

*NATO—European Defence Community*

Nobody would deny that at the present time the necessities of defence and economic recovery are the most compelling incentives toward this unity; but beyond the community of interests in military and economic matters there are amongst these free European states a common culture and common traditions which cannot be overlooked by a group of nations for which individual and moral values are at least as important as material ones.

Germany then as I see it is the key to the solution of these European problems. Because of her geographical location and the size and the industry of her population, Germany—even a divided Germany—is likely to be a vital factor for better or for worse in European politics for many years to come. The events of a few weeks ago in Paris and Bonn, and the repercussion of these events in points as far distant as Berlin and Tokyo, have outlined the importance which the communist world attaches to what is often referred to in the press and elsewhere as the struggle for Germany. Two blows in that struggle were struck for the west in Bonn and Paris on May 26 and May 27 last.

The first of these blows was the signing on May 26 in Bonn by the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States and France on the one hand, and by the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany on the other, of an agreement which comprised a convention on relations between the three powers and the Federal Republic of Germany, three related conventions and a number of accompanying instruments.

Hon. members will, I am sure, agree that it is not necessary for me to explain in detail all these various documents, some of which are highly technical and all of which have now been made public. But I would like to say a few things on the convention and the general rules which we know familiarly as the peace contract with the Federal Republic of Germany.

These contractual agreements which were freely negotiated and not imposed replace the occupation statute; they abolish the allied high commission, and they bring the Federal Republic of Germany into the family of free nations. They provide for the stationing of foreign forces in Germany to assist in the defence of the west and for the reservation by the former occupying powers of their rights in Berlin and over matters affecting Germany as a whole, in particular the problems of unification and the eventual peace treaty which of course are not solved by this peace contract. These restrictions on the complete freedom of the Federal Republic of Germany were made necessary by the peculiar nature of the problem of according to the federal

republic rights over its external and domestic affairs while preserving the means of conducting negotiations with the Soviet union on German unification and on the final peace settlement. Article 4, section 4, of the peace contract is important and I would like to read it and one or two of the other more important sections.

Article 4 reads:

The federal republic will participate in the European defence community in order to contribute to the common defence of the free world.

Article 5 provides for the proclamation by the three western powers of a state of emergency in the federal republic, should the federal republic and the European defence community be unable to deal with the situation which is created by an attack on the federal republic or Berlin, subversion of the liberal democratic basic order, a serious disturbance of public order or a grave threat of any of these events.

Article 7 is very important. Its first section states the agreement of the three powers and the federal republic that the essential aim of their common policy is a peace settlement for the whole of Germany, freely negotiated between Germany and her former enemies. It also defers all frontier questions to an eventual peace settlement. In the light of the recent Soviet notes on unification and a peace treaty, I need hardly underline the capital importance of these declarations. If the intention of this article, which I have just read, is that a unified Germany will have the rights and be bound by the obligations conferred on the federal republic by this agreement and by the European defence community treaty, then this article is in effect the expression of a hope that a unified Germany would continue to throw in its lot with the west.

I am aware that sceptics will point out that in the event of unification and peace treaty discussions, there will be a new partner to any agreement, namely the Soviet union, which would not necessarily—that I know is an understatement—subscribe to the present accords. Moreover, an all-German government would not be the same as the government of the federal republic at the present time and might, therefore, insist that the contractual agreements would have to be re-negotiated. This important possibility, which is very much in our minds, is perhaps foreshadowed by article 10 which provides for the review of the terms of the convention on relations and the related conventions:

(a) upon the request of any of (the signatory states), in the event of the unification of Germany or the creation of a European federation; or