

If Germany should violate these undertakings a special provision contained in the joint declaration of the three powers, to which the other members of the NATO Council later subscribed, would come into play. The pertinent paragraph of that provision, by which we would all be bound, reads as follows:

They --

That means the NATO powers.

-- will regard as a threat to their own peace and safety any recourse to force which in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter threatens the integrity and unity of the Atlantic Alliance or its defensive purposes. In the event of any such action, the three governments --

Now it is 14 governments.

-- for their part will consider the offending government --

It might be the German government; it might be any other government.

-- as having forfeited its rights to any guarantee and any military assistance provided for in the North Atlantic Treaty and its protocols. They will act in accordance with article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty with a view to taking other measures --

That is, against the offending member of NATO.

-- which may be appropriate.

Now, sir, I submit that it would be difficult to devise a more impressive set of safeguards than these. But I know that when I say this I will be asked what guarantee there is that they will work. Can we expect these limitations and controls that Germany has accepted to be of any value? Will she throw them aside whenever she feels like doing so? We are conscious of the fact that this has been done in the past.

All international agreements, even those we make with our friends and neighbours, have this element of risk and uncertainty. It is inherent in international arrangements; but some of those who now are stressing that element and challenging the value of these agreements with Germany are, however, quite ready to take the same risk in making another effort to bring about an agreement with Russia which they think would remove all our fears and uncertainties about Germany.