

The major problems facing a united Europe, *Le Monde*, 04.05.1948

Pooling its resources is an essential requirement for success

By J. Maroger

A Congress to be held in The Hague will bring together representatives of the diverse movements that are involved in the implementation of this programme in various European countries. Aside from the general issues that will be debated at this Congress, it is perhaps useful to present some aspects from a specifically French angle.

For us French, the problem of Europe is essentially linked to the German problem: it is futile to think that one can be solved without the other.

The predominantly peaceful Europe of the 19th century was built upon the notion of a balance of power in Europe. Indeed, the root cause of the chaos in Europe which emerged in the early 20th century, at the peak of the industrial age in Europe, is the imbalance between the German giant and the peripheral nations. I use the term 'giant' not only because of its large population but also because of its industrial might which exceeded its own needs and was based on its coal deposits: Germany boasted the largest and best deposits in Europe. The giant was constantly unsatisfied because it lacked both the markets and, more importantly, the raw materials that other nations elsewhere on other continents possessed but Europe did not. Germany's fight for access to raw materials was at the root of its late colonial aspirations, and that led to the desire for hegemony and the thirst for conquest into which the old Germanic culture and its peoples' willingness to work were integrated.

A united Europe is inconceivable if this imbalance is not fully, or at least partly, redressed. It is obviously not a matter of destroying German industry and returning Germany to an almost pastoral economy. However, the international public must not think that, if it is to prosper again, Germany must recover its pre-war industrial strength. If that were to happen, we would just be recreating the causes of the imbalance and chaos that have twice found no solution other than war. Between these two extremes, we must find a formula that protects the European Federation from a dominant hegemony.

The division of Germany into two zones is not a solution, not even in the short-term; nor is the territorial reshuffle of West Germany.

The importance of Rhine-Westphalian coal

In the 19th century, we witnessed the genesis of two great territorial areas: the German Empire and the United States of America.

Coal was behind Germany's power and unity, from the day when Bismarck and Prussia ingeniously put it at the disposal of the whole of Germany. It was the distribution of this coal throughout Germany, and the chain of diverse, coal-dependent industries that spread across the German territory, ending domestic customs duties and shaking up old parochial attitudes, that transformed this mass of fragmented, rival States, who were often enemies, into a Confederation and then into an increasingly coherent, united and powerful Empire.

Similarly, it was the pooling of vast natural resources and diverse agricultural products that led to the cohesion and the unity of the United States of America, to the point where their secession into a series of individual territories, where one has coal, one oil, one wheat and one cotton, is now unimaginable.

In the same way, Europe will not be built until Rhine-Westphalian coal is declared a common asset and all European States, including Germany, but not Germany alone, have free and equal access to this coal. It will, of course, take time for the European nations to merge their economies, create a common currency and provide free movement of goods and capital. In the meantime, the coal must be shared equitably among the various European nations, through a scheme that suits both the mines and the coal-dependent industries. It is through such organisation, with a view to ensuring its implementation and its secure and consistent progress, that the future political status of Germany must be considered and built.

Sharing overseas produce

However, coal is not the only asset that a united Europe might pool. I am referring to the markets and products of those overseas territories that some European nations have already linked with their destiny and marked with their civilisation; these territories were a source of such bitter disappointment and regret to pre-war Germany as it was excluded from them because of its own or other's actions. If these resources are pooled, Germany will easily recoup the equivalent of the several million tonnes of the coal to be shared among the rest of Europe. It would also be in the interests of the European nations which, hitherto, have assumed sole responsibility for these territories without always being able to offer them the markets and resources that they demand. Similarly, the territories themselves would benefit: they have, in the past, been quick to accuse their European masters of ingratitude or weakness; now they will be able to integrate into a larger and more powerful European community.

The support of the Dominions

American aid is clearly required, even if only during the early stages while we wait for Europe to emerge from the deadlock and reach the point where it is capable of organising its own affairs.

A no less important role falls to Great Britain, its Empire and the Dominions. It is their attitude in particular towards Europe that will determine to a large extent the success of the enterprise. Europe has not forgotten that, twice already, the Dominions have shed their blood for freedom. It is not a matter of blood today; what is needed is more widespread support, support which is simultaneously fraternal and material, more patient and more prolonged. Just as Europe cannot be born without American aid, it cannot become organised and established without the support of the Dominions, the help of the British Empire and the participation of Great Britain.

Freedom from fear

This is how a united Europe may be built, forming a coherent, reasonably prosperous and, therefore peaceful whole. Europe's freedom is not decreed: it can only be a continuous creation, inspired by a tenacious willpower that is beyond discouragement. However, each common project that is completed, such as the pooling of the Rhine-Westphalian collieries,

the common use of resources from the overseas territories, and the social and economic solution to these European problems, is a step towards the final goal. Throughout this process, a European awareness will gradually be formed.

By embarking upon this task, the nations of Europe will provide the world with an invaluable service: freedom from the fear that constrains it. There exists a mutual fear between France and Germany; Britain and its Dominions fear Europe turning on them; Western Europe and the USA fear that Russia will soon be reaching the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; Russia fears that Germany — the dominant European power — will, with the connivance of the British and Americans, resurrect the old pan-Germanic dream and try once again to conquer the fertile lands of Ukraine and the oilfields in the Caucasus. Everywhere, these are just myths put about to inspire fear.

We, the French, know that, throughout its history, France has often been the loser. Medieval Mediterranean France was lost after the Turkish conquest, maritime France was defeated at Trafalgar, continental France was defeated at Sedan. But it has always been: France is dead; long live France.

We know that, in 1940, a certain France, a great world power, was defeated because its resources were no longer commensurate with the resources of other world powers. This is why today, through an associated and united Europe, we want a new France once again to succeed the old France.

Zum Europa-Kongreß im Haag - Luxemburger Wort. 05.05.1948

Der internationale Koordinationsausschuß der Bewegungen für die Verwirklichung der Idee von der Einheit Europas hat einen Bericht aufgestellt, welcher dem vom 7. bis 10. Mai im Haag tagenden Europa-Kongress vorgelegt werden soll, und in dem die wirtschaftlichen finanziellen und auch demokratisch-politischen Möglichkeiten eines geeinten Europas überzeugend dargelegt werden. Die katholische Zeitung Hollands „De Tijd“ widmet dem Bericht eine eingehende Analyse, deren Ergebnis sie in dem lapidaren Satz zusammenfaßt, daß Einheit allein Europa retten kann.

Wird der Haager Europa-Kongress die Idee vom geeinten Europa ihrer Verwirklichung näher bringen können?

Für die Organisation des Kongresses zeichnen gleicherweise verantwortlich Churchills „United Europe“-Bewegung, die europäische Union der Föderalisten, der französische Ausschuß für die Europa-Union „Les Nouvelles Equipes Internationales“, die Unabhängige Liga für europäische Zusammenarbeit, die europäische parlamentarische Union und die liberale Internationale. Das sind alles Bewegungen, die bereits tief hineingreifen in die Strömungen der öffentlichen Meinung. Der zweitägige Kongreß im Haag dürfte nun greifbar gleichsam zeigen, daß, trotz Differenzen zweiter Ordnung, all diese Bewegungen auf das gleiche, große Ziel gerichtet sind. Daß diese Gemeinsamkeit der Zielstrebigkeit erreicht und nun durch das Zustandekommen des Haager Kongresses augenfällig demonstriert werden konnte, ist gewiß zu begrüßen.

Offen aber bleibt einstweilen die Frage, ob all die in derselben Zielstrebigkeit geeinten Bewegungen und Gruppen besagtes Ziel auf demselben Wege erreichen wollen. Darüber wird erst der Verlauf des Haager Kongresses Klarheit schaffen können. Man erwartet 700 bis 800 Delegierte aus allen 16 Teilnehmerstaaten des Europahilfe-Programmes. Daneben Beobachter aus Emigrantens- und Exilpolitikerkreisen Jugoslawiens, Rumäniens, Polens, der Tschechoslowakei und Spaniens. Einigermassen Bescheid weiß man von all denen eigentlich nur über die Haltung, welche die britische Delegation einnehmen wird. So erklärte der konservative Unterhausabgeordnete Robert Boothby, der gestern in London eine Pressekonferenz einberufen hatte, es würden am Haager Kongreß 27 Labour-Abgeordnete teilnehmen, obwohl deren Parteileitung dies offiziell nicht billige. Die britische Delegation werde außerdem aus 25 konserv. Abgeordneten, Vertretern der Kirche, der Universitäten, des Juristenstandes und der Frauenorganisationen bestehen. Der Leiter der britischen Delegation, der Labour-Abgeordnete Ronald Mackay, werde der Konferenz zwei Berichte unterbreiten. Der erste fordere ein Europa-Parlament und eine europäische Streitmacht. Er schlage vor, daß die Bürger der Europa-Föderation die Staatsangehörigkeit der Europa-Union erhalten, ohne dadurch ihre Nationalität aufzugeben.

Der zweite Bericht befaße sich mit Wirtschafts- und Sozialfragen und empfehle eine einheitliche Währung und eine Zollunion innerhalb der Europa-Föderation. Er besage, die Einzelstaaten sollten sofort ihren Entschluß zur Schaffung eines einigen Europa bekanntgeben. Sie sollten einen freien Handelsverkehr in Westeuropa als Vorstufe für die völlige Konvertierbarkeit der Währungen ermöglichen. Weitere Maßnahmen werden auch für eine Lockerung des Touristenverkehrs in Westeuropa und für die Errichtung einer internationalen Kontrolle über die Entwicklung der Ruhrindustrie empfohlen.

Das sind nun zwar Vorschläge, die tief greifen und von denen man vernünftigerweise nicht wird annehmen können, der Haager Kongreß könne zu ihrer Verwirklichung anders beitragen als durch Abfassung einer platonischen Resolution. Dergleichen Realisationen sind Sache der berufenen Politiker. Wenn es aber dem Haager Kongreß gelingt, die Öffentlichkeit reif zu machen für die Hinnahme solch revolutionärer Prinzipien – revolutionär, weil sie von jedem der in Frage kommenden Länder die freiwillige Preisgabe eines Teiles der Souveränität voraussetzen – dann hat er seinen Zweck voll und ganz erreicht. Denn im Wirken auf die öffentliche Meinung sehen wir, für den Augenblick wenigstens, die Hauptaufgabe jeder föderalistischen Bewegung.

The European Federation on the march – Fédération, leden 1948

The States-General of The Hague

by Alexandre Marc

For several weeks now, a quiet rumour has been circulating that is helping to revive weakening spirits and breathe life into the hearts of Europeans: No, all is not yet lost! If the 'third force' of politicians is merely an illusion, a real third force is developing and will emerge very soon. Europe will at last have its chance to be heard. Representatives from all the forces active on our continent will be called to attend a meeting in The Hague from 21 to 24 May 1948. There, they will affirm to the world their determination to survive and their desire to reform Europe.

This rumour, as it gathers force and gains momentum, needs to be clarified; on our own behalf, and without wishing to reflect any particular orthodoxy, we shall try to focus on several issues that relate to the organisation known by the eminent title of the STATES-GENERAL OF EUROPE.

The European Coordination Committee

The idea of convening an assembly that might be able to speak on behalf of Europe without incurring ridicule has already been entertained for many months by officials in the European Union of Federalists.

The Montreux Congress (August 1947) was the origin of this idea of creating an assembly. As a result of this Congress, other projects — similar, but less consistent and definitely less daring — materialised: these favoured the establishment of a European Coordination Committee, whose task was to prepare for the great operation that was planned.

Within this European Committee, the European Union of Federalists works alongside 'United Europe', the 'Independent League of European Cooperation', and the 'French Committee for a United Europe'. Some people were surprised that the Federalists, especially 'staunch federalists', agreed to associate with groups or individuals that not only do not share our beliefs but sometimes go so far as to advocate a policy with which we cannot agree. This legitimate reaction of surprise deserves to be clarified by means of a detailed explanation; however, we must content ourselves for the moment with two observations:

— If we are really determined to 'rebuild Europe', we must cooperate, at least at the outset, with everyone who shares the same goal.

— This cooperation does not in any way mean that the European Federalist Movement gives up its autonomy, nor that it agrees, even for the time being, to put on the back burner those principles of liberation and revolution that inspire it.

On the contrary, a renewed effort is now required from the federalist activists: an effort that only they can undertake with success.

National European committees

Our first and most urgent task is to establish, in each of the European countries that are involved, a national committee responsible for keeping the public informed and, above all, for constituting the 'national' team of delegates that will participate in the proceedings in The Hague.

In order for this complex project to be a success, each national committee must constitute a type of 'short cut' to the delegation that it must try to create: that is to say, a faithful image of all the healthy elements in the nation. It therefore follows that it will be up to the federalist activists to inspire these committees, encouraging them to mobilise all the European resources effectively. As long as they are clear about the objectives, we are sure that they can succeed.

What are our objectives? To alter the course of events in order to avoid the catastrophe that is brewing; to enable Europe to realise the revolutionary nature of its mission; and thus to set in train, as it overrides the frontiers of the nation states, the force for 'integral' transformation, which, once it has come from the mass of the people, cannot be halted by any obstacle.

It is to stress the importance that must be given to the sound formation of each of these national committees: for on their representative nature, on their balance, courage, and dynamism will depend not only the future of our project but the very future of Europe.

Formation of the delegations

Once the national committees have been organised, they will have to endeavour to create subcommittees in different 'regions', conceived not merely on a geographical but also on a social basis, so that a solid infrastructure can be established for the forthcoming project.

These subcommittees, in direct contact with the people involved, will investigate the various organisations that influence the country's way of life and try to recruit individuals who can effectively affirm a commitment to European integration. Together, these individuals, coordinated by the national committee, will make up each country's delegation at the States-General of The Hague.

As we have already said, each delegation should reflect, as faithfully as possible, the shifting balance of social forces and roles. Each delegation will therefore include union leaders, workers, farmers, employers, representatives of cooperatives, federalist parliamentary groups, youth organisations, etc. Each delegation must also have writers and 'technicians', university teachers and clergymen, representatives from large national and international organisations, and of course, delegates from all of the federalist associations.

It is clear that the ideal would be for all of the delegates to hold mandates from the organisations that they represent. Whenever possible, and without further ado, the organisations involved should be invited to meet, to hold a general debate, to proceed with a properly held election of the delegates, and then, if possible, to give them a specific mandate.

However, the time constraints with which we are faced will frequently render it impossible to proceed in this fashion. For practicality's sake, it is therefore up to the national committee, with the help of various subcommittees, to make the necessary selection.

But even then, in the event of such a choice being made, it will somehow have to be ratified with the utmost objectivity and discernment — be it officially or unofficially — by those responsible for it.

In short, if the ideal of directly electing representatives by their constituents is not always possible, it is nonetheless true that the national committees will be morally obliged to do everything in their power to come as close as possible to this federalist ideal.

As for proportional representation within the delegation of the various professional and social categories, there is no magic formula that will strike the perfect balance. It is important for the national committees to follow these two rules:

— The proportion of the constituent elements within a delegation should not stray too far from the actual proportion within the social structure itself.

— There must be no likelihood of the dynamic and revolutionary forces, under the pretext of objectivity, being crushed under the weight of apathy, selfishness and cowardice.

These two rules seem to be contradictory, and we must recognise that, to some extent, they are: this is a contradiction that cannot be overcome until our policy develops further.

Support for the basic principles

Since the European Coordination Committee has not formulated the criteria for participation at The Hague Conference, the following considerations express no more than our personal point of view on this matter.

We believe that such a large and diverse assembly (with probably more than 1 000 delegates) might well develop into a talking shop — as infertile as it is easy to realise — and degenerate into a new Tower of Babel.

To overcome this danger, we could ask all of the delegates at the outset to express their support for a number of key issues. If these key issues were not acknowledged, no action could be taken.

(1) The European States are called on to transfer some of what they call their ‘sovereignty’ to federal organisations.

(2) The European economy is to be organised as a whole, according to collective needs and respecting social justice and the freely expressed initiatives of individuals and groups.

(3) European political, economic and social rights are to be protected, not only by declarations of principle, however solemn these may be, but also, and above all, by a supranational organisation exercising effective control.

(4) The European Federation of the future will be opposed to all forms of imperialism, whatever its origin; far from favouring the establishment of blocs, the Federation will endeavour to promote federalist solutions with a view to global organisation.

(5) The federated nations will undertake to work together to emancipate their former colonies as quickly as possible and to bring about their economic and political association in the creative venture of a united Europe.

These basic principles are certainly not enough to solve all the problems posed. However, if used as guidelines, they should at least facilitate the elimination of those who are undecided and powerless and even weed out the agents provocateurs.

Adoption of basic principles and establishment of permanent bodies

Once the States-Generals have convened, it is essential that iron discipline, albeit freely accepted, must be strictly observed in their sittings so as to avoid debates deviating from the subject or turning into never-ending discussions.

In our opinion, the Assembly should be asked to confine itself to taking a decision on the five points outlined above. The task of developing, expanding and supplementing these points should be earmarked for those permanent bodies set up to continue, and to put the finishing touches to, the work of the States-General.

Once the basic principles have been adopted, the delegates will disperse — after several public events designed to catch the public eye have been arranged — but not before having elected a Permanent Bureau, whose task will be to bring the decisions of the Assembly to a fruitful conclusion. Given the important role that this Permanent Bureau will play, its election should be carefully prepared and executed under conditions that will condemn to utter failure any backstage manoeuvring or manifestations of personal ambition and demagoguery, which will inevitably occur.

Once it has returned to its own country, each national delegation will undertake to consolidate the activities of its national committee, as well as those of the subcommittees, be they regional or ‘operational’. In this way, even before the ‘seizure of power’ phase, the Permanent Bureau, with its specialised departments (or committees), supported by all the national committees and subcommittees, will constitute a living, working model of the European society to come.

Let us note in passing that it is the ‘specialist committees’ — coordinated by the Permanent Bureau and closely linked to the corresponding departments of the national committees, as well as to the ‘operational’ subcommittees — that will have the task of giving shape and form to the various aspirations, plans and projects that will inevitably come up at the Hague Assembly. Whether it be a question of a European system for clearing payments or a federal transport organisation, a ‘pool’ of raw materials or a European Electricity Office, a new Charter of Rights or even a Constitution, these issues will not have a chance of success unless they have been, on the one hand, systematically and ‘technically’ formulated, and are, on the other, the result of genuine and constant cooperation between the ‘summit’ and the ‘base’. It is only when these conditions are met that decisions will acquire such authority as to render them indisputable.

If all of the preliminary operations are energetically and competently carried out, the means will not be lacking for a European authority constituted in this way to exert progressive and, if need be, violent, pressure on hostile or reticent governments. It would not be the first time in history that a new, apparently defenceless, authority triumphs over a well-entrenched power!

The duties of the federalists

The points set out above will, no doubt, have to be supplemented as the first breach, opened by our strategic breakthrough, widens. This breakthrough — which will perhaps be decisive — has yet to be made, however.

All of the federalist forces must concentrate their joint efforts at the exact point where the enemy line can be broken, allowing an in-depth operation and a war of movement of which no one can predict, at this time, the possible outcome.

The hour is about to strike for Europe: we hope that it will be, for the cause that we represent, a decisive and a victorious hour.

Alexandre Marc

Director of the Institutional Department of the Union Européenne des Fédérations.

Political Resolution – Haag 1948

The ravages wrought by six years of war and by the occupation, the diminution of world food production, the destruction of industrial capacity, the creation of huge debts, the maintenance of military expenditure out of all proportion to the resources of the people, the shifting of economic power, the rancours left by war, the progressive evils of nationalism and the absence, despite the work of U.N.O., of an international authority sufficiently strong to provide law and order, constitute an unprecedented menace to the well-being and the security of the peoples of Europe and threaten them with ruin.

In accordance with the principles and objectives set out in the Political Report submitted by the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity:

THE CONGRESS:

(1) RECOGNISES that it is the urgent duty of the nations of Europe to create an economic and political union in order to assure security and social progress.

(2) NOTES with approval the recent steps which have been taken by some European Governments in the direction of economic and political co-operation, but believes that in the present emergency the organisations created are by themselves insufficient to provide any lasting remedy.

Sovereign Rights

(3) Declares that the time has come when the European nations must transfer and merge some portion of their sovereign rights so as to secure common political and economic action for the integration and proper development of their common resources.

(4) CONSIDERS that any Union or Federation of Europe should be designed to protect the security of its constituent peoples, should be free from outside control, and should not be directed against any other nation.

(5) ASSIGNS to a United Europe the immediate task of establishing progressively a democratic social system, the aim of which shall be to free men from all types of slavery and economic insecurity, just as political democracy aims at protecting them against the exercise of arbitrary power.

(6) AFFIRMS that the integration of Germany in a United or Federated Europe alone provides a solution to both the economic and political aspects of the German problem.

(7) DECLARES that the Union or Federation must assist in assuring the economic, political and cultural advancement of the populations of the overseas territories associated with it, without prejudice to the special ties which now link these territories to European countries.

European Assembly

(8) DEMANDS the convening, as a matter of real urgency, of a European Assembly chosen by the Parliaments of the participating nations, from among their members or others, designed

- (a) to stimulate and give expression to European public opinion;
- (b) to advise upon immediate practical measures designed progressively to bring about the necessary economic and political union of Europe;
- (c) to examine the juridical and constitutional implications arising out of the creation of such a Union or Federation and their economic and social consequences;
- (d) to prepare the necessary plans for the above purposes.

Charter of Human Rights

- (9) CONSIDERS that the resultant Union or Federation should be open to all European nations democratically governed and which undertake to respect a Charter of Human Rights.
- (10) RESOLVES that a Commission should be set up to undertake immediately the double task of drafting such a Charter and of laying down standards to which a State must conform if it is to deserve the name of a democracy.
- (11) DECLARES that in no circumstances shall a State be entitled to be called a democracy unless it does, in fact as well as in law, guarantee to its citizens liberty of thought, assembly and expression, as well as the right to form a political opposition.
- (12) REQUESTS that this Commission should report within three months on its labours.

Supreme Court

- (13) IS CONVINCED that in the interests of human values and human liberty, the Assembly should make proposals for the establishment of a Court of Justice with adequate sanctions for the implementation of this Charter, and to this end any citizen of the associated countries shall have redress before the court, at any time and with the least possible delay, of any violation of his rights as formulated in the Charter.

World Unity

- (14) DECLARES that the creation of a United Europe is an essential element in the creation of a united world.

Economic and Social Resolution – Haag 1948

Europe is now confronted by a great crisis and a great opportunity. Its old economic system has been shattered by the war. Thanks to the generous assistance of the United States of America there is a unique opportunity to build a new and better Europe if Europeans work together under a common plan to develop the economic strength of the Continent. There is no hope of recovery if each country simply strives to rebuild its national economy by the old methods. Under modern conditions Europe can only achieve the standard of living which it ought to enjoy if its industrial and natural resources are developed on continental lines. But progress in this direction will only be achieved if it is accompanied at every step by a parallel policy of ever-closer political union. Europe must unite if it is to regain and surpass its former prosperity and re-assert its economic independence.

The exigencies of modern economic development must be reconciled with the integrity of human personality. In any economic organisation such as we envisage it must be decided where the responsibility rests; and in order to avoid any tendency towards totalitarianism and to safeguard the economic independence of the individual, the workers and their representative organisations should be closely associated with the setting-up and development of the economy of United Europe.

THE CONGRESS:

(1) **RECOGNISES** that no attempt to rebuild the economy of Europe upon the basis of rigidly-divided national sovereignty can prove successful.

(2) **AFFIRMS** the urgent need for an economic union in Europe.

(3) **DECLARES** that this union must maintain and progressively adjust the economic ties which at present link the countries of Europe with the Dominions and associated States or dependent territories overseas.

(4) **WELCOMES** the initial measures taken by certain Governments towards closer economic co-operation, or towards regional groupings; and expresses the hope that the work of the Conference of the sixteen nations will lead to conclusions favourable to the success of European Union.

Immediate Recommendations

(5) **URGES** all the Governments concerned forthwith to proclaim their determination to promote economic union and to put into effect the immediate economic measures required.

These should include measures designed:

(a) Trade

(i) To remove step by step and, as soon as possible, finally abolish the obstacles to trade within the Union which result from quotas and import or export prohibitions.

(ii) To reduce and, wherever possible, completely eliminate customs duties between the Member States.

(b) Currency

(i) To restore budgetary equilibrium which is a first essential for the stability of currencies in each country and to reduce by all available means — including monetary policy — the disparities of prices and wages which are incompatible with the freedom of the exchanges.

(ii) To take early steps to establish multilateral clearings or, through the adjustment of exchange values, to set up areas within which the exchange of goods shall not be handicapped by currency controls.

(iii) Thus to pave the way for the free convertibility of currencies and the gradual restoration of freedom of trade among the countries of Europe.

(c) Production

(i) To promote a common programme for the development of agricultural resources and the provision of the necessary equipment, in order to provide Europe with the highest possible nutritional standard.

(ii) To encourage technical or regional industrial specialisation and the renewal and modernisation of the technical means of production.

(iii) To plan and carry into effect a co-ordinated programme of development for the basic industries of the whole area. This should include the production and fair distribution of the coal resources of United Europe as well as the expansion of its electric power and the co-ordination and rationalisation of communications.

(iv) And in general to draw up an overall production programme utilising the resources and equipment of European countries in conformity with the needs of their peoples.

(d) Labour

(i) To raise to the greatest possible extent the standard of living of the populations of Europe in particular by all the above measures which are designed to increase production, and to invite the professional, economic and social organisations of the various countries to study together ways and means of increasing production still further and rationalising distribution while improving social conditions and ensuring a fair distribution of the product of economic activity.

(ii) To promote the mobility of labour to the maximum possible extent, while assuring to migrant workers and their families the standards of wages, social security, living conditions, and conditions of employment prevailing in the country to which they come.

(iii) To co-ordinate their economic policies so as to secure full employment.

Ultimate Objectives

(6) CONSIDERS that in addition to these first measures, steps should also be taken to achieve, progressively, within the Union:

(a) The free circulation of capital;

(b) The unification of currencies;

(c) The co-ordination of budgetary and credit policy;

(d) A full Customs Union, involving the abolition of all barriers to the movement of goods between the countries of the Union and the application to non-member countries of tariffs low enough not to interfere with the normal flow or hinder the development of world trade;

(e) The co-ordination of social legislation.

(7) EMPHASISES that all the measures herein proposed for the economic organisation of Europe should be carried out in accordance with the agreements reached or to be reached under the auspices of U.N.O. or of the affiliated organisations and relating to world economy.

Conclusion

Such is the economic basis on which the peoples of Europe will find the opportunity — and the duty — not only to put a stop to the present decline in their standard of living, but also to ensure that all shall enjoy better conditions of life, both material and cultural, which is the ultimate and sole aim of every economic activity.

Under these improved conditions, when the petty rivalries of national states have been laid aside, we may look forward to the development of a harmonious society in Europe. In such a society the rights of the family would be respected, the free association of individuals and groups and the protection of the weak and infirm guaranteed, and scope given to all to develop in freedom and concord a full and balanced personality. We look forward to a social and economic existence, in which Europe may play her proper rôle in the world as a constructive element and a force for peace.

MATTERS FOR FUTURE STUDY

In addition to the points embodied in the foregoing resolution, the Congress is of opinion that certain other proposals submitted to it might be usefully brought to the notice of the appropriate special bodies in order that their substance and the means of giving effect to them may be examined. These proposals may be briefly summarised as follows:

(1) Establishment of an Emigration Commission to organise migration in Europe and to take steps to promote the absorption and reinstatement of the 1½ million Displaced Persons into European communities and overseas.

(2) Economic and social contribution towards the fulfilment of the Marshall Plan.

(3) Study of the laws concerning inventions within the sphere of United Europe.

(4) Free movement of travellers throughout Europe.

(5) Elimination of double taxation, co-ordination of the taxes falling on production and trade.

(6) Institution of an inquiry as to the means of progressively eliminating competition based on disparities arising from low standards of real wages and conditions of employment, which in the past have led to the erection of high tariffs and other barriers to international trade.

(7) Study of the economic aspects of the problems of the Ruhr.

Message to Europeans - by the Swiss federalist, Denis de Rougemont, adopted 1948 in Haag

Europe is threatened, Europe is divided, and the greatest danger comes from her divisions.

Impoverished, overladen with barriers that prevent the circulation of her goods but are no longer able to afford her protection, our disunited Europe marches towards her end. Alone, no one of our countries can hope seriously to defend its independence. Alone, no one of our countries can solve the economic problems of today. Without a freely agreed union our present anarchy will expose us tomorrow to forcible unification whether by the intervention of a foreign empire or usurpation by a political party.

The hour has come to take action commensurate with the danger.

Together with the overseas peoples associated with our destinies, we can tomorrow build the greatest political formation and the greatest economic unit our age has seen. Never will the history of the world have known so powerful a gathering of free men. Never will war, fear and misery have been checked by a more formidable foe.

Between this great peril and this great hope, Europe's mission is clear. It is to unite her peoples in accordance with their genius of diversity and with the conditions of modern community life, and so open the way towards organised freedom for which the world is seeking. It is to revive her inventive powers for the greater protection and respect of the rights and duties of the individual of which, in spite of all her mistakes, Europe is still the greatest exponent.

Human dignity is Europe's finest achievement, freedom her true strength. Both are at stake in our struggle. The union of our continent is now needed not only for the salvation of the liberties we have won, but also for the extension of their benefits to all mankind.

Upon this union depend Europe's destiny and the world's peace.

Let all therefore take note that we Europeans, assembled to express the will of all the peoples of Europe, solemnly declare our common aims in the following five articles, which summarise the resolutions adopted by the Congress:

PLEDGE

- (1) We desire a United Europe, throughout whose area the free movement of persons, ideas and goods is restored;
- (2) We desire a Charter of Human Rights guaranteeing liberty of thought, assembly and expression as well as the right to form a political opposition;
- (3) We desire a Court of Justice with adequate sanctions for the implementation of this Charter;
- (4) We desire a European Assembly where the live forces of all our nations shall be represented;

(5) And pledge ourselves in our homes and in public, in our political and religious life, in our professional and trade union circles, to give our fullest support to all persons and governments working for this lofty cause, which offers the last chance of peace and the one promise of a great future for this generation and those that will succeed it.

Speech by Winston Churchill (The Hague, 7 May 1948)

Let me first extend a warm welcome to all who have come together here, and wish them a fruitful result of their labours and discussions.

Since I spoke on this subject at Zurich in 1946, and since our British United Europe Movement was launched in January 1947, events have carried our affairs beyond our expectations. This cause was obviously either vital or merely academic. If it was academic, it would wither by the wayside; but if it was the vital need of Europe and the world in this dark hour, then the spark would start a fire which would glow brighter and stronger in the hearts and the minds of men and women in many lands. This is what has actually happened.

Great governments have banded themselves together with all their executive power. The mighty republic of the United States has espoused the Marshall Plan. Sixteen European States are now associated for economic purposes; five have entered into close economic and military relationship. We hope that this nucleus will in due course be joined by the peoples of Scandinavia, and of the Iberian peninsula, as well as by Italy, who should now resume her full place in the comity of nations. All who have worked and tried their best and especially Ministers in responsible office – we must not forget what their difficulties are – like Mr. Bevin, M. Bidault, M. Spaak, and General Marshall and others, have a right to feel content with the progress made and proud of what they have done. This is not a Movement of parties but a movement of peoples. There is no room for jealousies. If there is rivalry of parties, let it be to see which one will distinguish itself the most for the common cause. No one can suppose that Europe can be united on any party or sectional basis, any more than any one nation can assert an overweening predominance. It must be all for all. Europe can only be united by the heart-felt wish and vehement expression of the great majority of all the peoples in all the parties in all the freedom-loving countries, no matter where they dwell or how they vote.

We need not waste our time in disputes about who originated this idea of United Europe. There are many valid modern patents. There are many famous names associated with the revival and presentation of this idea, but we may all, I think, yield our pretensions to Henry Navarre, King of France, who, with his great Minister Sully, between the years 1600 and 1607, laboured to set up a permanent committee representing the fifteen – now we are sixteen – leading Christian States of Europe. This body was to act as an arbitrator on all questions concerning religious conflict, national frontiers, internal disturbance, and common action against any danger from the East, which in those days meant the Turks. This he called "The Grand Design." After this long passage of time we are the servants of the Grand Design.

This Congress has brought together leaders of thought and action from all the free countries of Europe. Statesmen of all political parties, leading figures from all the Churches, eminent writers, leaders of the professions, lawyers, chiefs of industry and prominent trade-unionists are gathered here. In fact a representative grouping of the most essential elements in the political, industrial, cultural and spiritual life of Europe is now assembled in this ancient hall. And although everyone has been invited in his individual capacity, nevertheless this Congress, and any conclusions it may reach, may fairly claim to be the voice of Europe. It is time indeed that that voice should be raised upon the scene of chaos and prostration, caused by the wrongs and hatreds of the past, and amid the dangers which lie about us in the present and cloud the future. We shall only save ourselves from the perils which draw near by

forgetting the hatreds of the past, by letting national rancours and revenges die, by progressively effacing frontiers and barriers which aggravate and congeal our divisions, and by rejoicing together in that glorious treasure of literature, of romance, of ethics, of thought and toleration belonging to all, which is the true inheritance of Europe, the expression of its genius and honour, but which by our quarrels, our follies, by our fearful wars and the cruel and awful deeds that spring from war and tyrants, we have almost cast away.

It is indeed fitting that this first Congress of Europe should meet in Holland, which, with her neighbours of the Benelux group, is already leading the way by her example, and for whose hospitality and countenance we express our gratitude. And may I here say with what especial significance and warmth we greet the presence here of Princess Juliana and Prince Bernhardt who have so graciously come to join us in our opening session. Indeed Benelux, that happy novel term, is at once a model and a pioneer for our immediate advance.

The Movement for European Unity must be a positive force, deriving its strength from our sense of common spiritual values. It is a dynamic expression of democratic faith based upon moral conceptions and inspired by a sense of mission. In the centre of our movement stands the idea of a Charter of Human Rights, guarded by freedom and sustained by law. It is impossible to separate economics and defence from the general political structure. Mutual aid in the economic field and joint military defence must inevitably be accompanied step by step with a parallel policy of closer political unity.

It is said with truth that this involves some sacrifice or merger of national sovereignty. But it is also possible and not less agreeable to regard it as the gradual assumption by all the nations concerned of that larger sovereignty which can alone protect their diverse and distinctive customs and characteristics and their national traditions all of which under totalitarian systems, whether Nazi, Fascist, or Communist, would certainly be blotted out for ever.

Some time ago I stated that it was the proud mission of the victor nations to take the Germans by the hand and lead them back into the European family, and I rejoice that some of the most eminent and powerful Frenchmen have spoken in this sense. To rebuild Europe from its ruins and make its light shine forth again upon the world, we must first of all conquer ourselves. It is in this way only that the sublime, with its marvellous transmutations of material things, can be brought into our daily life.

Europe requires all that Frenchmen, all that Germans, and all that every one of us can give. I therefore welcome here the German delegation, whom we have invited into our midst. For us the German problem is to restore the economic life of Germany and revive the ancient fame of the German race without thereby exposing their neighbours and ourselves to any rebuilding or reassertion of their military power of which we still bear the scars. United Europe provides the only solution to this two-sided problem and it is also a solution which can be implemented without delay.

(Applause).

It is necessary for the executive governments of the sixteen countries, associated for the purposes of the Marshall Plan, to make precise arrangements. These can apply at present only to what is called Western Europe. In this we wish them well and will give them all loyal support; but our aim here is not confined to Western Europe. We seek nothing less than all

Europe. Distinguished exiles from Czechoslovakia, and almost all the Eastern European nations, and also from Spain, are present among us. We aim at the eventual participation of all European peoples whose society and way of life, making all allowances for the different points of view in various countries, are not in disaccord with a Charter of Human Rights and with the sincere expression of free democracy. We welcome any country where the people own the Government, and not the Government the people.

(Applause).

It is not the fault of those who are gathered here today, nor of the Governments involved in the Marshall Plan or in the Western Union, and least of all is it the fault of the United States, that the unity of Europe cannot be at present complete. All the States of the East and South-East of Europe, except Greece, are constrained to hold aloof from us and most of them are not allowed to express themselves by free democratic electoral processes. We must aim at nothing less than the union of Europe as a whole, and we look forward with confidence to the day when that union will be achieved.

I was anxious at first lest the United States of America should view with hostility the idea of a United States of Europe. But I rejoice that the great Republic in its era of world-leadership has risen far above such moods. We must all be thankful as we sit here that the nation called to the summit of the world by its mass, its energies and its power, has not been found lacking in those qualities of greatness and nobility upon which the record of famous States depends. Far from resenting the creation of United Europe, the American people welcome and ardently sustain the resurrection of what was called the Old World, now found in full partnership with the New.

(Applause).

Nothing that we do or plan here conflicts with the paramount authority of a world organisation of the United Nations. On the contrary I have always believed, as I declared in the war, that a Council of Europe was a subordinate but necessary part of the world organisation. I thought at that time, when I had great responsibility, that there should be several regional councils, august but subordinate, that these should form the massive pillars upon which the world organisation would be founded in majesty and calm. This was the direction in which my hopes and thought lay three or four years ago. To take an example from the military sphere, with which our hard experiences have made us all familiar, the design for world government might have followed the system of three or more groups of armies – in this case armies of peace – under one supreme headquarters. Thus I saw the vast Soviet Union forming one of these groups. The Council of Europe, including Great Britain linked with her Empire and Commonwealth, would be another. Thirdly, there was the United States and her sister republics in the Western Hemisphere with all their great spheres of interest and influence. In the mind picture which it was possible to form as victory in the war became certain, there was the hope that each of these three splendid groupings of states and nations whose affairs of course would sometimes overlap, might have settled within themselves a great number of differences and difficulties, which are now dragged up to the supreme world organisation, and that far fewer, but also far more potent figures would represent them at the summit. There was also the hope that they would meet not in an overcrowded Tower of Babel, but, as it were, upon a mountain top where all was cool and quiet and calm, and from

which the wide vision of the world would be presented with all things in their due proportion. As the poet Blake wrote:

"Above Time's troubled fountains
On the great Atlantic mountains
In my golden house on high".

To some extent events have moved in this direction, but not in the spirit or the shape that was needed. The western hemisphere already presents itself as a unit. Here at The Hague we are met to help our various Governments to create the new Europe. But we are all grieved and perplexed and imperilled by the discordant attitude and policy of the third great and equal partner, without whose active aid the world organisation cannot function, nor the shadow of war be lifted from the hearts and minds of men and nations. We must do our best to create and combine the great regional unities which it is in our power to influence, and we must endeavour by patient and faithful service, to prepare for the day when there will be an effective world government resting upon the main groupings of mankind. Thus for us and for all who share our civilisation and our desire for peace and world government, there is only one duty and watchword: Persevere. That is the command which should rule us at this Congress. Persevere along all the main lines that have been made clear and imprinted upon us by the bitter experiences through which we have passed. Persevere towards those objectives which are lighted for us by all the wisdom and inspiration of the past: Persevere.

(Applause).

I have the feeling that after the second Thirty Years' War, for that is what it is, through which we have just passed, mankind needs and seeks a period of rest. After all, how little it is that the millions of homes in Europe represented here today are asking. What is it that all these wage-earners, skilled artisans, soldiers and tillers of the soil require, deserve, and may be led to demand? Is it not a fair chance to make a home, to reap the fruits of their toil, to cherish their wives, to bring up their children in a decent manner and to dwell in peace and safety, without fear or bullying or monstrous burdens or exploitations, however this may be imposed upon them? That is their heart's desire. That is what we mean to win for them.

President Roosevelt spoke of the Four Freedoms, but the one that matters most today is Freedom from Fear. Why should all these hardworking families be harassed, first in bygone times, by dynastic and religious quarrels, next by nationalistic ambitions, and finally by ideological fanaticism? Why should they now have to be regimented and hurled against each other by variously labelled forms of totalitarian tyranny, all fomented by wicked men, building their own predominance upon the misery and the subjugation of their fellow human beings? Why should so many millions of humble homes in Europe, aye, and much of its enlightenment and culture, sit quaking in dread of the policeman's knock?

That is the question we have to answer here. That is the question which perhaps we have the power to answer here. After all, Europe has only to arise and stand in her own majesty, faithfulness and virtue, to confront all forms of tyranny, ancient or modern, Nazi or Communist, with forces which are unconquerable, and which if asserted in good time may never be challenged again.

I take a proud view of this Congress. We cannot rest upon benevolent platitudes and generalities. Our powers may be limited but we know and we must affirm what we mean and what we want. On the other hand it would not be wise in this critical time to be drawn into laboured attempts to draw rigid structures of constitutions. That is a later stage, and it is one in which the leadership must be taken by the ruling governments in response no doubt to our impulse, and in many cases to their own conceptions. We are here to lay the foundations upon which the statesmen of the western democracies may stand, and to create an atmosphere favourable to the decisions to which they may be led. It is not for us who do not wield the authority of Governments to confront each other or the world with sharply-cut formulas or detailed arrangements. There are many different points of view which have to find their focus. We in Britain must move in harmony with our great partners in the Commonwealth, who, I do not doubt, though separated from us by the ocean spaces, share our aspirations and follow with deep attention our trend of thought. But undue precipitancy, like too much refinement, would hinder and not help the immediate mission we have to fulfil. Nevertheless we must not separate without a positive step forward.

The task before us at this Congress is not only to raise the voice of United Europe during these few days we are together. We must here and now resolve that in one form or another a European Assembly shall be constituted which will enable that voice to make itself continuously heard and we trust with ever-growing acceptance through all the free countries of this Continent.

A high and a solemn responsibility rests upon us here this afternoon in this Congress of a Europe striving to be reborn. If we allow ourselves to be rent and disordered by pettiness and small disputes, if we fail in clarity of view or courage in action, a priceless occasion may be cast away for ever. But if we all pull together and pool the luck and the comradeship – and we shall need all the comradeship and not a little luck if we are to move together in this way – and firmly grasp the larger hopes of humanity, then it may be that we shall move into a happier sunlit age, when all the little children who are now growing up in this tormented world may find themselves not the victors nor the vanquished in the fleeting triumphs of one country over another in the bloody turmoil of destructive war, but the heirs of all the treasures of the past and the masters of all the science, the abundance and the glories of the future.

(Applause).