

that in the three Western Zones all the prohibitions on the German armed forces contained in the various four-power agreements were observed. After the end of the occupation, further measures of disarmament would come into effect, under a system of inspection.

All these recommendations, it was pointed out, should facilitate eventual four-power agreement on the whole German problem. They were made at the present time to solve certain urgent economic and political problems of Germany, and mark a step forward in the economic reconstruction of western Europe, including Germany, and in the establishment of a basis for the participation of a democratic Germany in the community of free peoples.

The governments of all the participating Powers had approved the report by the 17th June. The French National Assembly in authorizing its government to accede to the proposals, expressed its wishes in six points which were not substantially covered in the report and which were assumed, therefore, to be open to further negotiation. Before action was taken to implement the decisions of the London talks, the way was cleared by the introduction of an overdue currency reform for the Western Zones which became effective on June 20th.

WESTERN UNION

The second political project to grow out of the European Recovery Programme was Western Union, whose long-term possibilities make it more important than either the European Recovery Programme itself, or the settlement of Western Germany. As Mr. Bevin declared in his speech of January 22, 1948, when he outlined his plans for Western Union, it was Soviet hostility to the European Recovery Programme, and Soviet obstructionism over a German settlement, which had convinced the United Kingdom Government that the time had come to go ahead with plans for closer politi-

cal and economic unity of willing western European states.

Talks were immediately undertaken at Brussels among the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux states. Accord was greatly expedited by the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia, and the sudden Russian pressure for a treaty with Finland, and the Treaty of Brussels was signed on March 17 by the five Governments concerned.

The Treaty of Brussels is the foundation of Western Union, though the words "Western Union" do not occur in its text. The preamble is of more than usual interest. First it refers to "the principles of democracy, personal freedom and political liberty, constitutional traditions and the rule of law" recognized by the participating states, and then the economic and social ties through which they intend to achieve their common recovery. Only then does the preamble mention mutual assistance under the United Nations Charter to resist any policy of aggression.

Important steps have already been taken to give effect to the various provisions for a Western Union contained in the Brussels Treaty. On April 17 the following machinery was set up:

(1) A permanent Consultative Council, composed of the five Foreign Ministers, meeting at least once every three months.

(2) A Permanent Commission, composed of the diplomatic representatives in London of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, and a United Kingdom representative. The Commission first met on April 24, set up a Permanent Secretariat with a Netherlander as Secretary, and decided to meet at least once weekly thereafter.

(3) A Permanent Military Committee, meeting in London under the control of the Commission, to study security problems. This Military Committee was organized and set to work after a meeting in

London on April 30 of the five Defence Ministers concerned.

(4) It was also decided that the Consultative Council would call periodical meetings of the appropriate Ministers or experts to deal with economic, social, and cultural questions. Such a meeting was held in Brussels on April 28, when the five Finance Ministers discussed economic and financial matters of common concern in the light of the European Recovery Programme.

The President of the United States welcomed the signing of the Treaty of Brussels and said that he was sure that "the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to protect themselves". Some weeks later, on May 10, Secretary of State Marshall in testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee emphasized the importance of regional security pacts under the United Nations Charter in the development of general world security. In the midst of the general discussions which were then taking place in the House and in the Senate on basic revision of the United Nations Charter, Senator Vandenberg, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, introduced in that Committee a resolution which advised the President to seek moderate constitutional reform of the United Nations, agreement on the provision of armed forces for the United Nations and reduction of armaments. It also advocated the development of regional and other collective defence arrangements and a definite warning from the United States that it would exercise the right of individual or collective self-defence should any attack occur "affecting its national security". The resolution recommended "association of the United States by constitutional process with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid,