

NATO

achieve such a world are therefore a necessity; they should be made as effective as possible. Physical security now, and in the long run, can be secured only if the nations of the world recognize that certain conditions must obtain. I believe that there are five such conditions; in the long run the final three offer the only hope for lasting security.

1. Prevention of the erosion or serious imbalance of the nuclear arms stalemate which has so far been successful in deterring a nuclear holocaust;

2. Co-operation in preventing, or in promptly settling conflicts of a nature that might, by their location, escalate into nuclear war;

3. Participation in international peacekeeping forces and in non-military initiatives which will foster trust and strength in international conflict-resolution procedures and in an effective system of world order;

4. Dedication of adequate resources to the study and negotiation of arms limitations and disarmament agreements;

5. Contribution of an increasing percentage of national resources to activities which are designed to relieve or remove such causes of unrest as economic insecurity.

These conditions must prevail in the international community if mankind is to survive the 20th century. International mechanisms now exist to co-ordinate and further activities leading to these ends; they deserve and require the support of all governments, of men of all political leanings.

The Canadian government must consider which of these five conditions is deserving of the greatest expenditure at any given time, and toward which Canadian activity can be most effectively directed. Because none of the conditions can obtain through the efforts of any single nation, Canada's decisions in these matters must be taken after consultation with other states in the world community, but not necessarily with the same states in each instance.

[Translation]

The foregoing, Mr. Speaker, are some of the foreign policy considerations which are particularly pertinent to any discussion or evaluation of a Canadian defence policy. They make obvious the requirement that the defence policy of a country such as Canada must not be permitted either to estrange itself from its foreign policy or to become the dominant influence in that policy. Still more important, our defence policy must not

[Mr. Trudeau.]

become totally dominated by any single military consideration or alliance. The broad foundation of all Canada's external relations must be its foreign policy. Flowing out of that foreign policy—and as a part of it—is our defence policy. The defence policy in turn will determine the nature of our military alliances and the deployment of our forces.

Described in these terms, it becomes apparent that Canada's NATO relationship is not, primarily, a military decision. It is a political decision. As such the Canadian government is acting in a responsible fashion when it observes that the European members of NATO now have a combined population of 300 millions, and a combined Gross National Product of 500 billion United States dollars. The remarkable post-World War II recovery of the states of Western Europe has increased considerably their capability of defending their own region. This increased capability in turn reduces the present need for a sustained Canadian military contribution.

I might emphasize as well that, apart from the United States, Canada is at present the only member of NATO which is carrying out an extensive NATO military role on two continents. In summary, we feel that Europe, twenty years after NATO, can defend itself better and we hope that NATO's European member countries, with the support of the United States and Canada, can reach some agreement with the Warsaw Pact countries to de-escalate the present tension. For our part we are not now advocating a reduction of NATO's total military strength, although we hope that this may become possible, but a readjustment of commitments among NATO members.

It follows, and our defence review has made it clear, that a Canadian military presence in Europe is not important so much on the grounds that we fulfill a military role as we do a political role. We contribute in some measure to the "resolve" of the organization; to the will of the Alliance to respond to any aggression. This being the case, the Canadian military function in NATO may be seen to be a manifestation of our political policy.

This is consistent with one of the important roles of NATO, which is political—the accommodation with the Warsaw Pact countries of the outstanding differences between the two alliances and agreement on arms controls and arms limitation.

It is this search for détente which is one of the compelling reasons for remaining a member of NATO. Quite apart from any military