

I shall deal with articles 3 and 4 next. By article 3 of the treaty the member states agree to strengthen the capacity of each member of the group to resist armed attack. This is based on the principle which proved so effective during the recent war, the principle of self-help and mutual aid. The term "mutual aid" is understood to mean the contribution by each party, consistent with its geographic location and resources and with due regard to the requirement of economic recovery, of such aid as it can reasonably be expected to contribute in the form in which it can most effectively furnish it; for example, facilities, manpower, productive capacity or military equipment.

Article 4 contains a pledge that the states which sign the treaty will consult together if the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any one of them is threatened. I suggest that this is a forward-looking document which takes account of the realities of the modern world. Article 3 underlines the preventive character of the agreement and so does article 4. We should not forget, as we have been reminded during this discussion, that the greater danger to a state today may arise, not from troops violating the frontiers, but from action committees overthrowing the government.

Czechoslovakia, as has already been pointed out, did not fall because of an armed attack. No war was declared and no frontiers were crossed. No bombs were dropped, yet the fate of Czechoslovakia was as clear a case of aggression as one could find in history.

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.