



*Bulletin from the*  
**EUROPEAN**  
**COMMUNITY**  
*for coal and steel*

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## THE NEW MONNET PLAN

Near unanimity characterized initial western reaction last month to the founding by Jean Monnet of a new "Action Committee for a United Europe". Except for opposition by extremist groups at both ends of the political spectrum, the press representing majority parties in the parliaments of continental European states widely hailed the new move as the first substantial step toward a re-alignment of pro-European forces since the defeat of the European Defense Community.

On October 14, 1955, the 67-year-old "architect of Europe" announced the formation of an independent organization designed to break through existing political and national barriers in the path of federation. Devised and formed by M. Monnet, the new Action Committee groups together 33 leading political and trade union leaders from the six nations forming the European Community for Coal and Steel. These founder-members included leading figures from Socialist, Christian-Democrat, and Liberal parties, and from all of the non-Communist trade unions. In turn, the Committee members have pledged themselves to "ask their organizations to join" the Committee and to support European integration plans by which national states "delegate certain of their powers to the European federal institutions".

### **New Adherents**

The Action Committee aroused immediate attention in Europe, particularly because of the presence, in addition to leaders of all the traditionally "pro-European" parties, of former "non-Europeans" such as Erich Ollenhauer, the leader of the German Social Democrats, who were resolutely hostile to the European Defense Community last year. The break in the line-up for and against the European Defense Community (which has dominated dis-

cussion of European issues since the French Assembly's rejection of a European army, on August 31, 1954) was also emphasized by the immediate and unanimous decision of the French Socialist Executive to pledge the party's support for the Committee. The Executive, like the party, had split over the European Defense Community.

The aim of the Committee, defined in a letter sent by M. Monnet to each of the 33 founder-members, is "to achieve a United States of Europe by concrete accomplishments". The Committee's action will consist "by its own intervention and that of the organizations grouped within it, of making clear to governments, parliaments and public opinion their determination to see the Messina resolution of June 2 constitute a real step towards a United States of Europe.

"This resolution called for the study of the expansion of the bases for economic development in the participating countries, particularly the use of atomic energy, the progressive realization of a European single market with necessary safeguards, and the harmonization of social policies.

### **Federal Institutions Stressed**

"To achieve these objectives", the letter continues, "it is necessary to put aside all specious solutions. Mere

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JEAN MONNET: "He has raised a new banner—a customarily timely and brilliant one." (The New York Times)

cooperation between governments will not suffice. It is indispensable for States to delegate certain of their powers to European federal institutions responsible to (*mandataires de*) all the participating countries taken as a whole. At the same time the close association of Great Britain with these new accomplishments must be assured".

In addition, "the Committee will, in conformity with the proposals of the May 14 session of the Common Assembly (of the European Coal and Steel Community) press for the Coal and Steel Community to receive the necessary powers for it to develop its activity in the social field".

### **A Majority in Every Parliament: Ten Million Workers**

The achievement of M. Monnet has been to gain the support of virtually the entire range of authoritative European political and trade union opinion outside the extreme nationalist right and extreme communist left. The parties whose leaders have joined the Committee can command majorities in all the Parliaments of the six Community countries and, in some of them, a crushing majority. The trade unionists on the Committee represent ten million workers.

All the leaders who have joined the Committee are believed to have sufficient standing in their organizations to secure the latter's support. M. Monnet's letter specifies that "the political and labor organizations joining the Committee shall be represented by a delegate they choose for the purpose".

### **Composition of the Committee**

The founder-members of the Committee are:

*Socialist Parties:* Mr. J. A. W. Burger, Chairman, Dutch Labour parliamentary group; M. Max Buset, Chairman, Belgian Socialist Party; M. Jean Fohrmann, Member of Executive, Luxembourg Socialist Party; Signor Matteo Matteotti, Secretary-General, Italian Social Democratic

Party; M. Guy Mollet, Secretary-General, French Socialist Party; Herr Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman, German Social Democratic Party.

*Christian Democratic Parties:* Signor Amintore Fanfani, Political Secretary, Italian Christian Democratic Party; Herr Kurt Kiesinger, Member of the Executive, German Christian Democratic Party, Chairman of Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee; M. Robert Lecourt, Chairman, French M.R.P. Parliamentary Group; Mr. Bruins Slott, Dutch Protestant Party; M. Théo Lefèvre, President, Belgian Christian Social Party; M. Nicolas Margue, Member of Executive, Luxembourg Christian Social Party; Mr. C. P. M. Romme, President, Dutch Catholic Party Parliamentary Group.

*Liberal and Other Parties:* Herr Martin Blank, German Free Democratic Party; M. Maurice Destenay, President, Belgian Liberal Party; Herr Alexander Elbrächter, German Party, Member of Bundestag; M. Maurice Faure, Secretary-General, French Radical Party (brother to M. Edgar Faure, the Prime Minister); M. Pierre Garet, Chairman, Parliamentary Group, French Independent Republicans; Signor Ugo La Malfa, Italian Republican Party; M. René Plevin, French U.D.S.R.

*Trade Unions:* Mr. J. Alders, Dutch Workers' Movement; M. Robert Bothereau, Secretary-General, French Force Ouvrière; M. Maurice Bouladoux, President, French C.F.T.C. (Christian Union); M. Auguste Cool, Chairman, Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions; Herr Walter Freitag, Chairman of German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.); Mr. C. P. Hazenbosch, Secretary-General, Dutch Christian Trade Union; Herr Heinrich Imig, Chairman, German Miners' Federation; Mr. H. Oosterhuis, Chairman, Federation of Dutch Trade Unions; M. Antoine Krier, Secretary-General, Luxembourg Workers' Federation; Signor Giulio Pastore, Secretary-General, Italian Confederation of Workers; M. André Renard, Deputy Secretary-General, Belgian General Federation of Labor; Herr Heinrich Straeter, Member of Executive, German Metalworkers' Federation; Signor Italo Viglianesi, Secretary-General, Italian Workers' Union.

### **The Next Move?**

*L'Express*, the new Paris daily which represents the views of the followers of M. Mendès-France (who writes for it), announced (October 18) that M. Monnet's program would be:

- a) to get the Committee to meet in about a month;
- b) to submit to its members precise European integration plans on atomic industry and power production;
- c) to get them to propose appropriate bills in the Parliaments of the six countries immediately."

Harold Callender, reporting for *The New York Times* (October 14) also stressed the future steps on atomic energy:

"The committee is expected at its first meeting to declare

in favor of placing nuclear energy under a federal institution like the Coal and Steel Community.

"It is believed that a great opportunity to unite Europe lies in this field because there is little important nuclear development on the Continent yet, and because no Continental nation has the resources to push such development on the American or British scale.

"The proposal of the committee probably will cover only peaceful uses of nuclear energy. If the entire nuclear resources of the six Continental nations were pooled for peaceful uses, military uses would apparently be ruled out altogether."

### **A New Method**

The new Action Committee has been foreshadowed by M. Monnet's actions ever since the rejection of the European Defense Community in August, 1954. On November 11, 1954, M. Monnet announced that he was resigning from the Presidency of the High Authority in order to "take part with complete freedom of action and speech in the construction of European unity".

On leaving the High Authority in June last, he published in *The New York Times* a signed article emphasizing: "If the governments are to be persuaded to make the choice they have postponed and to set up common institutions to which they delegate powers, it will be necessary for the many powerful political parties, consumer groups, and trade unions which increasingly favour European unity to organize in order to press their beliefs and to explain them to the public and to the governments themselves."

The new Committee is, however, a departure from M. Monnet's former practice, as Volney Hurd commented in the *Christian Science Monitor* (October 15):

*Will France's ex-Premier Pierre Mendes-France back proposals for further European integration? The new Paris Daily, L'Express, which supports him and often reflects his views, recently commented favorably on European unity efforts in an article dealing with M. Monnet's new Action Committee.*

French Embassy Press & Information Division



"M. Monnet had to build the Coal and Steel Community by working through governments. Governments, however, often are hampered by political considerations which may temper their zeal.

"Learning by experience, M. Monnet has reversed the operation this time. Now he intends to work with the elements in democracy which produce the power of which the governments are the expression. By gaining the support of these elements, he hopes, the governments can be more responsive."

### **Reconciling Pro- and Anti-EDC Forces**

The reaction to the new step was overwhelmingly favorable in all Community countries. Comment frequently cited M. Monnet's launching of the new Committee as "spectacular". The tone of comment contrasted to a marked degree with reaction to European affairs a year previously, particularly in France, which rejected the European army.



*ERICH OLLENHAUER, head of the powerful German Socialist Party. Herr Ollenhauer's membership in the new Monnet Committee provides a big access of strength to European unity supporters from a party which opposed the European Defense Community.*

The Roy Bernard Co., New York

*L'Aurore*, a conservative (Radical Socialist) paper which had not been noticeably interested in "Europe" or warmly-disposed toward it, commented (October 14) that "M. Monnet's call has produced, on the whole, a very favorable impression in French political circles".

*L'Express* commented (October 18) that M. Monnet is "one of the rare Frenchmen who is capable of launching an 'idea' or, what is yet more difficult, of relaunching it". *L'Express* also said: "He hopes to obtain, even before publishing his precise plans, the support of the groups and parties which control an absolute majority in the different European Parliaments. The operation has not begun badly . . . his biggest victory has been to obtain the support of the German Social Democrats, so far hostile to all policies of European integration, and who waged a violent campaign against the European Defense Community."

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The independent *Corriere della Sera*, of Milan, called it a "miracle" of reconciliation between anti- and pro-EDC parties in the Action Committee. This was also the theme of a statement by the French Socialist leader, Guy Mollet, (a prominent, but moderate, "European"), to *Le Monde* on October 14: "The European Socialists are determined to act as a motor force in the new drive to European unity. Thus an end is definitely put to the dissensions which arose among Socialists around the European Defense Community. This reconciliation goes beyond the borders of merely Socialist parties. European integration has once more become a factor of unity." The same theme was also stressed by the anti-EDC Paris paper, *Combat*.

*Het Parool*, the Dutch Labor paper, sounded a warning, however (October 14): "Is it possible that Mendès-France, who understands so well in other fields his country's need for modernization, has finally understood that this modernization also implies acceptance by France of a united federal Europe in which she can play a star role? Only if this is so, can Monnet's new initiative prove fruitful in the near future." Jacques Fauvet, the political commentator of the anti-EDC *Le Monde*, writing in *Est Republicain*, pointed out the importance of the fact that the participation of Maurice Faure, a Radical, in the Committee, had been obtained with the approval of M. Mendès-France.

### **Communists Oppose**

The only opposition to the Committee so far has come, violently, from the Communists. One editorial, in the "party paper", *L'Humanité*, written by Etienne Fajon, a member of the party's Central Committee, arguing for a Socialist-Communist Popular Front at the forthcoming elections, attacked Guy Mollet's preference for alliances "with reactionaries". In a second editorial, Laurent Casanova, another member of the Central Committee, declared: "Europe can and must unite. But it can only do so in the framework of a détente of East and West. . . . The all-too-well-known inspirers of M. Jean Monnet would like to justify before public opinion the permanent division of Europe into two military blocs." The nature of the "inspirers" is clear from the fellow-travelling *Libération*, which comments on *The New York Times* editorial of October 16, welcoming Monnet's formation of the Committee as "timely and brilliant": "Who could doubt after reading this editorial that the so-called original 'ideas' of MM. Monnet, Schuman and other Europeans come straight from Washington?"

### **Germans in Favor**

Comment in the other countries of the Community, as in France, was overwhelmingly favorable. The *Rheinische Merkur* (German CDU), on October 21 stated: "The new European drive has been started by the right man at the right time." The independent economic paper, *Deutsche Zeitung*, (October 19) said that "the surprising, in fact almost sensational point about the founding of the Com-

mittee is the presence of the German Social Democrats and Trade Unions" . . . (and) the consequent "possibility for the first time in Germany of a bipartisan European policy." The *Süddeutscher Zeitung* (October 14) concluded that, whereas the European Defense Community divided political parties, integration in the atomic field will unite. However, it pointed out that, while M. Monnet had obtained "a complete coverage" among Christian Democrats and Socialists, Liberal representation on the Committee was weaker. The paper warned that the presence of the Trade Unions on the Committee was likely to increase Liberal fears of a "European planned economy."

### **Industry's Criticism**

The German Federation of Industries reacted by publishing a report rejecting all "supranational" plans for European atomic energy developments: "Supranational interference must be rejected in the field of atomic energy. Room must be left for private enterprise. The creation of a High Authority would handicap the development of German industry." Some German industrial publications noted with regret the lack of industrial representation on the Action Committee.

In the view of the Belgian Christian Trade Union newspaper, *La Cité*, (October 15), "M. Monnet has not . . . asked the employers' federations to join. . . . Everyone knows that they often support policies of economic nationalism which result in an economic and social immobility that better serves, they think, the interests of their members. This is not to say they could not join the Committee if they asked to enter with constructive intentions."

### **British Association**

*Die Welt*, reporting October 12 on German Socialist party (SPD) support of the Action Committee, announced that: "According to Ollenhauer, the SPD is ready to push forward closer cooperation in Europe. It puts decisive weight on the closest cooperation with Britain and the Scandinavian countries."

The theme of association with Britain was dealt with at length by *The Times* of London (October 14):

"There are no British members because M. Monnet is known to realize that Britain would not subscribe to such a concept, however desirable it might be if it did. M. Monnet regards it as part of British psychology to be averse from subscribing to hypotheses, and experience shows that four years had to pass before a formal treaty of association was signed between Britain and the European Coal and Steel Community. M. Monnet now feels that there is no need to wait for four years. The very formation of the new community demonstrates that Europe is determined to go forward to an atomic pool and a common market. The second will take longer than the first, but there is no reason why as close as possible a form of relationship should not be worked out between Britain and a peaceful atomic energy pool."

*The Scotsman* (Conservative, Edinburgh, October 15)



PAUL-HENRI SPAAK: "The atom and automation are the economic future."

## SPAAK CHARGES EUROPE WITH "LACK OF DARING"

At a meeting of the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly in Strasbourg on October 21st, Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgium's Foreign Minister, told delegates that the western European governments "lacked daring".

In a political debate on new unification steps, M. Spaak, who heads the "Brussels Committee" which has conducted a study into the ways and means of extending economic integration, accented Europe's need for a "new part to play in the world." The Belgian statesman declared:

"The atom and automation are the future. Europe is terribly behind in these fields. There is no longer any reason to be proud of being born a European, because within 25 years, the countries of our continent, unless they get into the ring again, will be underdeveloped areas."

M. Spaak concluded: "You ought to encourage your governments by saying to them that they are not daring enough."

agreed with M. Monnet's approach:

"The only answer is the one which M. Monnet favors—the delegation of powers for further specific purposes such as the Coal and Steel Community now serves. He is eager to have British cooperation, though he probably, and rightly, does not expect British membership. The abandonment of our insularity would give an immense impetus to the great enterprise, but treaties of association are perhaps all that is to be expected."

British comment was, perhaps, summed up in the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, which said in an editorial (October 14):

"If they (the members of the Committee) can agree on a common policy, they will establish an almost irresistible pressure group in Europe . . . European union would not have progressed far without Monnet; he deserves good wishes and success in his latest venture."

## U.S. Comment

*The New York Times*, in an editorial on October 16 entitled "European Crossroads", hailed M. Monnet for raising "a new banner—a customarily brilliant and timely one . . . the idea of a European organization for the economic development of atomic and nuclear energy.

"The idea is a shrewd one, because as an industry atomic energy is in its infancy in Europe, yet its future promise is brilliant beyond words. . . .

"It may be that the tide of European history is rising at last after the tremendous cataclysms of the two World Wars. Jean Monnet is typical of the European statesmen who look ahead with breadth and vision seeking to take the tide 'at the flood'."

## COAL: Keynote for first Association Talks

This month, on November 17th and 18th, the Council of Association between Britain and the Community will hold its first meeting since final ratification of the Association Treaty.

The subject at the top of the agenda will be British coal exports to the Community. A recent decision by the British Coal Board would make drastic cuts in all British coal exports from January 1, 1956, onwards—a measure planned to ease British financial losses due to heavy continental imports, to clear ports being increasingly used for iron ore imports, and to ease the cost in dollars of coal purchases from the U. S. However, many parts of the Community such as northern Germany are traditional importers of British coal. High Authority officials expect, through the Council of Association, to avoid a sudden cutback in coal exports which would increase the winter pressure on European coal supplies.

Last month, High Authority President René Mayer underscored the problem when he reiterated the need for a "close and enduring" association with the United Kingdom. He said:

"Looming over all other (problems) at the present is the British decision taken recently to ban all coal exports after January 1, 1956. This will put a further strain on European coal resources and probably result in a rise of coal imports from the United States, and possibly in higher freight rates."

M. Mayer went on to point out that because both the United Kingdom and the Community were importers of U. S. coal, "what happens to freight rates is of common concern to us". Another problem which they faced in common, he said, was a sufficient scrap supply from third countries, especially the United States.

# HIGH AUTHORITY HITS ITALIAN TRADE DISCRIMINATION

Recently the Italian Government was served with "cease and desist" orders by the High Authority on three counts of discrimination against non-Italian Community firms. Following its Treaty mandate, the Community's executive body ordered Italy to:

- 1) abolish the levy of a 0.50% "administrative tax" on imports of coal, iron ore, iron and steel from other Community states;
- 2) end discrimination against imports from other Community nations of raw materials, semi-finished goods, and finished goods for the Italian shipbuilding industry which has been effected by a rebate of 23 lira (\$0.037) per kilo on purchases of the equivalent Italian products, and
- 3) suspend import duties on pig iron.

To date the High Authority has not been obliged to wield its Treaty powers and take sanctions against governments violating the Constitution of the Community as it already has done against offending firms and combines. (In the latter case, the executive body has levied direct fines.) The Treaty give the High Authority considerable power

to take action against governments if decisions of the executive are not appealed to the Community's Court of Justice within a 60-day period, or if governments fail to comply after the Court has rejected an appeal.

In non-compliance cases by national governments, the Treaty provides that the High Authority may, with the two-thirds majority agreement of the Community's Council of Ministers (representing the six nations), "suspend the payment of sums which the High Authority may owe to the State in question under the present Treaty," and "adopt measures or authorize the other member States to adopt measures which could otherwise be contrary to the provisions of Article Four, so as to correct the effects of the failure in question".

Article Four of the Treaty defines practices which are incompatible with the single market and therefore prohibited. Thus the High Authority can enforce counter-discriminatory actions by other member states against the offending nation (import-export duties, quantitative restrictions, etc.) so as to punish by economic sanctions.

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Community Industrial Safety Engineers Study U.S. Techniques

A six-man Community Technical Assistance team from five of the six Community nations is touring the United States this month studying industrial safety techniques in U. S. mines and steelmills.

Sponsored jointly by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the U. S. International Cooperation Administration, the group will visit 20 plants and mines in 10 cities in the United States before returning to Europe. The team members are industrial engineers from coal companies and steel firms in Italy, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany. They are accompanied by the Chief of the Training Section of the High Authority's Labor Division.

### Mayer Addresses Joint Assembly Session

René Mayer, President of the High Authority, opened general debate at Strasbourg, October 27, at the joint meeting of the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly and the Community's Common Assembly.

M. Mayer reviewed current activities of the High Authority and stressed a primary "lesson" which he believed had been derived from the experience of the Executive. Admitting to difficulties in establishing the single market,

he expressed belief that no technical obstacles were insurmountable providing that "countries . . . have the necessary powers of decision, precise regulations for enforcing transitional measures, and a guarantee that new regulations are and will remain irrevocable." He added, however, it appeared frequently that apprehensions on the part of "certain people" were more difficult to surmount than the obstacles themselves.

### U.S. Coal Exports to Western Europe Soar

In the wake of reports that Britain will curtail 1956 coal deliveries to the Continent, spokesmen for the United States coal industry predicted that U. S. coal exports to western Europe will be nearly three times the amount shipped to Europe in 1954 and probably equal last year's total of bituminous coal exports to all nations. U. S. export figures, which include shipments to Britain and other non-Community nations, show that coal to western Europe is being exported at an annual rate of over 30 million net tons as compared to 10,458,000 tons in 1954.

#### COMMUNITY COAL IMPORTS FROM THE U.S.A.

Year	<i>(in thousands of metric tons)</i>					
	Belgium	France	Germany	Italy	The Neth.	Total
1952 . . . .	794	3,138	7,377	2,885	2,108	16,302
1953 . . . .	664	289	3,421	1,609	701	6,684
1954* . . . .	253	55	1,823	2,852	1,185	6,168

\* provisional figures