match into both powder kegs. If we peruse and also ignore the need to do anything about the addresses delivered by the experts on August 31, 1955, it is clearly stated that a well planned and organized civil defence is also a deterrent, and it is a deterrent policy of NATO against thermonuclear war. The struggle to win the war will not be carried on by those who will have perished in a thermonuclear war; it can only be carried on by the survivors after the initial attack.

I believe that the most important and urgent national defence policy is to ensure victory in such a war, and that such a victory can only be assured by providing for human survival. This policy of human survival is paramount, and I am certain the Canadian people are not unwilling to spend the money necessary for the effort. We should do as much for human survival as we do for military defence.

I spoke to two hon. members of this house about this. One said, "It's a waste of money". What are we going to do with our money after a thermonuclear attack? The other one said, "I don't believe in getting into a rabbit hole". I think the wise thing to do is not to expose yourself to danger.

I should like to repeat what a famous Greek once said. I have forgotten his name; I think it was Socrates. Somebody was making a speech on patriotism and courage. and after the speech Socrates approached him and asked him, "What is courage?" He said, "It is to maintain your position". Then he asked, "What if strategy demands you should retire?" He replied, "Well, that is different". So, then, real courage is to keep your head. It is to do the reasonable thing in the face of danger. It is not courageous to waste your life because you may need your life to win the war. I think courage is to do what is reasonable, and I maintain that the reasonable thing for Canada is to do everything possible no matter what the expense, no matter what the effort, no matter what the cost, because it is all part of the deterrent and the strategy to win the next war.

Again may I congratulate the minister for taking a step in the right direction.

Mr. Carter: Mr. Chairman, the minister did not make any reference yesterday, either in his initial statement or in his later reply, to the ideological threat which is far more insidious and equally as dangerous as the military threat. Neither did he make any reference to the need for ideological training. I should therefore like to take a minute or two this morning to elaborate on what I said yesterday on this point.

We have been engaged in ideological warfare for the last 40 years, and it seems strange that we should so cheerfully ignore that fact

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it. We have seen one country after another come under communist domination through ideological warfare without a single shot being fired, and we cheerfully assume that this could not happen to us. This complacency, which is rooted in an attitude of foolish superiority on our part, is playing right into the enemy's hands.

Hon. members who served in the last war will recall that tremendous emphasis was placed on the need to know your enemy. Well, we do not know our enemy as far as ideological warfare is concerned. We do not know his methods or his tactics, and we do not know how to recognize his weapons. We do not know what ideological warfare is. We do not know how to wage it or how to defend ourselves against it. Because we do not know these things we are at a serious disadvantage; the enemy is in a position to use us to attain his objectives, and he often does. On those occasions we unwittingly become a tool in the enemy's hands to further his objectives and bring about our own destruction.

Not only should we be able to understand ideological warfare and recognize the enemy's tactics and weapons, but we should be in a position to develop ideoligical weapons and counter tactics of our own. This is one vital sphere in which, as I pointed out yesterday, we can take the offensive without any appreciable cost to the taxpayers. Furthermore, ideological training will help us to see the true nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. It is a global struggle. We often lose sight of that fact and think only in terms of NATO versus the U.S.S.R., or of the free world versus the communist world. This concentration on military defence and this preoccupation with military preparedness to the exclusion of other threats is exactly what the enemy wants. We cannot make our most effective contribution unless we think in terms of global struggle, global strategy and tactics.

Not only is ideological training necessary to give us the right perspective, but it is necessary also to develop that bedrock unity both within our own nation and among our allies without which effective action is impossible. We are prone to refer to ideological warfare in the most casual manner. Too long have we delayed in taking it seriously, seriously enough to develop our own counter measures, or even to try to understand what ideological warfare is. The Russians place tremendous importance on ideological warfare. It is the primary means by which they plan to take over the world, and we