

mendations adopted by the International Council on the issue of the European Assembly, in turn to be submitted to the governments concerned, were as follows:

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(...) 1. The delegates to the Assembly should be nominated by the various national Parliaments in such a way as to represent the vital forces in each country.

2. Each Parliament should, however, be free to nominate only those delegates who undertake to contribute loyally to the establishment of democratic institutions in a United Europe.

3. The number of delegates, chosen to represent the countries which at present enjoy democratic government, should be at least 300.

4. It is highly desirable that each national representation should include both Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary elements. The Parliamentarians should (subject to the provisions of paragraph 2 above) be designated in such a way that the parties constituted within each interested Parliament are appropriately represented. A due place should be accorded to active supporters of European co-operation.

5. The Assembly should, from the outset, be composed of representatives from all European countries enjoying democratic government, and should include representatives from Western Germany.

6. Apart from national delegations, another form of representation should be provided. The Assembly should elect personalities chosen for their representative European character, including citizens of countries which are at present unable to express themselves democratically.

7. In order to emphasize the fact that it is the function of the Assembly to represent the whole of Europe, it is suggested that a certain number of places in the Chamber of the Assembly should be reserved for representatives of the countries which cannot express themselves democratically. These empty places would demonstrate the solidarity of all the peoples of Europe.

8. The Assembly must have the right to discuss any questions of interest to the European community. Any issues which affect the organization of Europe, should be referred to the Assembly by the Council of Ministers for discussion.

9. The Assembly should, each year, hold two or three sessions and should sit for not less than forty-five days.

10. The Assembly should set up a certain number of Standing Committees.

11. The Assembly should be provided with an adequate Secretariat.

89. Duncan Sandys: Brussels Congress Speech 25 February 1949

EM Archives, File 'Brussels Congress', Plenary Assembly, Doc. *Speech No. 1.*

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The Brussels Congress, marking not only the full formal launch of the international movement – now including also the MSEUE and NEI, but concentrating too on policy formulation and organizational matters, was perhaps the high-point in Sandys' executive chairmanship of the European Movement. The opening speech which he delivered, and which is quoted in full below, helps to pinpoint the scope and responsibilities for the European campaign which the post entailed.

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Our first task today is to confirm our own existence. That is, officially to register the birth of the European Movement. You can see for yourselves that it is already a very flourishing child.

The European Movement is the outcome of the now famous Congress of Europe at The Hague last May. We are, in fact, its heirs and executors and ours is the responsibility for securing the implementation of its historic decisions. It is well to emphasize the difference in character between the Hague meeting and the meeting here in Brussels today. The Hague Congress was a gathering of eminent personalities invited in their individual capacity, whereas the distinguished men and women who are assembled here today have come as the delegates of constituent organizations to form the Council of a great international Movement, whose strength and influence is growing every day.

Organizational structure. In the organizational proposals, which we are submitting for your approval, we have sought to integrate and blend the principal elements from which the European Movement derives its strength: – the militant societies working for the European cause, who are the spearhead of our campaign; the National Councils representing the political parties and other important aspects of public life; the exiled leaders of the democratic forces in the countries with totalitarian regimes; and, finally, the specialized Study Sections to which we look for counsel and inspiration in regard to the economic, social, cultural and juridical activities of our Movement. Our new organization, which is the result of much discussion and consultation, does, we believe, offer to all in these diverse spheres the widest opportunity to play an effective part in the advancement of the common cause which has brought us together.

The International Executive Committee readily admits that the Movement has still important gaps in its structure and serious deficiencies in its organization. But this is hardly surprising when one remembers that it is only exactly four months today since the European Movement was founded at a meeting at the City Hall here in Brussels on the 25th October last. But during these months we have not just been busying ourselves with the internal structure of our Movement. Without waiting for the completion of our organization we have been initiating important political action. As we say in England, we have tried to run before we could walk. We have done this deliberately because we

felt that there was no time to be lost, and I think we can claim to some extent to have succeeded.

European Assembly. The most pressing and insistent demand made at The Hague was for the creation of a European Assembly. Immediately following the Congress we organized deputations to the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of most of the free countries of Europe. We also submitted Memoranda setting out the arguments in favour of creating the Assembly and suggesting procedure for convening it.

The proposal for an Assembly has now been adopted officially by governments and it will soon be an accomplished fact. This heartening decision is due in large measure to the far-sighted statesmanship of M. Spaak and M. Schuman. But I believe that they would be the first to agree that if there had been no Hague Congress and no European Movement to follow it up the idea of a European Assembly would today still be in the sphere of academic discussion.

But our task does not end there. Having had some share in creating it, the European Movement has a special responsibility for making the Assembly a success. First, we must use our influence to ensure that the composition and size of the Assembly, the method of selecting its members and the organization of its Sessions and Standing Committees are such as to render it an effective institution capable of giving wise advice to governments and bold leadership to the European peoples.

Secondly, we have a continuing responsibility to intensify our studies upon the problems of European union so that we may be in a position to submit well-considered and authoritative proposals both to the Assembly and to the European Council of Ministers.

Study Sections. The Economic Study Section, under the chairmanship of Sir Harold Butler, has already made much progress and we are convening an important Economic Conference at Westminster in April to consider the constructive propositions which are now being elaborated.

The cultural Section, under the chairmanship of Professor de Madariaga, is studying means of bringing the peoples of Europe closer together on the spiritual and cultural plane and is preparing to establish in Switzerland the European Cultural Conference recommended by the Hague Congress.

We hope shortly to constitute a third Study Section, the Juridical Section. Its first main task will be to follow up the decisions which the International Council may take in regard to the establishment of a European Court of Human Rights.

Court of Human Rights. The European cause is becoming more and more identified with the defence of human rights. But it is not enough merely to declare our love of liberty. We must create efficient machinery for its joint protection. Wherever the rights or dignity of man are threatened, free men everywhere must combine to preserve them and, if need be, restore them. An attack on one man's freedom is an attack on the freedom of all. It is in that spirit that the International Executive is submitting to you for your consideration a draft Convention for the creation of a European Court of Human Rights. Encouraged by our experience over the Assembly, we confidently hope that, between

now and the next Annual Meeting of our Movement, a second great European institution – the European Court – will have been constituted.

A Step ahead of Governments. The influence of our Movement with governments, which is already considerable, depends upon our always showing a sense of responsibility. That means that we must resist the natural temptation to advocate projects which, though theoretically desirable, are politically impossible. Nevertheless, the European Movement must not hesitate to lead the way, a long step ahead of the governments, and must fearlessly and insistently demand all measures which are necessary and practicable.

The Iron Curtain Countries. There is one important field in which the action of governments is unavoidably restricted and that is in regard to the totalitarian countries with which they have official diplomatic relations. Our Movement, in its independent and unofficial position, is not obliged to show the same caution.

On the contrary, we have a duty ceaselessly to proclaim our determination to see all the peoples of all Europe united in freedom.

In all these countries, the European idea is more and more becoming the central theme and inspiration of the resistance against tyranny. Exiled leaders from these countries have formed Provisional Councils of the European Movement. Through them we must endeavour to bring hope and encouragement to the democratic forces outside and inside their countries, and let them never doubt that, in the Europe we are building, places will be kept for the absent members of the European family.

Popular Campaign. I have spoken of the approaches we have made to governments. We must at the same time address our appeal to the broad masses. Our Movement must give to the peoples of Europe the means of voicing their determination to live together in unity, freedom and peace.

We must in the months ahead launch a popular campaign on a great scale – a campaign which will recognize no frontiers, and which, as it spreads across Europe, will light a flame of hope in the hearts of countless men and women in every land.

We are today formally inaugurating a great Movement in which we can all be proud to serve. Our Movement is much more than an organization. It is a faith – a faith which brings strength, inspiration and a sense of brotherhood to all who adopt it. Together we have dedicated ourselves to a common mission. Together we are going to make history. We, and the millions who will join us, will go forward together until the objective of United Europe shall have become an accomplished reality.

90. European Movement International Council: Organization of the European Movement 28 February 1949

EM Archives, File 'Brussels Congress', Excerpt from Statement Approved by the International Council, Doc. INF/1/E, *Origins, Objectives and Organization*.