MEANING OF SIX-POWER AGREEMENT

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The London Agreement on western Germany is the logical sequel to the failure of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London last autumn to reach an accord on the unity of Germany.

While officially recognizing the political schism of Germany between East and West which, in fact, has existed ever since the end of World War II, the Western Powers have taken steps to unify the areas of Germany lying under their control. The eastern section can come back into the fold at any time its occupying power permits unification.

The London talks ended in a substantial agreement which, by providing for the establishment of a constitutional assembly and for the international control of the Ruhr, has taken a long stride toward the eventual political and economic unification of western Germany.

It was not an easy task to produce this agreement among the six powers—United States, Great Britain, France, and the three so-called Benelux countries of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg. The talks began on April 20 and it was not until June 1 that the accord could be signed.

The London Agreement represents, substantially, a compromise between the views of the French and those of the Anglo-Saxon countries. The French, naturally enough, in view of the repeated invasions of their country in the past 150 years are haunted by the problem of security, and to their inherent dread of their German neighbors has now been added the menace of Soviet Russia.

The three main issues which were debated at London were: (1) how the delegates to the constituent assembly should be elected, (2) the powers to be conferred on the International Authority to be set up to govern the Ruhr, and (3) the question of security.

The French fear of a revival of a strongly centralized German state expressed itself in opposition to the proposal put forth by the American and British that the delegates to the constituent assembly should be elected by the people as the natural democratic process. The French, on the other hand, sought to enhance the authority of the states by having the delegates nominated by the state governments. The compromise provided that the states themselves would decide how the delegates to the assembly, which is to meet about Sept. 1, shall be chosen.

Furtermore, the London Agreement stresses the federal character of a constitution for western Germany. It expressly stipulates that the constituent assembly shall frame a German constitution "such as to enable the Germans to play their part in bringing to an end the present division of Germany, not by the reconstitution of a centralized Reich, but by means of a federal form of government which adequately protects the rights of the respective states."

In this respect, the government of western Germany will differ fundamentally from the form of government which the Soviet-dominated Socialist Unity Party is demanding. The German Communists are calling for a strongly centralized German government modeled along the lines of the Weimar Republic, which would simplify the task of any future Communist cabinet in Berlin, in extending its dictatorial rule over the entire nation.

The agreement regarding the future governance of the Ruhr shows that the French have retreated considerably from their original demand that this vitally important industrial area should be politically and territorially detached from the Reich. But they finally refused to yield on the matter of the powers to be conferred on the international authority for the Ruhr. The Americans desired that international control of the Ruhr products should be advisory and that the final word regarding the disposition of the coal and steel supplies of the area should be left to the military governors who would encourage German industrial recovery as rapidly as possible. In this move the French saw a threat to the supplies of Ruhr coal and coke which they greatly need for their own steel industry.

Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, won out on this issue, and the Americans conceded that allocations should be fixed by the proposed International Ruhr Authority, on which the United States, Britain, France and Germany are to have three seats each, and the Benelux countries one apiece. Even so, French opinion is not satisfied with this arrangement, by which, they contend, they and their supporters can be voted down by the Anglo-Saxon powers.

The provisions of the London Agreement also went far to meet French demands for security. The American delegation did not feel that it could offer the French a military alliance. But perhaps the most striking passage of the communiqué is the affirmation of the principle that there can be no withdrawal of American, British and French forces from Germany "until the peace of Europe is secured," nor will withdrawal take place "without prior consultation." Furthermore, there will be consultation among the six powers "if any of them should consider there is danger of a resurgence of German military power or the adoption by Germany of a policy of aggression."

Like all true compromises, the London Agreement pleases nobody. The Germans grumble because they were not consulted; the French feel that it jeopardizes the future security of their country; and the Americans and British are dissatisfied because their control of the resources of the Ruhr is circumscribed.

But the principal achievement of the London Conference consists in having made a definite stride toward the unification of Germany and, therefore, towards the stabilization of world peace of which German unity is a sine qua non. True, it does not provide for
the immediate political merger of the three zones.

But the recommendations do provide that the French will enter the Joint Export-Import Agency as soon as possible, and insure the joint control of external trade, and complete fusion is likely to come about concurrently with the establishment of a German Government.

Through the haze of current events and incidents, one event can clearly be discerned in the distance. Germany will ultimately be reunited, either on the basis of western democracy or upon the totalitarian principles of the Kremlin. In the struggle to decide under which banner the Germany of the future is to be moulded, Frankfurt-am-Main can offer two things that the Communist-dominated East cannot match. It can provide the material advantages that will accrue through implementation of the Marshall Plan. And much more important, it can demonstrate the truth of Daniel Webster's famous saying that Liberty and Union are one and inseparable.

**Official Announcement**

IN ACCORDANCE with the announcement issued at the conclusion of the informal discussions on Germany by the representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux countries, a report containing agreed recommendations on all items discussed was submitted to their respective governments. These recommendations have been submitted as a whole since their main provisions are mutually dependent and form an indivisible program. The principal features of this report are the following:

I. Association of the Benelux countries in the policy regarding Germany.

The recommendations include specific provisions for a close association between the military governors and the Benelux representatives in Germany on matters affecting Benelux interests. Moreover, full opportunities will be given the Benelux representatives to be kept informed of developments in the western zones.

II. The role of the German economy in the European economic and control of the Ruhr.

(a) It had been agreed that for the political and economic well being of the countries of western Europe and of a democratic Germany, there should be a close association of their economic life. This close association, which is to be a close association in European recovery, has been ensured by the inclusion on April 16 of the Combined Zone and the French Zone in the organization for European economic cooperation as full members.

(b) It was agreed to recommend the establishment of an international authority for the control of the Ruhr in which the United States, United Kingdom, France, Benelux countries and Germany would participate, and which does not involve the political governors of the three zones.

(c) The recommendations include the establishment of a National Ruhr Authority, which, together with the Benelux countries, will participate in the distribution of coal, coke and steel of the Ruhr. The proposal for a protective tariff in the Ruhr area is likely to become an instrument of aggression, and on the other hand, will take no effective steps toward reestablishment of the German economic program, including of course Germany itself.

An agreement containing the provisions for its establishment is to be concluded by the United States, United Kingdom, France, Benelux countries and Germany. Moreover, the Benelux countries are to be fully associated with the preparation of the more detailed agreement and are to be consulted as to the time when the authority begins to exercise its functions.

(c) Arising out of the discussions on the Ruhr it has been recommended that the principle of non-discrimination against foreign interests in Germany be reaffirmed, and that each government should promptly study the problem of safeguarding foreign interests in order to seek the earliest possible establishment of conditions to review the question and make recommendations to their governments.

III. Evolution of the Political and the Economic Organization of Germany.

The recommendation that has been given by all delegations to the problem of the evolution of the political and economic organization of the German Government, recognizes taking into account the present situation, that it is necessary to give the German people the opportunity to achieve, on the basis of aggression and democratic form of government, the eventual reestablishment of German unity, and to prevent disruption.

In these circumstances they have reached the conclusion that the German people in the different states should now be free to establish themselves the political organization and institutions which will enable them to assume those governmental responsibilities which are common with the minimum requirements of occupation and control and which ultimately will enable them to assume full governmental powers.

The delegations consider that the people in the states will wish to establish a constitution with which they will agree to establish for the German states to subscribe as soon as circumstances permit.

The delegrations therefore agreed to recommend to their governments that the military governors should hold a joint meeting with the representatives of the German states in Germany. That meeting the minister-president will be authorized to convene a constituent assembly in order to prevent a constitution for the approval of the participating states.

Delegates to this constituent assembly will be elected by the states in accordance with procedure and regulations to be determined by the legislative bodies of the individual states.

This constitution should be such as to enable the Germans to play their part in bringing to an end the present division of Germany and to achieve the reestablishment of a centralized nation (Reich) but by means of a federal form of government which adequately provides for participation of the states and which at the same time provides for adequate central authority and which guarantees the rights and freedoms of the individual.

If the constitution as prepared by the constituent assembly does not conflict with the regulations the military governors will authorize its submission for ratification by the people in the respective states.

At the same time the ministers-president in Germany will also be authorized to examine the boundaries of the several states in order to determine what modifications might be proposed to the military governors for the purpose of creating a definitive system which is satisfactory to the people concerned.

(b) Further discussions have taken place among the United States, United Kingdom, and French delegations on measures for coordinating economic policies and practices in the three occupied zones of Germany. Agreed recommendations have been reached on the joint conduct and control of the economic zones.

IV. Measures during the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany.

(a) General provisions.

Measures during the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany.

General provisions.

The United States, United Kingdom, and French delegations reiterated the firm view of their governments that there could not be any general withdrawal of their forces from Germany without assurance of a rapid and without prior consultation. It was further recommended that the governments concerned should take necessary steps to establish that there was a danger of resurgence of German military power or of the adoption by Germany of aggressive policies.

Measures after the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany.

The recommendations on the German armed forces and the German general staff as contained in four-power agreements were reaffirmed as including the establishment of a military security board in the western zones of Germany to carry out the proper inspections and make the necessary recommendations to the military governors who decide the action to be taken.

Measures after the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany.

It was affirmed that Germany must not again be permitted to become an aggressive power before that prior to the general withdrawal of the forces of occupation agreement will be reached among the governments for any arrangement necessary measures of rearmament, disarmament and demilitarization, level of industry and certain aspects of scientific research.

To ensure the maintenance of disarmament and demilitarization in the interests of security, the representatives of the four powers should set up a military security board in the western zones of Germany to carry out the proper inspections and make the necessary recommendations to the military governors who decide the action to be taken.

Measures after the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany.

The recommendations of the four powers provide that in the event of a new aggression in Germany, the four powers will immediately make joint military preparations for the defense of the western zones of Germany.