

J E A N M O N N E T

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE HAS BEGUN

The European Coal and Steel Community
Speeches and addresses

1952-1954

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The United States of Europe Has Begun

European Coal and Steel Community

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Throughout the work that we are to carry on, we must bear in mind that the Europeans can only fulfil all the potentialities with which they have been endowed by nature and by history provided they keep step with the age they live in.

The single market which we shall introduce for the first time is an essential pre-requisite if we want to achieve those great developments of production, developments which are necessary and which it is possible to achieve if Europe will only unite instead of destroying itself.

SUCH A UNION CANNOT BE FOUNDED ON GOOD INTENTIONS ALONE. THERE HAVE TO BE RULES. The tragic events through which we have lived, and those which we still see going on, have perhaps made us wiser. But men disappear, and others will come to take our places. What we can bequeath them is not our own personal experience, for that will vanish along with us: what we can bequeath them is the Institutions. Institutions have a longer life than men, and thus, if they are properly constructed, they can accumulate and transmit the wisdom of successive generations.

THE GREAT EUROPEAN REVOLUTION OF OUR AGE, AIMED AT REPLACING NATIONAL RIVALRIES ON OUR CONTINENT BY THE UNION OF PEOPLES IN FREEDOM AND IN DIVERSITY, THE REVOLUTION WHICH SEEKS TO BRING ABOUT A NEW FLOWERING OF OUR CIVILIZATION AND OPEN UP A NEW RENAISSANCE, IS HAVING ITS BEGINNING IN THESE DAYS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPE.

Our common supranational institutions are still weak and frail, and it is our duty to respect and develop them, to give them a strength which will shield them from our fondness for temporary expedients. Now that these institutions are set up, the Europe which we wish to leave as a heritage to our children has started to be a living reality.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg, September 11, 1952

I. EUROPE KEEPS PACE WITH THE WORLD

- A. "Europe is no longer in step with the world."
- B. "A big internal market."
- C. "Institutions governed by new common rules."

A. EUROPE IS NO LONGER IN STEP WITH THE WORLD

If you look around, what do you see?

In the first place, two great, enormous powers which are developing their production and their productivity according to two different systems and which dispose of great areas, vast markets with large numbers of consumers.

You also see countries which have been "absorbed" and are no longer masters of their own destinies.

You also see other countries which are there, quite close to us, but to which certainly most of you are no longer giving any thought, they have been "forgotten".

Finally, you see our countries in Europe which for centuries led the world, but which for generations now have been at war with one another in the name of their national sovereignty in order finally to destroy themselves by their own hands.

IF ONE LOOKS BACK A LITTLE AND SEES THE TREMENDOUS DISASTER WHICH THE EUROPEANS HAVE BROUGHT ON THEMSELVES IN THE COURSE OF THESE PAST 50, 75 or 100 YEARS, ONE BECOMES REALLY FRIGHTENED. YET, THE REASON FOR THIS IS SIMPLE; IT IS BECAUSE, DURING THESE HUNDRED YEARS, EACH ONE FOLLOWED HIS OWN DESTINY, OR WHAT HE BELIEVED TO BE HIS DESTINY, BY APPLYING HIS OWN RULES.

Everyone did just as he pleased according to what he thought were the needs of his own national prestige. In the end, in seeking to solve their problems in this way, the countries were tempted into crossing their frontiers in an effort to dominate the others.

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When you look at the present progress of the world and consider the place which Europe and the Europeans held in the past, and are still holding today, you can come to only one conclusion: it is that Europe is no longer in harmony with the rest of the world. Now, it is quite definite that if there is one condition essential to the development of an individual, it is harmony with his environment. The moment you have a lack of balance between the individual and the rest of the world, this individual can no longer develop his qualities and be himself. The greatest risk which, to my mind, Europe is running is the deterioration of the individual because he is incapable of bringing into his daily life, for his security, the means which progress would enable him to use.

If he cannot do it, it is because the conditions in which we are living, in which the countries of Europe are living, prevent him from doing so.

The inevitable outcome is an inferiority complex which one does not admit to oneself, but which takes the form of discontentment with others, when in fact one is discontented with oneself. This is to a great extent the contemporary mentality in Europe.

Carry this thought a little further, and you will find that the Europeans who for so long made the major contribution to civilization, will be reduced to the role of a population living a restricted life, a life below the standard you find in other parts of the world. The European will live withdrawn into himself, no longer able, either for his own happiness or for civilization, to make the contribution which he has always made in the past, and which he will be able to make again only on condition that he keeps in step with the times. Now, as I have told you, Europe today is no longer in step with a rapidly progressing modern world. In most spheres we find that, relatively, Europe has lost weight in the world.

Let us consider, first of all, industrial production. In 1913, Western Europe, to the West of the Oder, produced 45% of the world's manufactures; by 1937, this share had dropped to 34%; in 1951, it was no more than 26%. While world production trebled between 1913 and 1951, that of Western Europe grew only to less than twice its volume.

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To give you other examples, here are some European consumption figures compared with the equivalent American figures. In Western Europe we consume, in various forms of power, the equivalent of two tons of coal

per head of population; America consumes 8 tons. Steel consumption per capita per annum works out at $4\frac{1}{2}$ cwt for the Community, 6.1 cwt for Great Britain, 12 cwt for the United States, and 3 - 3.6 cwt for Russia. Russian consumption, in so far as one can believe the statistics, is growing at a considerable pace. The national income is 1,575 dollars per head in the United States, and varies between 250 and 500 in the Community.

These figures are only a faint indication of the extent to which Europe has been left behind. How can this gap, this lag be explained? The people of Europe are just as intelligent, just as inventive, just as hard-working, and they have given proof of this on many occasions. But whereas they are working within narrow limits and are producing for confined markets, one of the outstanding features of the countries where progress is, without compare the greatest and the quickest, is that these countries command great areas and vast markets.

Lecture to Society of Political Economy,
Brussels, 30 June 1953.

B. "A BIG INTERNAL MARKET."

Hitherto, each country has based its actions on a fundamental distinction between its own products and those emanating from other countries, between its own consumers and those in the other countries.

That is the reason why barriers were erected, such as Customs duties, which raise the prices of imported products so that they cannot compete with home production, and quota systems, which directly limit such competition by imposing a ceiling on imports.

The first conclusion to be drawn from our experiment is that the countries of Europe no longer measure up to world standards.

Divided politically, weakened by the war and the fear of wars, they have, of course, not lost all their vital powers: their recovery since the last war is further proof of this. But when any one of them tries to secure a precarious advantage at the others' expense it merely weakens their common position in the face of external competition.

It is because of their division that the countries of Europe do not carry more weight in world economy as compared with the United States of America today or the Soviet Union as it may become in a few years' time.

THE CREATION OF A BIG INTERNAL MARKET IS ESSENTIAL TO ENABLE
EUROPEANS TO RECOVER THEIR PLACE AND TO PLAY THEIR PART IN THE PROGRESS
OF THE FREE WORLD.

Common Assembly
Strasbourg
January 12, 1953.

Great continental markets have been developed, particularly in the United States and in Russia. Such a market as the American fulfils the powers of industry to their greatest extent. It encourages large, competitive business and efficient commercial methods. The techniques of modern mass production are, in fact, essentially a response to the opportunities of your large market. The Europeans, by comparison, have been working within narrow limits and producing for confined markets of ten to fifty million people. THEY HAVE HAD NO ROOM FOR SPREADING THEIR ENTERPRISES. PRODUCTION HAS REMAINED TOO SMALL, AND PRICES STAYED TOO HIGH. WITH RELATIVELY SMALL TURNOVERS, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DEVOTE THE HUGE SUMS TO RESEARCH AND INVESTMENT WHICH AMERICAN FIRMS CAN AND DO PUT ASIDE FOR THESE PURPOSES. IN A EUROPE DIVIDED INTO SMALL NATIONS, EUROPEAN ENERGIES HAVE NOT FOUND THEIR NECESSARY OUTLETS.

Let me give you an example. Everyone knows that America made the first atom bomb. Many of those who contributed to that technical triumph were Europeans. But in Europe these brilliant, inventive minds were isolated, separated. It was America that brought them, among others, together to harness - for good or evil, I hope for good - these incommensurable forces.

Europe's situation, and that of us all, is further aggravated by the fact that it exists at a time when we are living through what is probably the greatest revolution in production and living standards which the world has ever seen.

Two hundred years ago, just as two thousand years ago, very few people indeed gave a thought to the problem of using material resources to improve human organisation. For thousands of years the standard of living of the people in the civilised parts of the world had hardly changed. There were ups and downs; prosperous times were followed by ages of war and catastrophe; and at various periods the few lived lives of luxury and splendour. But for the mass of the people conditions had always been unrelievedly bad, and had hardly altered. Even at the moments of greatest political and cultural achievement, it was not possible greatly to improve the material conditions of the masses because the power greatly to increase resources did not exist.

It is only during the past two centuries that conditions in the world - I speak mainly, of course, of the western world - have changed drastically by the application of mechanical power in large-scale industrial development. Steam, electricity and diesel power have produced what is probably the greatest revolution the world has ever known in production and in the ways of life of the people. That revolution is still in full progress. We are being propelled forward by the forces of production which we have created. New wealth creates new demands. One invention, like radio, quickens another, like radar, and leads, as with the electronics industry, to new fields of industrial development. Today, a world-wide prosperity is not merely a reasonable hope. It is the natural end of the process of production.

This expansion, this abundance and increasing abundance of resources has aroused new aspirations. The people even in the poorest parts of the world expect to benefit by it. They were accustomed to look on their poverty as the will of Providence. Now they hope and expect that the tremendous advance in material power of mankind will be brought to bear on their own standards of living.

That demand is a natural, inescapable one. We have to satisfy it. The societies that succeed are and will be, those that can satisfy it. Their economies today must, like the competitive economy of the United States, be able to produce wealth greatly and distribute its fruits widely. Those that do not, will fail.

SO TODAY, AS NEVER BEFORE, THE WAY IN WHICH WE ORGANISE MATERIAL RESOURCES, WILL DETERMINE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN. IF WE DO NOT ORGANISE OUR RESOURCES WIDELY, EVEN THE HIGHEST CREATIVE QUALITIES IN A PEOPLE WILL LABOUR AT A DISADVANTAGE AND MAY WITHER. BUT FOR THOSE WHO ORGANISE IN ACCORD WITH MODERN NEEDS THERE IS NOT MERELY THE PROSPECT OF PROGRESS WHICH SHOULD NORMALLY REWARD SOUND LEADERSHIP, BUT AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY TO TRANSCEND THE DIVISIONS AND LIMITED FORMS OF THE PAST. APPROACHED IN THIS WAY, THE ORGANISATION OF RESOURCES IS ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL LEVERS THAT EXIST FOR TRANSFORMING WORLD CONDITIONS.

Gigantic resources must be released to make a people prosperous and self-reliant in this twentieth century. That can only be done over wide united economic and political areas. The growing sense that this is a basic condition of a dynamic future is driving Europeans to unite.

Their recognition of this is the greater because the divisions and national rivalries of Europe have twice lately led to appalling destruction and human suffering. These divisions led to Europe's spending half its time since 1900 in war or reconstruction after war - periods when other nations were able to progress towards prosperity, in some cases with extraordinary speed. Europe's peoples must unite if there is to be an end to the state rivalries which have already precipitated the nations into two world wars and almost ruined Europe itself. Driven by the need to widen the outlets for their production while ending the temptation to war, and realising the opportunity this provided for transforming the relations between them, the Europeans have set up the European Coal and Steel Community.

Columbia University

June 2, 1954.

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C. "INSTITUTIONS GOVERNED BY NEW COMMON RULES."

In the face of the situation which I have just briefly called to mind, and which is characterized by a certain loss of relative weight and influence of Europe in the world, we have asked ourselves: What now? Have discussions? There were numerous international organizations to which the governments sent representatives, each one upholding his own point of view, but nobody could adopt the comprehensive point of view of all. Now, as the problem is a general one, someone must adopt this comprehensive point of view without which we should never get anywhere. We have all got to know these international organizations; at one time we sat in the League of Nations. I know the value of discussions in which national sovereignty in the last resort amounts to a question of prestige, and which seek to find solutions by way of compromise. Compromise is always the lowest and weakest denominator, and the problems are really never solved.

We have talked about Europe for a long time; but in the face of this situation, Mr. Robert Schuman and others said to themselves that we must stop talking, and act.

One of your compatriots, Mr. Roger Motz, told the Common Assembly in Strasbourg: "At last we are moving out of the realm of dreams!" That is true, it is to this reality of Europe that what we call the "Schuman Plan" has been harnessed in order to make Europe move a step forward, a first step but an essential one for settling the problems, or at least for making it possible to settle the problems.

THE SCHUMAN PLAN STARTS OUT FROM VERY SIMPLE NOTIONS.

FIRST OF ALL, THE NOTION THAT THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES ARE COMMON HERITAGE AND MUST BE DEVELOPED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

THIS REQUIRES COMMON INSTITUTIONS WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE EVERYTHING AS A WHOLE - THAT IS, EUROPE - AND TO DECIDE FOR THE GOOD OF THE COMMUNITY.

We are seeking to create conditions whereby Europeans may live without fear and suspicion, in touch with world trends. For this purpose, the new institutions, in which the European countries are merging a portion of their national sovereignty, will espouse the common interests of Europe and will reach their decisions solely in the interests of the Community, under the democratic control provided for by the establishment of the Political Community and the European Parliament based on universal suffrage. Only such institutions are capable of learning new wisdom.

FOR A LONG TIME I HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE THOUGHT OF A SWISS PHILOSOPHER WHO SAID: "INDIVIDUAL MAN IS ALWAYS GOING BACK TO WHERE HE STARTED. ONLY INSTITUTIONS LEARN NEW WISDOM. THEY AMASS THE CUMULATIVE EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMUNITY, AND, THROUGH THIS EXPERIENCE AND WISDOM, MEN SUBJECT TO THE SAME RULES WILL EXPERIENCE IF NOT A CHANGE OF NATURE, YET A GRADUAL TRANSFORMATION OF THEIR BEHAVIOUR."

Here surely is the justification, if any were needed, for the existence of these common institutions. When I consider that Frenchmen, Germans, Belgians, Dutchmen, Italians and Luxemburgers will all conform to common rules and in doing so will view their common problem in the same

light, and when I consider that their attitude towards each other will consequently undergo a radical change, I cannot but feel that definite progress will have been made in the relations between the countries and peoples of Europe.

Joint Meeting of Members of the
Common Assembly and of the Con-
sultative Assembly of the Council
of Europe,
Strasbourg, 22 June, 1953.

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I am personally convinced that one of the major causes of weakness in the Continental countries is not merely their division, but the facility with which they prejudice the functioning of their institutions. One cannot fail to be struck by the sense of continuity and spirit of quiet resolution which assure Great Britain and the United States of respect for their institutions.

IT IS THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH GOVERN RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEN; THEY ARE THE TRUE CORNER-STONES OF CIVILIZATION.

Our experiment is to be considered as a test for the future stages of the construction of Europe. Only a common outlook, common rules and common institutions can enable us to recover. That is the new reality born of our experience. It respects deep national realities: it excludes neither diversity of temperament and customs, nor respect for the traditions and innate character of each country, but it dispels the vestiges of an earlier age, mutual fears and the protection of small closed markets. The pooling of their resources eliminates suspicion and distrust between the peoples.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
January 12, 1953.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THIS CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS GOVERNED BY NEW AND COMMON RULES WILL, ULTIMATELY, BE MORE IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONS OF EUROPE THAN THE TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL MEANS TO WHICH INVESTMENTS AND MARKET EXPANSION MAY CONTRIBUTE. It is true that increased coal and steel production is not the basis of our civilization. We know, however, that these means are necessary for improving human conditions, for raising the living standards of workers.

We also know that all civilizations, even the most brilliant, are in danger of decay, unless they produce the means to maintain themselves and to develop at the same pace as the world progresses.

We have the responsibility to contribute together with you in the restricted sphere of coal and steel towards the creation of institutions and the promotion of material progress, as well as the common ideal which will make a living Europe out of our henceforth united countries.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
January 13, 1953.

II. THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY JUDGED ON THE FACTS

- A. "Common institutions."
- B. "An open Community."
"It is for others to join us."
Association with Great Britain.
- C. "What is the Common Market?"
- D. A Continuous Process, 1952-54:
"To change things."
"To protect employment and raise the standard of living."
"A new European loan."
"A living reality."
- E. The lessons of the Common Market.

II. THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY JUDGED ON THE FACTS

A. "COMMON INSTITUTIONS".

BEFORE DESCRIBING THE COMMUNITY AND WHAT IT HAS DONE, AND WHAT IT IS THE BEGINNING, I WANT TO MAKE ONE POINT OF WHAT WE ARE DOING AND OF ITS MEASURE OF SUCCESS, IS WHETHER AN AUTHORITY CREATED FREELY BY 6 NATIONS DEVIDED FOR SO MANY CENTURIES BY THEIR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY CAN TAKE ITS DECISIONS IN THE INTEREST OF THESE 6 NATIONS, AND THEN HAVE ITS DECISIONS CARRIED OUT BY THE ENTERPRISES AND THE NATIONS.

For the first time in centuries, Europe is doing just that.

The Coal and Steel Community, as you know, was proposed by the French Government in 1950, to - use its own terms - as the first step towards European federation. Its ultimate object is to contribute essentially to the creation of the United States of Europe. Its immediate object is for us to create a common free market for steel and coal between these 6 nations. Coal and Steel have been chosen for that purpose because they are, in our opinion, the basic elements of a modern economy.

THE METHOD USED IS TO DELEGATE THE SOVEREIGNTY POWERS OF EACH OF THESE 6 NATIONS TO COMMON INSTITUTIONS. For that purpose a Treaty was negotiated between the 6 nations, signed by the Governments, and submitted to the 6 Parliaments for ratification.

There you touch the fundamental principle of the creation of Europe - the free delegation of sovereign power by nations which so far have functioned only on the basis of their own national sovereignty now delegating part of that sovereignty to common institutions, to be exercised by them.

I want to lay great stress on this point because, if I may say so, the form of the peaceful democratic revolution which Europe is undergoing, we believe, will end by the erection of the United States of Europe.

THESE SOVEREIGN POWERS DELEGATED TO COMMON INSTITUTIONS ARE EXERCISED BY A SET OF INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE THE FIRST FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS OF EUROPE. THERE IS A SERIES OF CHECKS AND BALANCES, ASSURING DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OVER ALL DECISIONS.

There is the Executive which is the High Authority; there is the Parliament which is the Assembly elected by the 6 Parliaments; there is the Court of Justice to which any Government or interest may apply if they think that the High Authority has overstepped its powers.

The High Authority is assisted by a Consultative Committee composed in equal numbers of manufacturers, users and labour. In order to harmonize the policy of this Community of Coal and Steel with the national policies in other economic sections, there is the Council of Ministers of the 6 nations.

Their duty is to constantly confer with the High Authority so as to be sure that the Community of Coal and Steel and the rest of the economy which has remained sovereign is constantly harmonized.

In the functioning of these institutions, I want to make another point we regard as essential, that is that any decision of the High Authority before it is made, must be discussed by it with the Consultative Committee and in many cases with the Council of Ministers, but it makes the decision .

The responsibility for the decisions lies, as it should, with the Executive and these consultations in most cases represent our public explanation. The High Authority is then responsible before the Assembly. The Assembly holds a debate on the activities of the High Authority and if it does not approve, can dismiss it. Thus you have in the Community of Coal and Steel, as I have stated before, the first federal institutions of Europe, the fundamental principle for transfer of sovereignty. In pursuing it we hope it will finally merge into common institution the essentials of the sovereignties of the States that have been divided and opposed in Europe for so long and with such catastrophic consequences.

The principle of common rule and law and institutions will apply without discrimination. You have the beginning of the first free market without customs, duty and any discrimination whatsoever for 2 major commodities which, when extended, will become a common European market like you have in the United States, for 150 million consumers.

Statement before "Randall Committee"
investigating United States foreign
trade policy

Paris, November 11, 1953.

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For the first time, the traditional relations between States are now transformed. Under the methods of the past, even when European States are convinced of the need for common action, even when they set up an international organization, they retain their complete sovereignty. Thus the international organization can neither make decisions nor carry them out, but can only make recommendations to the States. These methods cannot eliminate our national antagonisms; as long as national sovereignty is not surmounted, such antagonisms can only be aggravated.

But today, six Parliaments have decided after careful deliberation, by substantial majorities, to create the first European Community which merges a portion of their respective national sovereignties and submits it to the common interest.

Within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by the Treaty, the High Authority has received from the six States a mandate to take decisions with complete independence, decisions which immediately become effective throughout their territory. The Authority obtains its financial resources, not from contributions by the States, but from direct levies on the industries under its control.

It is responsible, not to the States, but to a European Assembly. The Assembly was elected by the national Parliaments, but it has already been provided that it may be elected directly by the people. From the beginning, the members of the Assembly are not bound by any national mandate; they vote freely and individually, not by national blocs. Each of them represents not his own country but the whole Community. The Assembly controls our activities. It has the power to refuse us its confidence. It is the first European Assembly endowed with sovereign powers.

The acts of the High Authority are subject to review. But such review will be not by national courts, but by a European court, the Court of Justice.

Any of these institutions may be changed and improved in the light of experience. What cannot be challenged is the principle that they are supra-national - in other words federal - institutions. They are institutions which are sovereign within the limits of their competence - that is to say, which are endowed with the right to make decisions and carry them out.

However, coal and steel represent only a part of economic life. For this reason there must be continual liaison between the High Authority and the Governments which are still responsible for the overall economic policy of their States. The Council of Ministers was set up, not to exercise control and guardianship, but to provide this liaison and to assure the coordination of the policies of the High Authority and those of the member States.

That is why there is a fundamental difference between your Council and the international organizations we have been used to up to now. Apart from exceptional cases, the rule requiring unanimity has been discarded in its deliberations. What the Council has to do is to arrive at a common mind, not to seek a compromise between particular interests. In those cases provided for by the Treaty, where your agreement is needed for the decisions which the High Authority is called upon to take, you will thereby be at one in the exercise of the new sovereignty that is the mark of our Community.

Council of Ministers,
September 8, 1952.

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In proceeding with the installation of the High Authority of the Coal and Steel Community we are performing a solemn act. We are taking charge of the responsibility which has been entrusted to us by our six countries.

Each of us has been appointed, not by one of our Governments, but by the common consent of the six Governments. Thus we are all of us the common representatives of our six countries: Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. One important sign of hope I wish particularly to emphasize: we are here together, French and Germans, members of the same Community; vital interests of Germany and France are under the control of an Authority which is no longer either German or French, but European.

Institution of the High Authority,
Luxembourg, August 10, 1952.

B. AN OPEN-TO-ALL COMMUNITY,
NOT A "LITTLE EUROPE"

Since the first meeting of our Assembly in Strasbourg on 10th September last, we have had a twofold concern: to establish close relationships between our institutions without in any way merging them. As a matter of fact, our institutions are of a different nature; the Council of Europe is based on the idea of national sovereignty, whereas the European Coal and Steel Community is based on the new idea of a fusion of sovereignties. The Community is a new and sovereign entity. The High Authority is the executive body of this Community. The Assembly of this Coal and Steel Community is a sovereign body in the same way as national parliaments are in a wider field. Our Community will develop well only if all the measures it takes are made public and explained in public, not only to the people within our Community, but also to those who do not belong to it. This applies particularly to the member-states of the Council of Europe.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT OUR COMMUNITY IS NEITHER A LITTLE EUROPE NOR A RESTRICTED COMMUNITY. ITS LIMITS ARE NOT FIXED BY US. THEY ARE FIXED BY THE VERY COUNTRIES WHICH, FOR THE MOMENT, ARE NOT LINKING UP WITH IT. IT DEPENDS SOLELY UPON THEM WHETHER OUR LIMITS ARE EXTENDED AND WHETHER THE BARRIERS WHICH SEPARATE OUR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND WHICH THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY IS ANXIOUS TO ELIMINATE ARE PROGRESSIVELY, AND TO A STILL WIDER EXTENT, ABOLISHED.

Economic Affairs Committee
of the Consultative Assembly
of the Council of Europe,

28 March 1953

"IT IS FOR OTHERS TO JOIN US....."

The establishment of our Community will transform not only the relations among our six countries, but also those between other countries and Europe.

On the very morrow of the assumption of functions of the High Authority and as soon as the British Government re-affirmed their will of association, the Secretary of State declared in Washington that it was the intention of the United States to give the Coal and Steel Community the vigorous support justified by its importance for the political and economic unification of Europe and that in view of the entry in force of the Treaty, the United States will henceforth deal with the Community as far as questions of coal and steel are concerned.

We were sure to get the support of the United States but its decision to associate itself with the Community constitutes a new development in its policy, the extent of which we appreciate.

Common Assembly
Strasbourg
September 11, 1952.

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THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY THAT A GREAT POWER,⁽¹⁾ INSTEAD OF BASING ITS POLICY ON THE KEEPING-UP OF DIVISIONS, HAS CONTINUOUSLY AND RESOLUTELY SUPPORTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GREAT COMMUNITY FOUNDED ON UNION BETWEEN PEOPLES HITHERTO LIVING APART.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
June 19, 1953.

(1) The United States.

It is for others to accept this same revolutionary principle(1) and hand over to common authorities a portion of their sovereignty, so that in Europe, which has been divided for so many centuries, and brought by the conflicts of the last fifty years to the brink of disaster, the parliaments will at last consent to give to those common authorities, which make the peoples of Europe into one people, the power to apply these same rules, so that this continent, which has sufficient resources, and probably men and brains and imagination up to - perhaps above - those to be found anywhere else in the world, can at last use them for its prosperity and happiness instead of turning them as it has done so long to its destruction.

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We hope that the countries which do not belong to our Community but have members on the Council of Europe will ask us questions. We are ready to answer them, and we hope very much that we can continue to provide explanations, for the development of Europe can only come from a common understanding.

This is a point on which I want to insist. THE INTEREST OF ONE IS THE INTEREST OF ALL, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF A EUROPEAN MARKET IS NO SACRIFICE FOR ANYONE. ON THE CONTRARY, IT OFFERS NEW OPENINGS. WHERE YOU HAVE MANY BUYERS, YOU CAN HAVE MASS-PRODUCTION AND SPECIALIZATION. MASS-PRODUCTION AND SPECIALIZATION WILL ENABLE EUROPE TO INCREASE

(1) "The transfer, freely agreed and carried by the parliaments, of a portion of the national sovereignty to a common authority."

ITS PRODUCTIVITY, AND INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY, BY LOWERING PRODUCTION COSTS, WILL BRING ABOUT AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THE POPULATION AS A WHOLE.

This is an extremely simple fact which was not seen before, and which is just beginning to be glimpsed now. It is Europe; it is the European market. We are experiencing it day by day.

There was a great deal of opposition in every country at the time when the Schuman Plan was up for ratification - in my own particularly. Today the very people who opposed it, whether in my country or in others, realize the facts. They see something they had not seen before. In the old days, all they thought about was their own closed, limited, protected market, to safeguard which they had secured subsidies and Customs duties. They were afraid of the smallest alteration. They did not grasp the potentialities of a market of a hundred and fifty million consumers.

In the discussions with the Council of Europe, which we hope to continue, we believe that in the end the other countries will come to see what we have seen. When they do see it, they will wish to join us, and so, little by little, we shall see the expansion of the economic market which you desire, and Europe will fashion itself by example set, and action taken, and success achieved.

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AS FAR AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED, THE MAIN QUESTION FOR US IS WHETHER WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OURSELVES.

AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, WE HAVE GOT TO ACT, AND THAT IS ENOUGH.

AS FAR AS GREAT BRITAIN IS CONCERNED, WE HAVE GOT TO SUCCEED IN WHAT WE HAVE SET OUT TO DO, AND THAT IS THAT.

During the tour we have just been making in the United States, a journalist asked me: "Is this Europe you are making the result of Soviet pressure?" I said No. The Europe we are making is not born of fear. It is the result of the faith we have in ourselves and the certainty that if Europeans finally come to realize what qualities and abilities we have in common, we shall establish a Western world which will give to all civilization, to peace, to America, to Russia, a security which could not be achieved in any other way.

Common Assembly,
June 16, 1953.

The High Authority and the Common Assembly hope that this Community of ours, for which six countries have shouldered the first risks and laid the first foundations, will broaden out. We are thinking of the countries which are free to take part in our venture. We are thinking, too, of those Europeans who are not free today to do so, and who from now on have their places in our midst.

Joint meeting of Members of
the Common Assembly and of
the Consultative Assembly of
the Council of Europe,
Strasbourg, May 20, 1954.

Association with Great Britain

This venture of a unified Europe launched by the European Coal and Steel Community is not aimed at moulding one definite geographic entity. This thing that looks today like a boundary is really only a distinction between the six countries of Western Europe which have agreed to delegate part of their sovereignty to common institutions, and the others which have not.

There was nothing that our countries wanted or hoped for more than that Great Britain should come in with this venture of ours. But Britain did not feel able to join, for reasons which we know and respect.

But from now on it is the settled purpose of the British Government and ourselves to give full effect to something that is henceforward possible - a close and enduring association between the European Coal and Steel Community and the United Kingdom.

By association between Great Britain and the European Coal and Steel Community we mean not a trade treaty or an apportionment of overseas markets, but common action - responsibilities, rights and obligations shared in equality. Those are the conditions under which we hope to arrive at a procedure directly and organically associating the institutions of the Community and the institutions of the Community and the institutions of the United Kingdom.

First meeting of the
Joint Committee of the High
Authority and the British
Delegation to the High Authority
November 17, 1952.

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I have said it before, and I say it again - we regard the association of England with Europe as an essential condition if Europe is to succeed. But if such an association is to be achieved, it must be based on reality, and that reality must be there.

I have been convinced from the first that we shall see - soon, I hope - the beginnings of a real form of association with England. I think we shall for two very simple reasons - firstly, we are succeeding, and secondly, we have no ill-feeling towards England, in fact quite the reverse.

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When a British official of the National Coal Board visited us recently, one of the first things he asked was, "Are your decisions carried out?"

If our decisions were not carried out, we should be nobody at all. But when six countries recognize the common authority invested by six parliaments with the powers we call "supranational", and with various responsibilities, and when the decisions taken by that authority are carried out by the six countries, our Community is a reality, and that being so it is possible to treat with us.

So now we are going to sit down quietly with the British and go over the problems with them one after the other, and the High Authority will draw up proposals to be submitted to the British Government.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
June 15, 1953.

My colleagues of the High Authority and I are very happy to be here today with the Ambassadors in London representing the member countries of the European Coal and Steel Community to sign the Agreement of Association between the Community and the United Kingdom. In the European Coal and Steel Community, six countries - Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands - have with regards to these two basic products brought together their markets and their resources in a single sovereign union. The Community today commands on the common European market a yearly production of 240 million tons of coal and 43 million tons of steel.

This Community has been made possible by the fact that the six Community's States have delegated part of their sovereignty to common federal institutions with a power to act in the interest of all the member countries taken as a single whole. That is why we can now develop a growing association between, what is historically, the first European Community and Great Britain.

THE SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT PROVES BOTH THE WILL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO ASSOCIATE WITH THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY AND THE SUCCESS OF THE COMMUNITY. FOR WITHOUT THE SUCCESS OF THIS FIRST ACHIEVEMENT IN THE INTEGRATION OF HITHERTO DIVIDED COUNTRIES, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO SUBSTANCE, ON EITHER SIDE, FOR AN ASSOCIATION.

IN THE NEW ASSOCIATION BETWEEN US, BRITAIN AND THE COMMUNITY BOTH RETAIN THEIR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM OF DECISION; AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE CREATING A FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE COMMUNITY.

THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED KINGDOM IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPLETE RECIPRO-CITY. The Agreement provides for continuous consultation at the highest level which will commit us to consult together before policies affecting common problems finally take shape. This will be done in the Council of Association between the High Authority and the United Kingdom Government. When questions arise which involve the Governments of member states of the Community there will be special meetings of the Council of Ministers of the Community with the United Kingdom Government.

The Community by creating a large market is contributing to raising of living standards and the maintenance of peace and stability. As the Association between Britain and the European Community develops, the powers both of us jointly to achieve our common ideals, the improvement of the prospects of peace and of conditions of human life, will be greatly enhanced.

Signature of Agreement on Association
London, December 21, 1954.

C. "WHAT IS THE COMMON MARKET?"

THIS COMMON MARKET SIGNIFIES, FIRST AT ALL, THE REMOVAL OF ALL BARRIERS AND OF ALL OBSTACLES SO THAT EVERY BUYER IN THIS COMMUNITY OF 160 MILLION INHABITANTS, MAY OBTAIN HIS SUPPLIES FREELY WHEREVER HE CAN BUY THEM ON THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS.

IT ALSO SIGNIFIES THE ELIMINATION OF ALL THOSE DISCRIMINATIONS WHICH CREATE ARTIFICIAL INEQUALITIES IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS.

IT FURTHERMORE SIGNIFIES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MARKETING AND FINANCING CONDITIONS WHICH WILL LEAD TO IMPROVEMENTS IN PRODUCTION RESULTING IN A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING.

IT REPRESENTS, FINALLY, THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN TO ENSURE CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT AND TO PROTECT THE WORKER AGAINST THE BURDENS AND RISKS THAT COME WITH THE CHANGES WHICH ARE NECESSARY FOR PROGRESS.

Common Assembly
Strasbourg,
May 12, 1954.

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WHAT WILL THIS SINGLE MARKET FOR 155 MILLION CONSUMERS MEAN IN THE DAILY LIFE OF THE CITIZEN OF OUR SIX COUNTRIES? It will doubtless be said that few of them purchase coal and steel in large quantities. But coal and steel enter into the manufacture of everything which modern man needs: gas, electricity, tools, machines, and automobiles. Through the plow and the tractor, textile equipment, sewing machines, and structural steel, they play an essential part even in our homes, our clothing, and our food. More abundant, better quality, lower-priced coal and steel mean the opportunity for everyone to buy more and for every family to achieve a higher standard of living. The size and freedom of the single market will make it possible to develop mass production, which is the only way to obtain lower costs, expanded markets and greater production.

But this single market which includes the territories of our six countries has another significance. How can we help but be impressed, when we consider the activities entrusted to the Community, by this extraordinary concentration of iron and coal, by the density of the mining resources and industrial installations in such a limited area, which undoubtedly represents a concentration unique in the world.

Note how the basin of the North of France is prolonged into Belgium, how the Belgian coal mines fit together with the coal mines of Aix and the Ruhr; look at the Campine which is shared by Belgium and the Netherlands, and the same coal divided between the Saar and Lorraine, the same iron ore between Lorraine and Luxembourg! These resources which nature has made the primary industrial asset of Europe have been the stake of struggles for domination between States and industries. By erasing the divisions which men have arbitrarily made, we are today recreating the natural basin whose unity they have broken and whose development they have limited.

Establishment of the High Authority
Luxembourg, August 10, 1952.

In the past year the industries of the Community have produced 230 million tons of coal and almost 40 million tons of steel. At this level each inhabitant of our Community has on an average only half as much coal and steel as a citizen of the United States. In undertaking to create this vast European market for coal and steel, which is as important as the market in the U.S., we shall eliminate the obstacles preventing the development of production; we shall give producers the possibility to arrive at mass production; we shall help to bring about conditions making for an increase of the standard of living of the European population. Gradually the standard will be brought up to the one which the descendants of the emigrants who came from the old European continent have already reached on the far shores of the Atlantic Ocean. We shall particularly improve the living conditions of the 1,500,000 workers who are employed in the mines and factories of the Community.

In order to attain these aims it is our duty to do away with customs barriers, to eliminate cartels, to prevent excessive concentrations of economic power. The creation of this single market - without barriers, without discrimination, without domination - will ensure the pooling of resources. It will give the enterprises equal access to supplies and markets, and it will give the consumers equal access to all the sources of supply of the Community. In this way, production will develop under the most favourable conditions and will be utilized in the common interest.

Common Assembly
September 11, 1952.

ABOLISHING THE OLD DIVISIONS, THE SIX COUNTRIES HAVE ELECTED TO POOL RESOURCES TO A VALUE OF 5 OR 6 BILLIARD DOLLARS PER ANNUM, REPRESENTING 15% OF THEIR INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT; INDUSTRIES WHICH, BY EMPLOYING MORE THAN 1,750,000 PERSONS, PROVIDE WORK FOR ONE OUT OF TEN OF THEIR WORKING POPULATION; PRODUCTS WHICH, UP TO AN OUTPUT OF ABOUT 300 MILLION TONS, REPRESENT MORE THAN 40% OF THE TOTAL TONNAGE TRANSPORTED WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. IN 1952, THE SIX STATES PRODUCED 240 MILLION TONS OF COAL AND 42 MILLION TONS OF CRUDE STEEL.

Common Assembly
Strasbourg,
January 12, 1953.

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AFTER ALL, IN THIS UNDERTAKING, WHICH HAS BEGUN WITH COAL AND STEEL, THERE IS AN ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, NAMELY A HUMAN OBJECTIVE. IT IS THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE WHO ARE CONCERNED. OUR AIM MUST BE TO RE-ESTABLISH CONDITIONS WHICH ELIMINATE FEAR AND SUSPICION FROM HUMAN RELATIONS - OR PERHAPS I SHOULD SAY SUSPICION AND FEAR. JUST CONSIDER WHAT SUSPICION AND FEAR MEAN TO EUROPEAN ACTIVITY. FOR CENTURIES THEY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE TO A VAST EXTENT FOR THE ANXIETIES OF THE INHABITANTS OF EUROPE, WITH RESULTS WITH WHICH YOU ARE FAMILIAR.

Joint Meeting of the Members
of the Common Assembly and
of the Consultative Assembly
of the Council of Europe,
Strasbourg, June 22, 1953.

D. A CONTINUOUS PROCESS

"TO CHANGE THINGS"

THE HIGH AUTHORITY'S ESSENTIAL IDEA HAS BEEN TO CHANGE THINGS - IN OTHER WORDS, TO PUT AN END, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WISHES OF THE SIX COUNTRIES, TO THE OLD SITUATION OF SHUT-OFF, INSULATED, PROTECTED MARKETS, WHICH WERE SOMETIMES THE REASON FOR NATIONAL RIVALRIES, AND SOMETIMES THE PRETEXT.

In doing this, it avoided as far as was at all possible any abrupt disturbances. Thus it would be unreasonable to blame it, just a few weeks after the introduction of the Common Market, for only being able to point to decisions taken, and restrictions abolished, and conditions and rules of competition laid down.

New regulations do not apply themselves. The old habits go too deep not to influence the producers' reactions; even the consumers, who have frequently had to do with dominated markets and imposed prices and qualities, have to take lessons in freedom and competition. Rules are now fixed. Competition is to develop progressively. Rules are still required, but they are not there to set limits on competition, they are there to preclude any recurrence in the future of manoeuvres - whether individual or in combination - likely to distort such competition.

THE CREATION OF THE COMMON MARKET IS A CONTINUOUS PROCESS. IN THE BEGINNING, THE HIGH AUTHORITY WAS ANXIOUS THAT ITS OPERATIONS SHOULD ONLY COME INTO FORCE GRADUALLY, SUBJECT TO ALL TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS REQUIRED.

In less than a year, our Community has established its existence, consolidated its institutions and laid the foundations for its future development. All this it has done within the framework laid down for it by those who agreed to transfer a portion of their sovereignty to common institutions.

The High Authority has extended the field of its external relations. Since your last Session, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark and Austria have each sent accredited representatives to Luxembourg. The Joint Committee established between the United Kingdom delegation and the High Authority continues to function.

Now that the Common Market is a reality, relations between the Community and Great Britain can enter a new phase. For ourselves, we shall spare no effort to work on towards a close and enduring association with the United Kingdom, but we realize that it is by our results that our British friends will judge whether they feel able to establish closer links between us and some day -- soon, we trust -- join our Community.

Our Community has shown that it is a living reality, but we know very well that it cannot fulfil all the hopes that have been set on it except by making one all those European peoples who have been so at variance with one another in the past.

The path is marked out. The goal is in sight. It depends on you and us whether we reach it. On us if we can work on in pursuance of the task laid on us by the Treaty. On you if you manage in our six countries to convince the Europeans that the unification of Europe will bring them faith in the future, and prosperity, and peace.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
June 15, 1953.

THE RESULTS OF THE ELIMINATION OF TRADE BARRIERS AND SUBSIDIES ARE ALREADY SHOWING IN A MARKED INCREASE OF INTERSTATE COAL AND STEEL MOVEMENTS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY.

The coal movements among the member states have increased by 300 to 400,000 tons a month, while the movement of iron ore from France into Belgium and Luxembourg has increased by 150 to 200,000 tons a month. This Community that we are building is not to be an autarchic community. I mean to say that we believe in competition as we think that competition is essential in lowering costs and increasing efficiency, whether that competition comes from within or from without.

You know the High Authority is not in the coal and steel business. Our function is to set up rules of competition, to see that they are observed, and let the market and the enterprises do their job.

The same approach rules our action in matter of investments. The initiative and responsibility to make investments and determine their nature rests with the enterprises. The role of the High Authority is only to see to it that in this free market there should not be created investment that would require permanent subsidies on the part of the Government, thus destroying the very basis of free competition. It is also the function of the High Authority to assist the enterprises in finding financing on reasonable terms. You know the conditions of the capital market in Europe and its difficulties. The Treaty has provided that the High Authority could borrow on the basis of its own credit and resources, and lend to enterprises or guarantee their own loans. This the High Authority is able to do because it has its own resources. As you know, the Treaty provides that the High Authority can levy a tax on production of steel and coal, payable directly by all the enterprises.

The High Authority has done so, the taxes are being paid regularly each month. We have a rough yearly revenue of about 50 million dollars. It must be obvious to you that the development and the modernization of the coal and steel production in Europe requires capital investment. Part of these investments will be financed by the resources of the enterprises, another part may be financed by whatever financing the High Authority may be able to contribute through loans or guarantees. Loans from the High Authority will be determined case by case, on the basis of the own propositions and projects of the enterprises themselves. We intend to be sound and prudent lenders.

Statement before "Randall Committee"
investigating United States foreign
trade policy, Paris,

November 11, 1953

"To protect employment and raise the standard of living".

The levy and capital investments play an essential part in the Community's programme to improve the housing conditions of workers, to promote re-adjustment schemes, and to set up conditions for the free flow of man-power.

Increased production and productivity will necessitate the building of large numbers of workers' dwellings in the areas where the industry is to be expanded and modernised. Housing is the greatest factor in the improvement of present-day conditions for the European working classes.

We are making every effort to provide for the contingency that those clauses of the Treaty protecting workers against unemployment due to technical improvements or the effect of free competition might have to be put into effect. One purpose of the levy is to cover the contribution of the Community to the cost of re-adjustment. We are approaching Governments to make sure that they are prepared, in conformity with the Treaty, to shoulder their part of the burden should occasion arise.

The free movement of man-power throughout the six countries will help to bring about that parallel improvement in working and living conditions which was promised the workers by the Treaty. Only thus can production and the standard of living be raised, for labour must be able to move to the areas where production is on the increase. We have already summoned representatives of the six Governments to study the conditions in which the free movement of man-power may be feasible.

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THE GRADUAL SUBSTITUTION OF IMPROVED PRODUCTION UNITS FOR LESS ECONOMIC ONES IS ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL RESULTS OF THIS COMMON MARKET, ONE OF THE PARAMOUNT CONDITIONS FOR THAT DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVITY WHICH GOVERNS THE RAISING OF THE LIVING STANDARD.

But the changes necessary for progress are more readily accepted if they take place without shocks, because labour is then safeguarded from the burdens and risks which they bring in their train.

The High Authority is already studying jointly with several of the governments, the problems of changes in production and of re-employment of labour which are arising in various countries.

The first application of the re-adaptation scheme is already under way in favour of French coal miners from the Centre-Midi.

I would like to stress here that this action was examined in detail, and is now being carried through, with the close co-operation of the workers themselves.

The workers forced to change their employment will receive substantial re-settlement in allowances; they will have their moving expenses paid, and will be assured both housing and more productive employment.

This is an unprecedented contribution to social policy, protection of employment and improvement of the living standard.

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"A new European loan."

On April 23 last, our negotiations with the American Government, were concluded by the signature of a Loan Agreement between the Government of the United States and the High Authority. Several provisions of this Agreement are worth underlining.

The conclusion of this loan is, above all, an obvious recognition of the credit of our institutions: the political credit of the Community as a whole, and the financial credit of the High Authority which from the very beginning had declared that its levy policy would lead to establishing the bases of a new European credit which would bring benefits to the Community's enterprises such as they could not obtain individually.

The financial terms of the loan granted by the American Government furnish proof of the reality of this credit. The interest rate and the amortizing period are better than any other foreign borrower has obtained in the United States within the last two years.

This agreement does not mean the end of our negotiations with the American Government - it is merely the completion of one stage. The negotiations will continue with a view to finding, through common efforts, new methods by which, with the assistance of the United States Government, private capital can be mobilized for the Community's coal and steel investments.

The High Authority is now in a position to make an effective contribution to the enterprises in the financing of their investments.

In the final analysis, this beginning of Europe has been less difficult than a good many people believed it would be. In less than two years, it has produced tangible results without the catastrophes which were sometimes predicted.

IT IS ONLY THE FEAR OF CHANGE WHICH IS HOLDING US BACK. AND YET, THE WELFARE OF US ALL DEPENDS UPON THIS CHANGE.

Surrounded by the United States which alone account for half of the world production, a Russia in progress and Asia on the move, how could Europe possibly hope to escape from the necessity to change?

We can only choose between changes which move us about like puppets and changes which we ourselves can foresee and achieve.

Common Assembly
Strasbourg,
May 12, 1954.

A Living Reality

"Our Coal and Steel Community is a living reality."

Common Assembly, May 12, 1954.

I should like now to draw certain morals from our European experiment.

The main features of our method are that we pool the resources of our countries, that we have established common institutions to which the national parliaments have agreed to transfer sovereignty and to grant powers of decision, that we have acted in accordance with common rules applicable to all without discrimination.

In this common European market for coal and steel, trade has increased. The governments which voted these transfers of sovereignty abide by the rules of the Community. They implement, as do the enterprises, the decisions taken by the common institutions. Where they contest such decisions, they appeal to the Court of Justice of the Community, and in the ultimate analysis it is this common and sovereign institution that pronounces judgment, and not the governments that take action themselves.

SINCE THE RESOURCES NOW BELONG TO ALL THE SIX COUNTRIES JOINTLY, IT IS TO THE INTEREST OF EACH COUNTRY THAT THE BEST POSSIBLE PRODUCTION-LEVELS SHOULD BE ACHIEVED. IT IS ALSO TO THE INTEREST OF EACH COUNTRY THAT THE LEAST SATISFACTORY PRODUCTION-LEVELS SHOULD BE EQUATED WITH THE OTHERS, INSTEAD OF BEING SPECIALLY PROTECTED AND CONSTITUTING A BURDEN ON THE GENERAL ECONOMY. THIS CHANGED SITUATION IS, IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE, LEADING THE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES TO TAKE COMMON ACTION AND TO HELP ONE ANOTHER.

Thus in regard to coal, the countries where production costs are lower than the average production costs of the Community (which is at

present the case in Germany and the Netherlands) are financing a compensation scheme to help reorganize the Belgian and Italian collieries with a view to having them fully integrated into the Common Market as quickly as possible.

Again, Italy is receiving help, in regard to scrap imports, from the Community consumers as a whole, so that the Italian iron and steel producers may be put on an equal footing with the other producers of the Community.

COMMON INTEREST CREATES SOLIDARITY. Thanks to it, new solutions have been found which were simply not possible under the old national arrangements.

The expression of this solidarity in financial terms is the levy instituted by the Treaty, which is payable to the High Authority on all coal and steel produced in our six countries. By means of the levy, it is possible to guarantee the labour force against the risks hitherto always present in the background and constituting an impediment to necessary progress: through it a readjustment fund is maintained from which workers who have to change their employment receive allowances which do a good deal to relieve them of anxiety for the immediate future.

It is, in addition, the levy which forms the basis of the new loan which the High Authority is at present arranging, to enable it to provide substantial assistance in the modernization and development of our Community coal and steel industries.

You all know about the loan which the High Authority recently secured from the American Government. And you know the terms. That shows us what common credit, along with the enterprises' own credit, can do.

Today we can all see what changes the countries of Europe are able to bring about in their own way of life, their relations with others, the conditions under which they develop.

The six countries which launched this first European integration were convinced from the start that this venture of theirs was something absolutely vital. Vital for their own future, and vital too for the pointing of a new path which those who did not join them in the beginning might none the less take in their turn when they came to play an active part in the creation of Europe.

The fundamental problems which our six countries are now tackling are the problems of every free country in Europe. Both groups in the world of today share a single destiny.

And in addition to their concrete solidarity, they have their common ideal of peace, freedom and social progress.

Our experiment is a demonstration of the advantages each can gain from the development of the European Community. And those advantages are assured, no matter what the economic circumstances in any particular one of our countries may be.

THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY IS A GROUP OF COUNTRIES SOME OF WHICH PRODUCE MORE COAL, ORE OR STEEL THAN THEY CONSUME, WHILE OTHERS ARE MAINLY CONSUMERS. BOTH BENEFIT BY THE POOLING OF THEIR RESOURCES AND THE ADVANCE OF THE COMMON MARKET.

Our experiment is now providing all those countries which do not belong to this Community with an opportunity of thinking over whether the time has not now come to take a more active and concrete share in the building of a united Europe.

Joint meeting of the Common
Assembly and the Consultative
Assembly,

Strasbourg, May 20, 1954

E. THE LESSONS OF THE COMMON MARKET

At the stage we have now reached in our work, we are able to gauge the importance of this Common Market, for coal and steel only, which we have introduced.

It is important in two ways. In regard to coal and to steel, the Common Market has resulted in a new situation in which the highly complex problems involved in the structure and development of our industries can be solved in a different and more satisfactory fashion than that prevailing in the national markets.

At the same time, the very fact of its functioning has obliged us, in concrete cases, on the basis of actual experience and as part of the course of operations, to produce solutions to problems of a general nature which would be encountered in other fields or in the economy as a whole, if such sectors were to be included in European integration.

The point is, ultimately, whether it is possible to reconcile the rights retained by the various States with a Common Market for their production and trade. And this basic problem will come up in any European structure which is not the constitution of a single centralized State: if Europe reaches the stage of establishing the Federation of which the Coal and Steel Community, according to the French Government's statement of May 9, 1950, is to be the first instalment, the concrete experiment which we have organized will provide the answers to the most difficult problems involved by a federal structure.

Where countries live apart, each one's advantage is confined to the results of its own isolated efforts, the profit it can make out of its neighbours, the difficulties it manages to shift on to their shoulders. In our Community, the advantage to each member country is the effect of the prosperity of the whole.

A Common Market cannot be achieved in a day, and measures for freeing trade or establishing convertibility of currency are not enough. The advantages which all parties concerned may derive from the introduction of the Common Market will only be complete if the market itself is plainly seen to be finally established. No country can drop its protective regulations unless it has the guarantee that the other States will likewise drop their protective and discriminatory barriers. Thus common rules have to be laid down, and measures taken to see that they are observed. In addition, care must be taken that the necessary safeguards and arrangements for transition are properly organized.

Up to the present, relations between our countries have been dictated by the strongest among them. The rest had to submit, or else try to get their rights for themselves. Today, in matters of coal and steel, the High Authority is the one to decide, in accordance with regulations which are the same for all parties. For the first time in the history of the relations between our countries, a sovereign Court of Justice guarantees to all, without discrimination, that their rights will be respected. Thus certain governments and enterprises have contested decisions by the High Authority. But they have observed them none the less, while at the same time making use of their right to request the Court of Justice to rescind those same decisions. The first of these appeals was heard at Luxembourg three weeks ago: the Court will deliver its judgment on December 15.

ALTHOUGH HUMAN NATURE REMAINS HUMAN NATURE, MEN'S CONDUCT IS GOVERNED BY THE INSTITUTIONS AND THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY LIVE. THE ADVANTAGES OF A GREAT MARKET CANNOT BE FULLY ENJOYED, OR THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES TRANSFORMED, EXCEPT BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMON INSTITUTIONS. AND ANY WHO MAY DOUBT MY WORDS WILL FIND PROOF IN THE VERY MANNER IN WHICH OUR COMMUNITY WORKS.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
November 30, 1954.

THE IMPETUS HAS TO COME FROM WITHOUT

I am going to speak to you now simply for myself.

As you know, on February 10 next, I shall not seek re-election, and shall resign my duties as a Member of the High Authority. Institutions need to be stable, and it is the duty of the President of the High Authority to continue up to the end of his term of office: I shall continue until mine expires.

I owe it to the Assembly to tell it the reasons for this decision.

As I have already explained to the High Authority, it is in order that I may have complete freedom of action and of expression in helping to achieve European unity - a real and concrete unity - that I am resuming my liberty next February.

By the terms of the French Government's statement of May 9, 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community is to be the first stage in the Federation of Europe.

The indispensable contribution which the Coal and Steel Community has made, and will continue to make, towards European federation is to progress and to succeed in the field allotted it.

BUT THE INSTITUTIONS OF OUR COMMUNITY HAVE ONLY SUCH POWERS AS HAVE BEEN DELEGATED TO THEM. IT IS NOT FOR THEM TO EXTEND THEM. IT IS FOR PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS TO DECIDE WHETHER FURTHER POWERS SHALL BE TRANSFERRED TO THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS.

THE IMPETUS HAS, THEREFORE, TO COME FROM WITHOUT. I WANT TO BE ABLE TO JOIN WITH ALL THOSE WHO ARE WORKING TO CARRY FORWARD AND BROADEN OUT THE TASK THAT HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN. THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE IS NOT MERELY THE GREAT HOPE BUT THE URGENT NEED OF OUR TIME, SINCE UPON IT DEPENDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH OF OUR PEOPLES AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE.

Common Assembly,
Strasbourg,
November 30, 1954

III. EUROPE AND PEACE

- A. "Federation is possible".
- B. The United States of Europe.
- C. "To make Europe is to make peace".

A. "FEDERATION IS POSSIBLE".

The work of unifying Europe has already begun. Is the method of unification - the pooling of resources under common institutions - which we have applied in setting up the Community, limited in its application to Europe? I think not.

Production in our time is pressing the world towards unity. It is hard for us to acknowledge this, for this is an age of division and stress such as the world has rarely known. But the tensions themselves exist only because divergent ways of life, social forms and political ambitions, separately bred in the peoples during the past, are coming into conflict as, for the first time, they meet.

THE WORLD RUNS THE SAME DANGERS OF SELF-DESTRUCTION THROUGH DIVISION AS THE EUROPEAN NATIONS IN A SMALLER WAY HAVE UNDERGONE. BUT THERE IS IN THE MODERN WORLD, AS THERE HAS BEEN IN EUROPE, A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO FIND PEACE AND UNITY BY TRANSCENDING THOSE DIVISIONS. THE PACE OF TECHNICAL PROGRESS, CONSTANTLY GATHERING MOMENTUM, WILL, I BELIEVE, GRADUALLY BRING OTHER COUNTRIES TO SEEK UNITY SO THAT THEIR PEOPLES MAY BENEFIT BY MODERN PRODUCTION.

It is not an accident that the twentieth century has witnessed the first attempts at world unity in the League of Nations and the United Nations. Those attempts have given disappointing results. But that is because governmental representatives, each bound to plead a national brief and paralysed for action in common by the need to agree unanimously at every stage, could only propose little solutions for great problems. International organisations can palliate but cannot solve the problems of international conflict. I believe that a solution can only be found as technical progress drives men gradually to pool their resources and accept common rules admitted by common institutions with a power to act in the general interest.

Europe's experiment in uniting peoples so long divided began in Europe's need to release its full resources in order to prosper in the modern world. Now, our daily experience in the European Coal and Steel Community has convinced us that working common institutions can be created to guide and stimulate human progress, where existing national institutions have proved too narrow to encourage it. The growth of the Community has already shown that federal institutions can effectively unite highly developed ~~twentieth~~-century states. I hope that this experiment, we have begun in Europe may, if finally successful, usefully serve the world as an example of how, through the use of its resources, human society can work towards a more prosperous and peaceful future.

Columbia University
June 2, 1954.

B. THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

It is of universal importance that Europe should be self-reliant, secure, peaceful, and capable of continuing to make her great contribution to civilization. The way to all of these objectives is through unification.

A FEDERATED EUROPE IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE SECURITY AND PEACE OF THE FREE WORLD. SO LONG AS EUROPE REMAINS FRAGMENTED, IT WILL REMAIN WEAK AND WILL BE A CONSTANT SOURCE OF CONFLICT - WHICH, IN THE MODERN AGE, CANNOT BUT INVOLVE THE WHOLE WORLD.

Through unification Europe will achieve that improvement in the development of her resources which should in due course enable her to meet the needs of her people and to do her part in the common defense without having to rely on the continuance of your contributions.

A unified Europe has a meaning for civilization that is deeper even than security and peace. Europe was the source of the cultural achievements from which we all benefit, and Europeans are now, as they have always been, capable of enriching the world by the creative effort that has been Europe's historic contribution. Yet, to release the full strength of this effort, we must bring our institutions and our economies into harmony with our modern times. To achieve this is the promise that unification holds.

As we press forward together towards the unification of Europe, we shall strive to facilitate the peaceful union of the people of East and West Germany. As it is essential to wipe out the boundaries between the nations of Europe, so it is important by peaceful means to wipe out the boundary which today, by keeping West Germans and East Germans apart, fosters an irredentism that can do no good to the Germans, to Europe, or to the world.

The trouble with the recent Soviet proposals, however, is that they run counter to the lessons of history. At the very moment when the people of Western Europe are uniting and merging their sovereignties in response to today's needs, the Soviet Union is undertaking to champion in Europe the maintenance of national sovereignty which would result in the maintenance of the divisions of the European people.

The reconstitution of a German sovereign state with a German national army proposed by the Soviet Union, would tend to rekindle the old spirit of nationalism in the German people and would revive the nationalist feelings of Frenchmen and other Europeans against the Germans. The old wounds would be re-opened - the old bitterness stirred up.

This would create again the conditions which have led to two world wars in twenty-five years and which brought the Soviet Union itself to the brink of destruction.

The kind of unity that will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Germans without exposing them and the rest of the world to the repetition of a dismal past, the kind of unity that will assist in the establishment of a lasting peace, is unity within a United Europe. As we pursue the creation of a United Europe, we shall continue to pursue our efforts to promote by peaceful means the union of the Western and Eastern Germans within the European Community.

The great undertaking of six European countries to pull down the barriers that divide them is not being made in order to throw up higher barriers against the outside world. Our times demand that we bring the European peoples together and not keep them apart. WE ARE NOT UNITING STATES, WE ARE UNITING HUMAN BEINGS.

One cannot wait for the resolution of all contingencies in advance, before bringing one's own judgment to bear upon the action demanded by the needs of the present. In the conduct of our individual lives, we do not wait for action to have the future completely revealed to us. There is nothing more sterile than to pose in a present context a question which will arise only in the future, where the very purpose of our action is to change that context. If we do not act until we know the answers to all possible questions, we shall never act, we shall never achieve the certainty for which we have been waiting, and we shall be swept along by events which we have forfeited the power to control.

We are determined to act. We are determined to unify Europe and to unify it quickly. With the Schuman Plan and the European Army we have laid the foundations on which we shall build the United States of Europe - free, strong, peaceful and prosperous.

National Press Club
Washington
April, 30, 1952.

C. "TO MAKE EUROPE IS TO MAKE PEACE ..."

The world has changed a great deal, but its future always depends largely on what is happening in Europe.

Under the old conditions there was no peace for Europe, nor for the rest of the world. The European conflicts twice compelled the United States to throw their forces into battle on the Continent, and at the same time brought us as well as the Soviet Union to the very brink of destruction.

In order to preserve the precariously peaceful relations which exist in the world today and develop them into a lasting peace, we must change the European situation by uniting the Europeans. In this way we shall eliminate the menace which the division and weakness of Europe constitute for herself and for others.

If we remain divided as we are, the Europeans will be left exposed to nationalist ambitions and will be forced, as happened in the past, to look for outside guarantees in order to protect themselves against each other - each one fearing the progress of the other as in the past. The too restricted national markets will perpetuate the national economic rivalries and the inferior production conditions in Europe. Uncertainty about the future of Europe will keep alive the mutual mistrust, and maintain the precautionary measures in the world. A divided Europe would be like those territories whose fate it is to become the pawns in the wars which flare up around them.

Today, nationalist antagonism, misunderstandings and lack of understanding among the people, suspicion, continue to exist. Mystery surrounds the work which goes on in that immense Russia, as well as the power of the latest weapons.

TODAY, PEACE DOES NOT ONLY DEPEND ON TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS. IT DEPENDS ESSENTIALLY ON THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS WHICH, THOUGH THEY MAY NOT CHANGE THE NATURE OF MEN, WILL DIRECT THEIR CONDUCT TOWARDS EACH OTHER INTO PEACEFUL CHANNELS. That will be one of the main consequences of the transformation of Europe with which our Community is concerned.

By bringing about their own unity, by giving Europe back its strength, by creating new and enduring conditions, the Europeans are making a contribution towards peace. In this way, they are avoiding the maelstrom into which, regardless of the treaties they may have concluded, they would be dragged with the other nations by their antagonistic actions and their weakness, if they were to remain divided.

In building up Europe, the Europeans are laying the very foundation of Peace.

Aix-la-Chapelle

17.5.53