do no less than live up to this heritage of that great instrument of liberty.

APPENDIX C

TEXT OF SPEECH BY SENATOR J. CALEB BOGGS

Mr. Chairman and very distinguished delegates to this great Conference, may I say at the outset that I have been very deeply impressed with the forceful and thoughtful speeches which I have been privileged to hear; and I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with fellow parliamentarians from throughout the English-speaking world. This gathering reminds us of the great debt we owe to centuries of parliamentarians who perfected the foundation of democratic government in which we all believe. Our common dedication to principles advancing the dignity of the individual and protecting personal liberties, as well as our use of a common language, bridge vast chasms of geography, religion, and culture.

But on a less lofty, yet very practical plane, one of the strongest bonds touching all delegates stems from the fact that each of us has stood for election in a free society. We are here at the sufferance of our respective constituents. Contrast this with the recent meeting in Moscow of leaders from the Communist world who answer only to the party hierarchy, not the people. This distinction typifies the differences in the free and the Communist worlds. Free elections in the Communist vocabulary mean the dubious right to put an "X" by the name of someone picked by the party machine—a mechanical and unrewarding task—not a challenge calling for a far-reaching decision as do elections in democratic societies. So, in contrast, these Conferences should be celebrations of the continued success and strengthening of parliamentary government in nations throughout the world.

I also want to take this moment to express my profound thanks to the Government of Jamaica and the Members of the Jamaica Branch of the Association for making our stay so pleasant and enjoyable. The hospitality of the citizens of Jamaica is matched only by the breathtaking beauty and the delightful climate of their island.

Great events have taken place in recent weeks which will have a profound influence on the course of world affairs in years ahead. We do not know what the changes in the Russian leadership or the entry of the newest member of the nuclear club portend for mankind. The suddenness of the changes in the Soviet Union underscored how little we know about that closed society. Kremlinologists will be debating indefinitely how and why Khrushchev fell from power. The free world may never know the true answers to these questions. Within 24 hours of the news of the overthrow of Khrushchev we were told of another ominous development within the Communist world. China's explosion of an atomic device, however primitive by Western technical standards, was a predictable but frightening development. Both events emphasized anew the fragile nature of the balance of terror existing in this unstable world of shifting allegiances and loyalties.

Two great events also took place recently in the free world, which in dramatic contrast to the developments in Russia and China, demonstrated the capacity of man for self-government in a free society. The elections in Great Britain and the United States reaffirm the validity of our common concepts of freedom. All of us who believe in democratic government received renewed dedication to individual liberty and justice from witnessing this highest example of a free society in action. Surely the newer nations on the sidelines of the world arena could not help but make contrasts with the events within the Communist world.

As a Republican—a member of the minority party—I think it would be appropriate for me to discuss briefly a few bipartisan aspects, relating to the conduct of American foreign policy. Our foreign policy is not Democratic or Republican. It is not a Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, or Johnson foreign policy. It is an American foreign policy that has been worked out painfully over the last 20 years by Republican and Democratic administrations and Congresses. There was no repudiation of this principle in the recent elections.

No one should be misled by disputes in the Congress or by intense public debate on foreign policy questions. Partisanship for the sake of partisanship stops at the water's edge. In spite of this, debate in the Senate on foreign policy questions may sometimes seem like the meeting one of my Delaware constituents was preparing to attend. When asked why he was carrying a big club, he replied, "Because I'm going to a Republican unity rally." But over the years the record will clearly show that, when the chips are down, politics on foreign policy are laid aside and Democrats and Republicans unite behind the American policy. This was demonstrated by the resolution passed by Congress this summer approving President Johnson's actions following the shelling incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin. Republicans and Democrats criticized U.S. policies in southeast Asia severely before and

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after the incidents. But when it came to the question of supporting the President's response to the attacks by the North Vietnam torpedo boats the Senate passed a resolution of approval, 88 to 2, and the House of Representatives passed it, 416 to 0.

Under our constitutional system the President formulates and conducts the Nation's foreign policy but the American Congress exercises a significant role. The Constitution provides that the Senate must by two-thirds vote approve treaties before they can become effective. Its exercise of this power in the negative kept the United States out of the League of Nations and its exercise of it in a positive manner last year resulted in ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty. The Senate's other distinct role in foreign policy comes through its constitutional duty to pass on the President's appointment of ambassadors and other high foreign policy officials. Both powers are negative, but like all veto powers they have a considerable impact on the decisionmaking process.

Aside from the Senate's unique responsibilities in the ratification of treaties and approval of Presidential appointments, the Congress can, and does, exercise a strong voice in the implementation of foreign policy. No party loyalty restrictions exist to hamper members of the President's own party from voicing their criticism of administration policy. Senators on the Democratic side of the aisle often create more trouble than do members of the "loyal opposition" on my side of the aisle.

Although Congress frequently places restrictions on foreign aid or other bills, tying the President's hands, such limitations on Presidential action in the foreign field are restrained by an acute awareness that Congress has neither the authority, nor is it equipped, to conduct foreign policy. This is not to say there should not be criticism in the Congress of foreign policy. There is no dearth of this. Democrats and Republicans alike agree that foreign policy is a legitimate subject of political debate. Constructive and responsible criticism is, indeed, essential to success of the bipartisan principle.

Today the United States has bilateral relations with 114 nations, multilateral relations with 52 organizations, and it takes part in 600 international conferences a year. In anyone's book, this is pretty deep involvement in world affairs for a country that only a quarter of a century ago thought that it could remain substantially free from foreign strife and turmoil. But two decades ago our Nation made a national commitment to become an active participant in world affairs, not just an interested observer. And, in spite of some temporary aberrations, we have never retreated from this commitment. Grave problems confront the United States and the free world in every part of the globe, problems which demand urgent attention now that the presidential election is over:

The struggle in Vietnam shows danger of drifting to further deterioration.

The Atlantic Alliance is in danger of being torn asunder by disputes over the proposed multilateral force and the future of NATO.

The European Common Market, whose promise has been sadly diminished, faces serious internal difficulties.

A crisis faces the United Nations over the Soviet Union's refusal to pay back due assessments for peacekeeping missions in the Congo and the Middle East. And there are other trouble spots.

These and a multitude of other foreign policy problems are a part of the frustrations inherent to possession of great world power, power which is seldom of practical value in solving problems that are usually unsolvable. Our fellow delegates from Great Britain, being far more experienced in dealing with such matters than we, know quite well the frustrations occasioned by possession of power which is impotent to solve the day-to-day crises of foreign affairs. We are learning to live with these frustrations but the process is a slow and, at times, painful one.

In closing, I want to point out that, in spite of seemingly temporary setbacks, freedom is winning the worldwide battle for men's minds. Fifty nations have been born since the end of World War II. Not one of them has freely chosen communism as a way of life or as a form of government. Russia tried and failed to subvert them. The Chinese Communists are busy trying to succeed, where the Russians have not. Both will continue to fail, if we only provide the kind of help and guidance these struggling democracies need so desperately.

This is a heartening record. It gives renewed hope to those who are trying to make democratic government work under the most difficult circumstances. History is again proving that the wave of the future is freedom, not totalitarianism. The force of that wave in large measure depends on what we all do in living up to the common ideals and principles of parliamentary government in which all of us believe.

APPENDIX D

TEXT OF SPEECH BY SENATOR JACK MILLER

Mr. Chairman, delegates, ladies, and gentlemen, I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with fellow lawmakers from all over the world, joined together as you are by the common bonds of respect for the rule of law, the rights and dignity of the human being, and the principles of parliamentary government. I am honored by this opportunity to say a few words to such a distinguished assemblage of learned and experienced officials.

And I am most appreciative of the warm and gracious hospitality furnished me by the host country for this memorable meeting. The Governor-General, the Prime Minister, and you, Mr. Chairman, along with your able and efficient staff, have warmed all of our hearts. We are delighted to be in Jamaica, which is a shining example of how a proud and friendly people can, under enlightened and progressive leadership, assume an influential role in the world family of nations.

Within a few days the General Assembly of the United Nations will again convene in New York City. It would seem appropriate during this part of the agenda of this Conference to comment on one of the problems, which most unfortunately and unnecessarily, is threatening the future of the United Nations.

I say the future of the United Nations is threatened, not just because it stands in mortal danger of financial disaster but because a decision must be made by the members of the United Nations whether the Charter of the United Nations is to be upheld so that the United Nations shall continue to exist as a moral force for world peace. A hundred years ago, in the United States, a similar decision was made. With all of the diversity of background and political, geographical, and economic sectionalism which characterized our relatively new nation, and with the awesome realization that a civil war might ensue, the decision was nevertheless made by President Abraham Lincoln that the United States must remain united in its ideals and in its dedication to the dignity of man. The future of our country was in danger at that time, but the right decision was made, and instead of being torn asunder, the United States became truly united. So, too, the right decision made by the members of the United Nations, whenever the principles of the charter are concerned, will make bright the future of the United Nations and the hopes and aspirations of all mankind.

A knowledgeable article by Miss Elizabeth Barker appeared in the local newspaper, the Daily Gleaner, on Thursday, November 19, entitled "Crisis in U.N.—Principles at Stake," and I would commend it to all of you for reading. The article points out that the problem is not really a conflict between the West and the Soviet Union, but rather between the United Nations as a whole and those of its members who refuse to pay their dues and assessments; although the present crisis happens to have been deliberately created by the refusal of the Soviet Union and its followers to pay their share of the cost of the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the Congo.

In other words, the Soviet Union and a few other member nations are now in the position of having forfeited their right to vote in the General Assembly, according to the charter, because they are more than 2 years in arrears in payment of their assessments. I would suggest that the financial crisis in which the United Nations finds itself is also, in part, due to the failure of other members to promptly pay their dues and assessments. These assessments have been apportioned on the basis of relative ability to pay by a committee representing a true cross section of the membership so that the principle of "equal sharing" of burdens in financing the United Nations shall be followed.

There can be no question over the forfeiture of the right to vote when a member is more than 2 years in arrears in the payment of its dues and assessments. Article 19 of the charter covers this point; and in 1962 the World Court handed down its opinion that assessments for the peace-keeping operations in the Congo and in the Middle East are "expenses of the organization" for purposes of article 19. It should be noted that the Court's opinion was accepted by an overwhelming vote of the General Assembly.

The Soviet Union says that the World Court and the General Assembly are wrong; that the \$52.6 million in assessments for peace-keeping operations which it has refused to pay are for peace-keeping operations approved only by the General Assembly; that only peace-keeping operations approved by the Security Council (where it has the power of the veto) can be considered for this purpose. The position of the Soviet Union is quite understandable. Where, as a result of its policy of imperialistic subversion of a country, peace-keeping operations are required by the United Nations and, as has been the case in the Congo, have been conducted

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by the United Nations and not by the United States. I would remind the delegate from Uganda, the Soviet Union naturally wants a veto power over proposed peace-keeping operations so that its subversive activities may continue unhampered. And it makes no difference whether or not such subversive activities are conducted in the name of "peaceful coexistence." However, the fact still remains that no nation, no matter how big, or how powerful, or how noisy, no nation, whether inside or outside the U.N., is bigger than the Charter of the United Nations. The United States declared on October 18 last as follows: "Failure to apply the article [19] to a great power simply because it is a great power would undermine the constitutional integrity of the United Nations, and could sharply affect the attitude toward the organization of those who have always been its strongest supporters."

We heard a splendid speech from the delegate from Malaysia yesterday, and you will recall the great emphasis he placed on adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I have no doubt that he was thinking of the determination recited—

"To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

"To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained * * *."

But whether it is these principles, or the moral principle that membership in the United Nations shall be open only to peace-loving nations, or the principle that those members more than 2 years delinquent in the payment of their dues and assessments lose their vote, each of them comprises a part of the charter. Let one of them be stamped on with impunity by any member, large or small, and the honor, the dignity, and the self-respect of every other member will have been wounded; and the integrity of the United Nations will have been damaged. The hopes and aspirations of millions of innocent people will be ignored if expediency rules over principle in the United Nations.

As participants in parliamentary government, founded on strict adherence to recognized rules of order and procedure, each of you delegates knows the danger of flaunting the rules. One cannot imagine how the U.S. Senate or the House of Commons, for example, could very long function, much less function with the respect of the people of their respective countries, if individual Members were permitted to violate rules simply because those Members happen to be powerful, big, or noisy.

Thus the full implications of the issue on which I have been speaking, for all members of the United Nations, both large and small, are, I am sure, quite clear and compelling to all the nations represented at this Conference. We cannot take for granted that this issue will be rightly decided. It is up to us, and to other members who share our common belief in the rule of law and in laws premised on the dignity of man and the self-determination of nations—it is up to us to match the rights which we enjoy as members of the United Nations with the responsibility which is ours to see to it that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations are strictly, uniformly, and unhesitatingly followed, both in their letter and in the spirit in which they were adopted.

The success of the United Nations cannot be taken for granted any more than freedom can be taken for granted. The price to be paid is eternal vigilance and steadfast adherence to principle. It will be an empty speech to talk about rights of individuals and rights of nations, unless there is an accompanying determination by individuals and nations to carry out the responsibilities which are correlated to those rights. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is exerting a strong influence in securing recognition of these responsibilities, and if what I have said may be of some encouragement to continue on, then these few words will have well served their purpose.