

national organization, but the effective power and prestige of the council will be diminished, if not destroyed, if any one of the united nations refuses to discharge its pledged word to provide its share of the forces required for the maintenance of its authority. The united nations charter will succeed if nations everywhere accept their individual responsibility. While there are provisions for regionalism, those provisions, as was mentioned by the hon. member for Muskoka-Ontario (Mr. Macdonnell) this afternoon, should not be permitted to be so interpreted by any nation as to dilute the absolute responsibility of any nations to participate in international expeditions to prevent or punish aggression when directed by the council to do so, even though not directly affected and even though the cause is not within their regional or hemispheric area.

I know this charter will be approved, and I hope unanimously, by parliament, but approval will be only lip service to its idealistic principles unless parliament faces the realistic problem of assuring, not only by words but by pledges, that Canada will contribute to and make available to the security council the necessary armed forces, assistance and facilities, including the rights of unhampered international air passage across Canada and the use of her airports for the maintenance of international peace and security.

This is not a charter to be entered into lightly. We are assuming tremendous obligations. Canada cannot fail to accept great responsibilities if her standing among the powers in the years to come is to be commensurate with her service to mankind during the years of the war. It is now an offence against the laws of mankind, according to the charter of the international military tribunal, for any nation to accept any responsibilities to enter into sovereign treaty rights and then fail to carry them out. One of the crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the tribunal which has now been set up in Europe for the trial of war criminals is:

Crimes against peace. Namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing.

That is a great step. It places every nation, and the leaders of all nations, in the category of international criminals if in any way they act contrary to the principles of the treaties which they undertake.

There are other questions which were unanswered in the speech of the Minister of Justice. I realize full well that the measure

of Canada's contribution will depend on an agreement to be brought before parliament at a later date, but I contend that the people of Canada have the right during the course of this debate to receive a frank and full statement from the government as to the extent of the obligations that Canada under the charter, which the government will consent to on behalf of the people of Canada, is prepared to assume. For if we pass this charter without that declaration, it seems to me it will be no more than the acceptance of the shadow of the charter without the acceptance of the substance.

The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs might say, "We do not know the extent of Canada's contribution until the agreement is made." That may be true in part. We cannot look into the future in this regard, but what parliament has the right to know now is whether Canada's contribution is to be qualified, whether it is to be restricted, or whether it is to be an all-out contribution, one proportionate to Canada's importance and her contribution to the last war.

The next question is: Will the agreement fixing Canada's responsibility contain a provision—I hope it will not—restricting in any way the availability of Canadian contingents for service anywhere in the world? This question should be answered now. I believe as far as Canada is concerned she should give consideration immediately to the maintenance of those great international defence works in our country which had their conception in war. The Alaska highway and the great airports stretching from Whitehorse to Southampton island must be maintained in our own interests, and in the interests of the defence of North America, so that if again war should come, which we all hope it will not, Canada, which was so often referred to at San Francisco as the potential battlefield of the future, will not be in the dangerous position of unpreparedness in which she found herself in 1939. I ask the minister, are these great defence works to be maintained? Will they be made available if required by the council as international bases? It is my settled conviction that the charter will not lessen the responsibility of each of the nations within the British commonwealth of nations and empire of maintaining its own defences, and maintaining such defences that a system of collective empire security may readily be established should danger threaten. Britain should no longer be permitted, much less required by force of circumstances and the failure of other parts of the empire to do their respective shares, to contribute more