

*North Atlantic Treaty*

Article 4 of this treaty provides that the members of the North Atlantic community shall consult together about this new and sinister kind of danger, indirect aggression. This does not mean that they propose to interfere in each other's internal affairs or hinder the healthy political growth of any member of the group. They will be able, however, to co-operate with a view to ensuring that no temporary difficulty in any state is exploited to impose by force a communist or, indeed, a fascist regime against the wishes of its people and with aid from outside.

We come now, Mr. Speaker, to article 5, which is really the heart of this draft treaty. Article 5 contains the most serious commitment which is placed on the states that signed this alliance. Should the treaty fail to achieve its main purpose, which is peace, article 5 will come into effect. If, in spite of our precautions, there is an armed attack on any of the parties in either Europe or North America, all the members of the group will assist the one which is attacked. Each will do so, and I quote from this article:

—by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

It is specifically provided that action under this clause shall cease as soon as the security council is able to take measures under the charter to restore international peace.

Under this treaty, then, each North Atlantic nation declares that it will in future consider an armed attack against any one of its allies as an armed attack against its own territory. An armed attack against one will be an armed attack against all. That does not mean that Canada would be automatically at war if one of our allies were attacked. We would, however, be bound, in company with the other members of the alliance, to take promptly the action which we deemed necessary to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

I have heard no one suggest that the full weight of the North Atlantic alliance will be brought into play over some minor event of little consequence. In whatever action is necessary, however, we agree to play our proper part in co-operation with the others to restore peace. This action on our part may be small or it may be great; it may be brief or it may be of long duration. We shall have to decide upon it in terms of the situation which makes it necessary and the end to be achieved.

To be properly understood, I suggest that the commitment under this article should be compared with others which Canada has been prepared to take. Such a comparison

[Mr. Pearson.]

has already been made during this discussion. When we entered into war with Germany and Japan, the Canadian people accepted a commitment far more general, far more exacting than those imposed by the terms of this treaty. The charter of the United Nations also imposes on us an extensive commitment. Article 43 of the charter provides that military agreements shall be entered into by the member states for the purpose of placing military force at the disposal of the security council. Once those military agreements have been completed, we shall be committed in this country to giving military support to the United Nations at the call of the security council. We are, moreover, bound to do more than that in obedience to the decision for the security council. As you know, the charter gives that council the right to impose economic or financial measures, blockades, or other forms of sanction short of war. I think it is important, therefore, to point out that the commitments which we undertake in this North Atlantic treaty are, in fact, commitments which we have already accepted in the United Nations charter and commitments which we have already taken very seriously indeed, as is shown by statements which the Canadian delegation has made at United Nations meetings. We have already recognized then, by our statements and by our actions, that peace is not kept and freedom is not preserved—as the leader of the opposition suggested so wisely this afternoon—merely by wishing for them or by signing peace pacts. We are a realistic people and we know that safety is not gained without effort. I know, and you know, Mr. Speaker, that the Canadian people have been willing in the past, and will be in the future, to make that effort.

I need hardly add that if, in spite of our efforts to keep the peace, some member of this alliance is attacked and we are called upon to fulfil our commitments, this country, this parliament and this government will act with the necessary determination and dispatch. So far as this government is concerned, Mr. Speaker, in the face of a national emergency so grave as to call into force our commitments under this pact, it would immediately desire to consult parliament. This has now become a regular procedure in our history, and no one of course would wish to depart from it. No government could fulfil the responsibility which action under this treaty would impose without being certain of the support of the people of this country expressed through their representatives in parliament.

The remaining articles of the treaty define and amplify the articles I have already men-