

**2. Interim and Final Report of the Committee on the North  
Atlantic Community 1951/1952  
26th November 1951**

**INTERIM REPORT  
BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY**

(...)

**FORWORD**

1. At its Ottawa meeting in September last, the Council established a Ministerial Committee composed of representatives of Belgium, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway, and the Chairman of the Council Deputies, to consider the further strengthening of the North Atlantic community and especially the implementation of Article 2 of the Treaty. The text of the statement issued by the Council at the end of the Ottawa session regarding the North Atlantic community, and of the terms of reference of the Ministerial Committee, are set forth in Document C7-D/18(Final) of October 17th.

2. Members of the Committee set up a Working Group which held a series of meetings between October 16th and October 30th and prepared an interim report (Document AC/10-D/1(Revise) of November 8th, 1951).

3. The Committee met in Paris on November 3rd, and again in Rome on November 23rd. At its first meeting the Committee accepted the Working Group report as a working document, made a number of suggestions for the revision, development or other disposition of particular sections, and directed that the report (after minor editorial revisions) be circulated to all Council Deputies for information together with the Summary Record (NAC-R(51)1) of the Ministerial meeting. At its second meeting the Committee approved the present Interim Report to the Council.

**SECTION A****“COORDINATION AND FREQUENT CONSULTATION<sup>1</sup>  
ON FOREIGN POLICY, HAVING PARTICULAR REGARD  
TO STEPS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE PEACE”**

4. The Committee considers that the achievement of a closer degree of coordination of the foreign policies of the members of the North Atlantic Treaty, through the development of the “habit of consultation” on matters of common concern; would greatly strengthen the solidarity of the North Atlantic Community and increase the individual and collective capacity of its members to serve the peaceful purposes for which NATO was established. The security and well-being of the North Atlantic Community can be preserved not by defence measures alone, nor by diplomatic policies alone, but by working towards the development of coordinated policies on both fronts. In the political field, this means that while each North Atlantic Government retains full freedom of action and decision with respect to its own policy, the aim should be to achieve, through exchanging information and views, as wide an area of agreement as possible in the formulation of policies affecting the North Atlantic Community as a whole. The maximum objective is to seek to develop such close consultation between North Atlantic Governments on particular problems and such coordination of action as will best serve the common interest. The minimum objective is to ensure that action or policy on the part of any one member does not adversely affect, the common interest.

5. In reviewing the progress which has been made within NATO. In exchanging information and views and in bringing about closer consultation on foreign policy, the Committee believes that while a useful beginning has been made, a good deal more can be done in this important field.

**Scope and Nature of Continuing NATO Consultation**

6. The Committee considered the problem of the scope and nature of the political questions which might appropriately be considered within the NATO forum. In this field, it is felt that no rigid rule or “automatic” formula can be applied. Since the threat with which the North Atlantic Community is faced is global, discussions of foreign policy within NATO cannot be restricted to the North Atlantic area.

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<sup>1</sup>The Committee considered the phrase “frequent consultation” in the terms of reference of the Committee to have the general meaning of exchanges of views on policy matters with a view to possible coordinated action, rather than the technical meaning of the word “consultation” as used in Article IV of the Treaty where it clearly refers to situations of emergency.

While it would not be feasible to fix definite geographic limitations, criteria might include the degree of common interest, or the likelihood of a need for coordinated action. On the basis of distinguishing between exchanges of information and consultation, the former might well cover a wider range of topics than the latter. Certain practical factors will affect the scope of such political discussions within NATO, the existence of other forums, e.g. the United Nations, the appropriateness of prior consultation between a limited number of North Atlantic Governments on certain issues, and the participation of individual North Atlantic Governments in important world-wide or regional bodies which include other states.

7. Special attention must be paid, as explicitly recognized in Article 4 of the Treaty, to matters of urgent and immediate importance to the members of NATO, and to emergency situations where it may be necessary to consult closely on national lines of conduct affecting the interests of members of NATO as a whole. There is a continuing need, however, for effective consultation at an early stage on current problems, in order that national policies may be developed and action taken on the basis of a full awareness of the attitudes and interests of all the members of NATO. While all members of NATO have a responsibility to consult with their partners on appropriate matters, a large share of responsibility for such consultation necessarily rests on the more powerful members of the Community.

### **Role of Council and Council Deputies**

8. The Committee considers that adequate machinery already exists within NATO to facilitate closer consultation in the political field. The development of the habit of consultation will be a gradual process, and it will only be achieved as its usefulness and value are proven in practice. The Committee recognizes the primary importance of Council sessions as a forum for facilitating exchanges of information and views and for consultation at the Ministerial level. In view of the Resolution adopted by the Council at its Ottawa Session (Document C7-D/22(Final) of October 17th) providing that regular meetings of the Council should take place three or four times a year, members of the Council may wish to consider supplementing the present procedure of periodically exchanging general views on the world situation by concentrating discussion on the basis of prior agreement and preparation in the Council Deputies, on specific topics of particular for Ministers notification, of sufficient interest and urgency. It would be open to raise, if possible on the basis of prior any particular matters which seem to them importance to warrant discussion in the Council.

9. When the Council is not in session, the principal agency for political consultation and coordination of foreign policy on a NATO basis is the Council Deputies.

In reviewing the work accomplished in this field ,thus far by the Council Deputies, the Committee considers that in addition to undertaking general surveys and appreciations, the Council Deputies should be used more actively and frequently as a channel for exchanging information and views and for advance consultation on urgent and important issues. The question of procedure in these discussions should be kept under review in the Council Deputies.

10. NATO machinery might also be increasingly used for the circulation on a NATO-wide basis of basic "position" material by individual governments, e.g. texts of agreements of interest to NATO members, communiques, public statements on foreign affairs, etc.

#### **Coordination and Consultation through other Channels**

11. The Committee recognizes that the Council Deputies should not be considered as an exclusive channel, and that the facilities for consultation afforded by NAT agencies are in no sense intended to replace diplomatic and other channels which would in many cases be more appropriate. The participation of North Atlantic Governments in international organizations and associations in which they share membership with other states affords a fruitful field to which the principle of consultation might be extended. It is the view of the Committee that it would clearly be useful for individual North Atlantic Governments to take steps to ensure that their actions and attitudes in these other bodies do not conflict with the terms and purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty, to review their attitudes and actions in this light from time to time, and where necessary, to formulate common objectives for their general guidance in these other organizations and associations. The aim is not and can never be to form an exclusive "bloc" but rather to seek to attain common purposes in the approach to other international organizations and associations in which North Atlantic Governments, as well as others participate.

### **SECTION B**

#### **POSSIBLE RELATIONS BETWEEN PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES AND NATO**

12. It will be recalled that this subject was mentioned at the Ottawa session of the Council by Mr. Lange, the Foreign Minister of Norway, who suggested that thought should be given to the possible association of Parliamentary representatives in appropriate phases of NATO activity.

13. The suggestion that some form of association of Parliamentary representatives with certain phases of NATO activity would be desirable was put forward in the Committee chiefly with a view to developing an adequate understanding in Parliaments and among the general public of NATO and its objectives, and of the role which Parliamentary representatives might play in strengthening and developing the North Atlantic community. It has been found in some North Atlantic countries that the best supporters of NATO and its activities are those Members of Parliament who have had a chance to see something of the problems at first hand and in conference with colleagues from other parliaments.

14. No definite proposals were put forward as to how such an association might be developed. It was noted that the Council of Europe includes Parliamentary representatives of most North Atlantic countries, but that it also includes certain other countries. It was suggested that some form of closer association of Parliamentarians from North Atlantic countries might be developed within the framework of the North Atlantic Community, and that possibly Parliamentary advisers might be attached to North Atlantic Council delegations (in the same way as is done in the case of delegations of certain North Atlantic countries to the United Nations Assembly).

15. On the other hand, it was generally recognized by the Committee that the problems which have arisen in the relationships between the Ministerial and Parliamentary organs, for example in the Council of Europe, would apply equally to any similar arrangement in the NATO context, and that additional difficulties might arise in view of the fact that NATO is principally concerned with defence and foreign policy - fields which are primarily the responsibility of the executive branch of government. Difficulties might also arise in certain countries whose constitutional arrangements were based upon the principle of the separation of powers, and in countries in whose parliaments there were Communist elements of substantial importance. The opinion was also expressed that the establishment of a Council of Governments in itself provides for the participation of Cabinet Ministers in various fields who take the responsibility of presenting NATO programmes and objectives to their respective Parliaments, although it was noted that in the case of at least one North Atlantic country, Cabinet Ministers were not directly in contact with the legislature and could not assume this responsibility.

16. It is the opinion of the Committee that this is a subject which can best be dealt with on the basis of experience and that no general recommendations can be made at this time. It should be examined further at a later date, in the light of the constitutional and political problems involved for each of the North Atlantic Governments and the experience of other international bodies. Meanwhile each Government will, no doubt, keep the matter in mind.

## SECTION C

### **“CLOSER ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL COOPERATION DESIGNED TO PROMOTE CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC STABILITY AND WELL BEING, BOTH DURING AND AFTER THE PRESENT PERIOD OF THE DEFENCE EFFORT, WITHIN THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION OR THROUGH OTHER AGENCIES”**

#### **I. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL MATTERS**

##### **Community Implications of North Atlantic Rearmament**

17. The Committee recognizes that the most urgent common task confronting the North Atlantic countries at present is rearmament and that, while any discussion of rearmament itself or its economic impact lies outside their terms of reference, its implications for the development, of the North Atlantic community ought to be considered. The habit of cooperation is fostered by close consultation on national defence programmes and by the necessary collaboration on collective defence projects. The Committee suggests that all members of the Council should keep in mind the special opportunities which the defence programme presents for building up a spirit of cooperation in their various countries during the months that lie ahead.

18. Apart from the general effects which cooperation on defence matters may be expected to have in other fields, specific subjects on which collaboration is taking place in connection with defence programmes may provide starting points for fruitful cooperation in the civil field (e.g. the raising of industrial productivity and the promotion of standardization).

### **World-wide Economic Ties and Responsibilities of the North Atlantic Countries.**

19. The North Atlantic countries have wide industrial and commercial connections and wide responsibilities. There is no possibility that they will in any way cut themselves off from other parts of the free world and indeed it is most important for the strength and solidarity of the free world that there should be no suggestion of their doing so. The importance of maintaining relations with free countries outside the North Atlantic area, and an appreciation that most international economic problems involve countries outside, were considerations that ran through the discussions of the Committee in the economic and financial field.

### **Promotion of Economic Collaboration and Elimination of Economic Conflict within and around NATO**

20. Since the war, and to a lesser extent before it, many inter-governmental bodies have been established to deal with economic and financial matters. Some of these are under the auspices of the United Nations and have a wide membership; others are regional. Broadly speaking, it is true to say that every important international subject is covered by one or more of these bodies.

21. Members of NATO are also members of these bodies; they have worked together in them in the past and should continue to do so. Each of these bodies provides, or should provide, for economic collaboration suited to its special purposes and to its particular membership. Just as the OEEC with its limited membership is an appropriate body to supervise matters of trade and payments in Europe, so the International Materials Conference with its wide membership is suited to supervise the distribution of certain raw materials. It is clearly undesirable to try to discuss in the NATO forum all the important and complex subjects now under discussion or likely to be discussed in these and many, other bodies.

22. It is the tentative view of the Committee, subject to comments and suggestions which have been requested from the Financial and Economic Board; that NATO can do useful work in the economic and financial field, but that if the work is to be useful it must be carried on within certain limits. The most obvious field for NATO work appears to be defence production and finance. Here the members NATO have a unique common interest and common concern which is not shared in the same degree by outside countries. NATO machinery can be used to, reduce conflict in economic policies relating to defence:

23. It is the further view of the Committee, that NATO countries share common interests and concerns in economic fields wider than defence production and finance. Preliminary views on these matters, including suggestions regarding the role of the Council Deputies and questions regarding the relationships between NATO and existing international bodies such as OEEC, have also been sent to the FEB for comments and suggestions. Finally, and more broadly, it is the opinion of the Committee that the Council Deputies should undertake a study of the Organization and the coordination of its activities with the activities of other international organizations, taking into account any conclusions that may be reached by the Temporary Council Committee.

### **Movements of Labour**

24. Increasing labour mobility may prove to be a field, where a NATO initiative may produce results even though the question has been considered in other international bodies. Obviously, the question, of movements of labour in all parts of the world goes far beyond what can be adequately discussed in any NATO forum. Nevertheless, NATO has obvious advantages for facilitating agreement with respect to such labour mobility as will directly or indirectly help the defence programmes of member countries or stabilize their economic and political conditions. The movement of workers and their families has played an essential part in the growth of the North Atlantic countries and in the creation of strong ties among them and with other free countries.

25. There are three types of labour movements: temporary, longer term, and permanent. Each type of movement may promote defence production. Of course, there are many obstacles, such as shortage of housing and other facilities, to be kept in mind, and there are many groups, such as organized labour, whose interests must be considered in dealing with these three types of labour movements. Some specific proposals have been put before the Committee, but it has not yet been possible to carry forward a review of these and other suggestions. The Committee believes that further consideration should be given to the possibilities and problems of movements of labour within the North Atlantic area (including a review of legislative difficulties) with a view to proposing practical measures to facilitate such movements from North Atlantic countries with excess manpower to North Atlantic countries where manpower could be effectively utilized. Such consideration might involve a meeting of experts in the field, and should take into account the results of the conference on the subject that has very recently been convened in Brussels.

### **Other Proposals in the Economic Field**

26. The Committee has briefly reviewed a number of other economic and financial subjects put forward for discussion. It is the tentative view of the Committee that a number of them are unsuited to action or even to adequate discussion in NATO. The Committee has referred a number of questions relating to trade barriers to the FEB for comments and suggestions (along with some more general matters mentioned above). Committee proposes that further consideration should be given to possible NATO action in the fields of industrial production and productivity, employment and economic stability, and the production and distribution of raw materials. The Committee agreed at its first meeting to postpone indefinitely further discussion of certain financial proposals relating to investment and foreign exchange.

## **II. COOPERATION IN THE SOCIAL FIELD**

27. The Committee believes that this may prove a fruitful field for collaboration within the NATO framework, although it would wish to warn other members of the Council against expecting any early or spectacular results.

28. The Committee's attention was called to the work of the Brussels Treaty Organization in this field. The work has apparently been carried on slowly and carefully on a wide front. It has many aspects including international labour codes and conventions, reciprocal agreements relating to social security benefits, facilitation of movement of many different types of labour across national boundaries, exchange of statistical and industrial information, and various activities relating to health and medicine.

29. The Committee's attention was also drawn to arrangements worked out between the Nordic countries where, for example, there exist reciprocal agreements relating to accident insurance old age pensions, unemployment insurance and family allowances. Attention was also drawn to the work of the Council of Europe in this field.

30. As yet there has been no opportunity for any detailed discussion of these diverse and highly technical matters. However the attention of the Council is drawn to the following general points which emerged in a preliminary discussion:

- (a) A superstructure of international agreements and arrangements, in the social field can only be built up if there is a sound foundation of domestic policies and programmes, all of which depend on financial support;

- (b) There should exist in a central organisation the responsibility both to press forward bilateral and multilateral agreements and also to disseminate general information;
- (c) Bilateral conventions are important means by which progress can be made towards multilateral agreements. It was noted that the multilateral agreements reached under the Brussels Treaty Organization contained provisions for the accession of other countries and that the network of bilateral agreements can be extended to other countries;
- (d) Although the background of the five countries represented in the Brussels Treaty organization is essentially similar, considerable difficulties have sometimes been experienced in reaching agreements. Greater difficulties may be anticipated in NATO.

Nevertheless the experience within the Nordic countries, and of the Brussels Treaty Organization, has been that the social field is one of the principal areas where constructive work can be done and a more detailed study of what, has been done hitherto, and of the possibilities of cooperation in the field, would seem to be desirable.

31. If the Council agrees that further study should be given to these, matters it would be useful to call together a group of experts with experience of previous international discussions of collaboration in the social field and ask them to consider, under carefully drafted terms of reference, which parts of the work of the Brussels Treaty Organization, of the Council of Europe, and among the Nordic countries, might be taken up and applied amongst any or all of the other North Atlantic countries.

## **SECTION D**

### **COLLABORATION IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURE AND PUBLIC INFORMATION**

32. The Committee has surveyed in a preliminary way a large number of possible methods of collaboration in the fields of culture and public information. Its attention was drawn to the work of the Brussels Treaty Organisation, the Nordic countries, and the Council of Europe, to the many existing arrangements for cultural contact across the North Atlantic and also to a number of suggestions put forward by the NATO Information Service.

33. A number of general points, relating both to matters of substance and machinery, emerged from this survey:

- (a) Fundamentally, it is desirable to stimulate public interest in the idea of a North Atlantic Community and in discussion of its common problems and their solution;
- (b) If interest and discussion are to be stimulated amongst a large number of individuals and groups, a good deal of initiative will be needed on the part of individual North Atlantic Governments; and this individual initiative will have to be supplemented and, if necessary, coordinated by central initiative on the part of NATO itself;
- (c) It is desirable (as mentioned in Section C above) to publicize the cooperative aspects of the rearmament programme and, as collaboration develops in non-military fields, this should be publicized too;
- (d) In the cultural field, as in the social field, progress can be made by means of bilateral conventions between pairs of countries leading towards broader arrangements;
- (e) A primary objective should be to encourage the free flow of ideas by reducing existing barriers, by encouraging contacts between kindred official agencies and private groups in different North Atlantic countries, and by facilitating the movement of people;
- (f) This objective cannot be achieved merely by erecting a framework of intergovernmental agreements and conventions; it may require changes in national legislation; it also requires a solid fabric of practical day-to-day collaboration.

34. The Committee noted the activities of the Brussels Treaty Organization in the field of cultural cooperation, as well as the long-standing practice of public, and private bodies in the Nordic countries of cooperating closely in this field. The Brussels Treaty Powers, for example, have made progress in the encouragement of travel, the reduction of barriers impeding the flow of cultural materials, teaching methods, university standards, training courses for government officials and others, cooperation in the fields of film and radio exchanges, exchanges of documentation and publications and the development of closer contact between similar government departments. In the Nordic countries there exist cultural commissions consisting of representatives from the Ministries concerned and from the various branches of cultural activities dealing with kindred problems. Some North Atlantic countries that are members either of the Nordic group or of the Brussels Treaty group have already concluded cultural conventions with other North Atlantic countries outside their own group.

The Committee believes that the activities among the Nordic countries and in the Brussels Treaty Organization should be examined in greater detail as a basis for exploring the possibility of closer cultural cooperation between some or all of the North Atlantic countries. It also recognises the importance of examining the work done by the Council of Europe in this field

35. The Committee believes that particular consideration should be given to the possibility of early action in the following fields:

Promotion of contacts between official bodies, private groups, and individuals, concerned with kindred problems;

Exchanges of students, professors, editors, journalists and others capable of influencing public opinion;

Measures to facilitate travel of individuals.

36. If a conference of experts were called to consider NATO collaboration in the social field (along lines described in paragraph 15 of Section C above) the same conference might be able to consider collaboration in some parts of the cultural field.

37. The attention of the Committee was called to proposals which had been invited from the NATO Information Service. These include a comprehensive three-year programme in the information field and also some immediate projects in the same field. The Committee expressed the view that before any programme, long-term or immediate, went forward to North Atlantic Governments for consideration it should be carefully examined in the Council Deputies.

## **SECTION E**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

38. The Committee has briefly reviewed a summary of the principles which seemed to emerge from consideration of the specific topics covered in the foregoing sections of this Interim Report. The Committee believes that further work in this field would serve a useful purpose.

39. A number of suggestions are made at various points in this Interim Report. It is the hope of the Committee that the Council will discuss and adopt the Interim Report as a whole. However, the following suggestions are those which members of the Committee are particularly anxious to call to the attention of the Council:

- (a) "There is a continuing need ..... for effective consultation at an early stage on current problems, in order that national policies may be developed and action taken on the basis of a full awareness of the, attitudes and interests, of all the members of NATO (para. 7.)."
- (b) "It is the opinion of the Committee that the Council Deputies should undertake a study of the Organization and the coordination of its activities with the activities of other international organizations, taking into account any conclusions that may be reached by the Temporary Council Committee.(para.23)

Other suggestions in which the Council may have a special interest are as follows:

- (c) "The Committee suggests that all members of the Council should keep in mind the special opportunities which the defence programme presents for building up a spirit of cooperation in their various countries during the months that lie ahead". (para.17)
- (d) "The Committee believes that further consideration should be given to the possibilities and problems of movements of labour with the North Atlantic area .... with a view to proposing practical measures to facilitate such movements from North Atlantic countries with excess manpower to North Atlantic countries where manpower could be effectively utilized". (para.25)
- (e) The experience within the Nordic countries, and of the Brussels Treaty Organization, has been that the social field is one of the principal areas where constructive work can be done and a more detailed study of what, has been done hitherto, and of the possibilities of cooperation in the field, would seem to be desirable". (para.30)

A similar study is proposed in the field. of cultural cooperation. (para.34)

- (f) The Committee believes that particular consideration should be given to the possibility of early action in the following fields:
  - Promotion of contacts between official bodies, private groups, and individuals, concerned with kindred problems;
  - Exchanges of students, professors, editors, journalists, and other capable of influencing public opinion;
  - Measures to facilitate travel of individuals (para.35)

40. It is clear that this report is of an interim character. Much work remains to be done in many fields. Some studies have already been initiated which have not yet reached a point where they could be included in this report; and there may well be further possibilities that have not yet been considered. Therefore the Committee recommends:

- (a) That the Council adopt this Interim Report; and
- (b) that the Council continue the Committee with the same membership and terms of reference.

**19TH FEBRUARY, 1952**  
**REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC**  
**COMMUNITY TO THE NINTH SESSION OF THE NORTH**  
**ATLANTIC COUNCIL(...)**

## I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its Eighth Session, the North Atlantic Council considered and adopted a report by the Committee on the North Atlantic Community, C8-D/6, and accepted the recommendations set out therein at paragraph 40, page 21. It invited the Committee to continue its work with the same terms of reference and membership, and, in particular, to study the question of the movement of labour (discussed in paragraphs 24 and 25 of the report), taking care not to duplicate the efforts of other international organisations in this field. (C8-R/5, paragraph 46).

2. The Committee set up a Working Group which held a series of meetings between 10th January, 1952, and 5th February, 1952, and prepared a draft report for consideration by the Committee. The Committee met in Lisbon on 18th February, 1952, and approved this report in its present form.

3. In view of the short interval which has elapsed since the Eighth Session of the Council at Rome, it has only been possible for the Committee to make progress in a limited field in the continuation of the work outlined in its previous report. As indicated below, the Committee is now ready to propose to the Council the adoption of more specific programmes of action in the fields of movement of labour, and the exchange of persons in the educational field, and to report continuing study of informational needs. The Committee wishes to emphasize that the process of achieving cohesive relationships among the countries of the North Atlantic Community is necessarily a slow one, and that it would be a mistake to expect rapid or spectacular achievements. In this field it is necessary to build carefully on a solid foundation. The immediate and urgent aim of the North Atlantic Treaty is the common defence.

The degree of success which is attained in defence cooperation will in large part determine the progress which can be made in strengthening the Atlantic Community in its wider aspects. The sense of community, the experience, and the habits of cooperation which the development of collective defence has engendered form the essential basis for the growth of collaboration in fields other than defence.

4. For this reason the Committee wishes to call to the attention of the Council certain positive steps which have been taken since the Eighth Session of the Council which represent substantial progress in establishing closer relationships between the countries which are members of the Treaty Organisation:

First, a collective examination of the capabilities of member governments in relation to defence programmes has been completed by the Temporary Council Committee and is reflected in its report to this session of the Council. The results, of this consultation, and the experience gained in the process, can have an important bearing on further cooperation in all of the fields covered by the Treaty, military, economic, social, and political.

Second, the Council Deputies have proposed a reorganisation of the civilian agencies of the Treaty Organisation, which, if approved by the Council, will strengthen the institutions of the Treaty and provide for much closer coordination of the efforts, of member governments, and for clarifying the relations between NATO and other international organisations.

Third, five of the member governments together with representatives of the German Federal Republic meeting in the Paris Conference on the European Defence Community, are negotiating agreements which provide for extremely close coordination in the defence field. The establishment of the European Defence Community within the North Atlantic Treaty framework would be a significant step towards the long-term goal of developing the Atlantic Community.

5. The Committee feels that the long term development of the North Atlantic Community is essential not only for our present purposes, but also for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening the coalition against the day when the threat to our security, which gave it birth, itself diminishes. The existence of close ties among the members of the Community will be most important for dealing with the many problems of adjustment - economic, political and social - which can be expected to appear at that time.

6. The enduring nature of the North Atlantic Community must rest on something broader and deeper than military co operation alone. Indeed, this is explicit in the Atlantic Pact itself, through Article 2, and is reflected in the growing habit of consultation and feeling of community within the group. This concept of the "North Atlantic Community" cannot easily be defined. Nor does it necessarily have to express itself always and immediately in institutional terms. But the idea itself is of vital importance and advantage should be taken of every opportunity to transform it into reality.

7. The Committee feels, however, that this transformation, though essential, will not be easy, indeed, it may not even be possible if economic collaboration does not develop and increase; if the members of the North Atlantic Community do not take early and concrete steps to liberalise and expand trade between them and with other friendly countries. They must give their peoples the hope of greater human welfare by increased production and exchange of goods on an easier and wider basis than is now possible.

8. The Committee is conscious of the fact that questions of economic co-operation are already being examined by numerous international agencies, many of them with wider membership than NATO; and that duplication and, unnecessary over-lapping should be avoided. The Committee is also conscious of the difficulty and even the danger of attempting to liberalise trading policies and practices within a group, the members of which have important trading relations with other countries and, in some cases, have already developed special and constructive arrangements with countries outside this group.

9. Nevertheless, NATO has an important interest in the expansion and freeing of trade, and its members should study what role they might play in this respect. This may require working out co-operative arrangements with other bodies, of which the OEEC might be particularly mentioned. The initiative in proposing such arrangements might come from the OEEC itself, but if and when this is taken, NATO should be quick to take advantage of it. Possibly some form of joint consultation and joint action with OEEC in the purely economic field, could be agreed on. If so, it would certainly prove of the greatest value to both organisations.

10. The Committee calls attention to the urgency of this problem of economic co-operation without which other forms of co-operation are not likely, in the long run, to prove effective. A committee, however, representing only five of the countries of NATO, and not including the most important economically, is not the best agency to make recommendations for a specific programme of action in this field.

For this and - for other reasons - the responsibilities of the Committee should be transferred to the Council itself where the views of all members can be obtained. This recommendation is all the more appropriate because of the proposal to maintain the Council in continuous session by which it would be possible to give this whole question of non-military co-operation the active consideration it should have on the highest level.

11. Therefore, the Committee recommends that, if and when the Council is established in continuous session, the functions of the Committee shall be transferred to the new Council. A draft of a resolution for consideration by the Council is attached as Annex A.

## **II.COORDINATION AND CONSULTATION ON FOREIGN POLICY**

12. In reviewing the report adopted at the Eighth Session of the Council (C8 D/6) the Committee stresses the importance which it attaches to the provisions of Section A of the report dealing with co-ordination and consultation on foreign policy.

13. It is felt that this section of the report does not require elaboration but rather practical application. The attention of the Council is drawn to the continuing need for effective consultation at an early stage on current political questions or common concern. This is essential in order that national policies may be developed and action taken on the basis of an awareness of the attitudes and interests of all the members of NATO.

14. The proposals for reorganisation referred to in paragraph 4 above will have an important bearing on the field of coordination and consultation on foreign policy. It is the hope of the Committee that the new procedures will be utilised by member governments to the fullest extent for frequent exchanges of information and views on urgent and important issues. Such procedures will be effective to the extent to which North Atlantic Treaty Governments are prepared to grant their representatives the necessary measure of authority and discretion to participate fully in such discussions.

### III. THE MOVEMENT OF LABOUR

15. In the report of the Committee adopted at the Eighth Session of the Council, it was stated in paragraph 25 that:

“The Committee believes that further consideration should be given to the possibilities and problems of movements of labour within the North Atlantic area. (including a review of legislative difficulties) with a view to proposing practical measures to facilitate such movements from North Atlantic countries with excess manpower to North Atlantic countries where manpower could be effectively utilised. Such consideration might involve a meeting of experts in the field, and should take into account the results of the conference on the subject that has very recently been convened in Brussels.”

16. The Committee has reviewed the action being taken by other organisation in this field, and is now ready to propose certain practical measures to the Council for action by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and by member governments.

#### **(a) Action taken by other organisations**

17. The International Labour Office: The concern of the ILO with migration has been of long standing. A permanent Migration Committee exists, but its most useful practical work has been in the field of technical assistance. In 1949 the ILO adopted a “Migration for Employment Convention” which has been ratified by the United Kingdom and New Zealand. In October 1951 the ILO held a conference on migration in Naples which adopted plans for a Consultative Council on European Migration.

18. The OEEC Manpower Committee: This Committee, established in 1948, and numerous working parties established by it, have considered the complex of problems relating to manpower, unemployment, migration and labour mobility, and have prepared a considerable volume of reports which have been accepted by the OEEC Council and which provide valuable information in this field.

19. Council of Europe: The Consultative Assembly in 1950 adopted a recommendation to establish a European Manpower Board to coordinate the study of manpower problems, including migration. The Assembly also adopted a recommendation that the Council of Ministers should establish a European organisation to deal with refugees.

A committee of experts on refugees and surplus population is studying these matters and has written a report recommending, *inter alia*, that a special committee within the Assembly be established, consisting both of members of governments and parliamentarians.

20. **The Brussels Migration Conference:** The conference of sixteen nations, which met at Brussels in December 1951, agreed to form a "provisional intra-governmental committee for the movement of migrants from Europe", and established a budget to finance the movement of approximately 116,000 migrants from Europe to North and South America, Australia and New Zealand. Tentative quotas were established for the countries receiving migrants. The conference did not discuss the question of intra-European migration of labour, since this question was not regarded as being within its frame of reference.

21. **The Temporary Council Committee:** The TCC report draws attention to the serious surplus, of manpower in Italy, and to the fact that manpower limitations in other areas may act as a hindrance to production, particularly the production of coal.

**(b) summary of the general manpower situation in the North Atlantic community**

22. The following is a highly summary estimate of the current manpower situation. A more detailed picture could be developed from available information, but, since there are many gaps, in the information available from any one source, it is believed that the elaboration of such details should be left to the expert study recommended below.

23. Whereas prior to 1951 the manpower problem in Europe consisted almost exclusively of surpluses, (with the exception of chronic shortages in almost all mining areas and prevalent but manageable agricultural shortages) the steady increase in total employment from 1947 onwards has served to change the problem from one of simple surplus to one of surplus in some areas and shortage in others. The surpluses, highly concentrated in Italy and West Germany, greatly exceed in magnitude and as a social and political problem, the present shortages and any which may be reasonably expected even if the maximum increase in European production is brought about. The need for continuing migration from Europe to overseas territories is thus apparent.

24. Certain general manpower facts and predictions can be positively stated:
- (a) There will continue to be a great shortage of miners.
  - (b) Building trades labour will be in generally short supply.
  - (c) Shortages will grow and new shortages appear in engineering, metal trades and steel.
  - (d) Housing will be a severe limitation upon full labour utilisation in virtually every shortage area.
  - (e) Shortages will generally be critical in direct proportion to degree of skill.

25. It can be stated that Norway and the United Kingdom will be increasingly characterised by full employment; Belgium, Canada and the United States, while experiencing unemployment in some sectors, will have some degree of shortage in others: France will experience some shortages and the degree to which domestic readjustments will compensate for them is problematical; the Netherlands while characterised by a growing over-all population in younger age groups, may have shortages in some sectors of the population; Italy will continue to have very large and pressing surpluses in a significant range of skilled and unskilled workers; West Germany will have coexisting shortages and large surpluses; Denmark and Luxembourg will be relatively stable, with spot shortages. If production output in Europe reaches the 25% increase goal set by the OEEC Council, all the shortage aspects in European countries of these predictions will be aggravated.

26. A study conducted by the DPB staff for the TCC included a survey of the manpower needs of the North Atlantic Treaty countries on the continent of Europe under the impact of a programme of near capacity utilisation of defence industry in the nine major materiel categories. It showed that, at the peak production year (1953-1954) over half a million additional workers would be required. The manpower needs for other equipment and services for augmented military personnel, and the requirements of the infrastructure programme would be in addition, as would any needs of the other North Atlantic Treaty countries. The conclusion which may be drawn from this study is that, even after allowance is made for internal measures in each country, these additional manpower requirements could only be met by movement of labour among the North Atlantic Treaty countries.

27. It is apparent that the general approach to this problem described in paragraphs 17, 18 and 19 above has produced little effective action by Governments, although it has produced much valuable information. The Brussels Conference has devoted its attention to the overseas movement of labour from Europe.

However, without duplicating the work of other agencies, there remains an area in which it should be possible for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to take effective action, since the manpower shortages which may be expected as a result of the steadily increasing needs of defence production should provide a direct stimulus for action by member governments. In thus attempting to increase productivity by the fullest utilisation of the manpower resources of member governments, a first step can be taken in solving the broader social problem which was referred to in paragraph 15 of this report, and which should continue to concern the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation as well as other agencies acting in this field.

**(c) Recommendations**

28. The Committee endorses paragraph 14 of the resolution put forward by the TCC and, in support thereof, recommends that the permanent North Atlantic Treaty Organization should:

- (a) Keep the general problems relating to the freedom of movement of labour between member countries under review and devote, in particular, its attention to the problem of eliminating general or specific manpower shortages which may hinder present or planned defence production by:
  - (i) providing effective manpower planning through the necessary action by the Treaty organisation and by member governments, and
  - (ii) member governments taking such steps as are necessary and practicable, including the admission of foreign labour, to eliminate such shortages whenever they are shown to exist or to be imminent.
- (b) Make recommendations for eliminating such manpower shortages, its consideration to include the following elements:
  - (i) assessment of the resources and facilities of existing organisations for providing analyses of shortages and for assisting Governments in the solution of problems of housing, training, transportation and administrative questions;
  - (ii) consideration of the most effective manner of presenting data on present and prospective shortages of manpower;
  - (iii) an analysis of the legislative and other difficulties which impede the movement of labour;
  - (iv) Steps which should be taken to obtain the views of organised labour within member countries.

#### IV. SOCIAL COOPERATION

29. After reviewing the various possibilities suggested in the report to the Eighth Session, and after obtaining further information on the Council of Europe's activities in the social field, the Committee has reached the following conclusions. To a large extent, cooperation in the social field between the European members of the North Atlantic Community is already the subject of active consideration by the Brussels Treaty Organisation, the Council of Europe, and the Nordic countries. There would appear to be little that could be done by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation which would not duplicate the work of these other organisations, unless there were an opportunity for trans-Atlantic collaboration between members of NATO. However, in view of the differences in the development of social legislation and practices on opposite sides of the Atlantic, and particularly because of the effect of the federal systems of the United States and Canada, where responsibility for social legislation is divided between federal governments on the one hand and state and provincial governments on the other, there do not appear at this stage to be any significant areas for such trans-Atlantic cooperation.

30. The Committee recommends that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation keep this subject under review so that action might be taken as soon as specific opportunities appear. Meanwhile, the meeting of experts referred to in paragraph 31 of the first report of the Committee need not be held at this time.

#### V. CULTURAL COOPERATION

31. The long-term projects for cultural co-operation mentioned in the Committee's interim report, should be further considered and put into effect as soon as the Council feels it is desirable to do so. Meanwhile, the Committee recommends for immediate attention a limited number of experimental practical projects with the understanding that this should not prejudice later consideration of and action on the other longer range projects.

32. Such immediate projects would include the following:

- (1) A scheme of educational exchange which would give to university students in the various North Atlantic Treaty countries the opportunity of taking a semester or year of their chosen course of studies at a university in another North Atlantic Treaty country: This is a long-term objective. As a first stage it is proposed that experimental projects should be undertaken by pairs of countries which would provide for the exchange of students across the Atlantic.

The studies taken abroad by these students should be credited toward their degrees by their home universities. Arrangements should be worked out for an exchange of a small number of qualified students and comparable qualifications should be established for the particular courses in which these students would be exchanged.

(2) Encouragement of travel by groups of young people:

Young people in the North Atlantic Treaty countries should be given the opportunity of using their vacation to travel across the Atlantic in order to gain a knowledge of the life and problems in other North Atlantic Treaty countries and to develop a consciousness of the reality of the North Atlantic community. A study should be made of the problems involved in the provision of administrative facilities, facilities for group travel at low cost, and the planning of specific tours with a definite educational aim. The cooperation of existing youth and exchange organisations should be enlisted. The Committee recognised the importance of the establishment of leave centres for service personnel in the NAT countries, and the possibilities which they afford for educational purposes.

(3) Seminars of teachers: Such seminars could be organized along the lines of those sponsored by the Brussels Treaty Organization for the teachers of the five Treaty nations. Subjects of study might include the definition of those aspects of the culture and ideals common to the civilizations of the North Atlantic Treaty countries which could be introduced into teaching practice. The seminars might aim at collating the results of the studies in such a form that they could be widely distributed among interested authorities.

33. The Committee recommends that the Council Deputies consider and make recommendations concerning the projects listed in the preceding paragraph and the additional objectives described in paragraph 35 of the Committee's report to the Eighth Session.

## VI. INFORMATION ACTIVITIES

34. In paragraph 37 of its report to the Eighth Session, the Committee referred to a programme which the NAT Information Service had under consideration. The Committee has reviewed the preliminary recommendations of the Information Service concerning this programme. It is apparent that much more needs to be done, both by member governments and by the Treaty Organization itself, to increase public knowledge of NATO objectives and activities, and to encourage awareness of the community of interest among North Atlantic Treaty countries.

The Committee wishes to endorse the following comment on this subject which was made by the Chairman of the Council Deputies in his report to the Seventh Session of the Council (C7-D/3):

“I believe that too little is known of the growing effectiveness of the common defence forces. This is primarily a matter for national action, but national information services can, through the NATO Information Service, be provided with more effective materials to assist in the problem of developing strong public support. The NAT Information Service, has made a good beginning, but its scope and effectiveness must be increased. If this is properly done, increased public understanding should be of the strongest possible support to governments in working towards adequate defence measures.

“It may be that the presentation of NATO to the public has tended to over-stress the burdens of defence. This may have given the impression that military strength was the end and not the means to an end chosen by the North Atlantic Community. Therefore, ways and means should be found to emphasize to public opinion in each country that military strength provides the shield behind which the Atlantic community can continue its progress, with closer cooperation toward peaceful objectives as the basis of the policies of each member and of the common effort.”

35. The preliminary studies of this subject made by the Committee have revealed major problems as regards basic policy, financial support, and form of organization, which can be resolved only by agreement between all member governments. The Committee has taken note of proposals for the setting up under the reorganized Council of an Information Advisory Committee (see D-D(51)277) or Information Policy Committee (see D-D(52)44).

36. Such a committee, if and when it is set up, should also make recommendations to the Council on methods of encouraging voluntary bodies whose aim is to foster public interest in the Atlantic Community and the work of NATO.

37. The Committee has noted that the Information Service is reviewing its programme in detail with a view to indicating the relative priority of possible projects designed to accomplish the following objectives:

- (a) Increased awareness of the work of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the contribution of each individual country towards achieving the solidarity of the North Atlantic community;
- (b) The promotion by educational and other means, of a sense of participation in the North Atlantic Community.
- (c) The increase of knowledge of each other's countries and of their common civilization.

38. The Council may also wish to consider, through the Permanent Representatives or otherwise, how parliamentary interest in the North Atlantic Community and its problems may be developed along the most constructive lines.

#### **DRAFT RESOLUTION ON COMMITTEE ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY**

#### **THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL**

Having considered the report by the Committee on the North Atlantic Community (C9-D/8);

1. Approves the report;
2. Recommends that the functions and terms of reference of the Committee shall be transferred to the full Council as soon as that Council is established in continuous session.

**CORRIGENDUM TO DOCUMENT: C9-D/8**

**REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC  
COMMUNITY  
TO THE NINTH SESSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL**

1. Paragraph 36, page 10:

Delete existing text and substitute the following:

“36. Such a committee, if and when it is set up, should also make recommendations to the Council on methods of encouraging voluntary bodies whose aim is to foster public interest in the Atlantic Community and the work of NATO”.

2. After paragraph 37. page 10:

Add a new paragraph, as follows:

\* \* \* \* \*

“38. The Council may also wish to consider, through the Permanent Representatives or otherwise, how parliamentary interest in the North Atlantic Community and its problems may be developed along the most constructive lines”.

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