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THE EUROPEAN FEDERALIST MOVEMENT
ITS ORGANIZATION, OBJECTIVES AND ACTION

I

The European Federalist Movement

The European Federalist Movement is a political organization which, above the traditional and political parties of a country and above all private interests and tendencies, brings together those in Europe who wish to create a European Federation based upon the free will of the people.

Beyond a vague Europeanism, the European Federalists have come to understand that Europe will never take shape unless a Federation similar by its structure to that of the United States or Switzerland is constituted. Each of the European States which will adhere to this Federation will willingly give up some elements of what is today called "national sovereignty," to entrust them to the Federal community.

The transition from the present system of National States to that of a Federal organization has stirred up strong opposition. The French Government offers today to the other Governments in Europe to come to a sort of "confederal agreement" by which each country would remain free in its decisions and would accept the proposals made only if these meet its own private interests and plans. This is the system of temporary alliances which history has taught us not to trust.

To the hesitation of the Confederalists, joined by all the out-of-date Nationalists, the Federalists oppose their wish to realize a real political unity in Europe between all the States which will agree to the creation of this new system.

The European Federalist Movement is built on a supra-national scale and is democratically organized: its object is to coordinate the activity of all the citizens aware of European realities, and to bring increasing popular pressure on Governments in order to force them to create the United States of Europe, by means of a Constituent Assembly elected by direct universal vote. This action has chiefly resulted in the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE.

The Congress of the European People

Nobody believes any longer that the Economic Communities will inevitably give birth to a united Europe. They have at their disposal no real European political power. As long as such a power justified by popular will does not exist, all the inter-community administrations, consulting committees, political secretaries will not be anything more than a playground where conflicting nationalisms clash.

Only by a federal organization established by a Constitution drawn up by the representatives of the people, will it be possible to unite - not to associate - all our European countries. That is the reason why, to build Europe, it is necessary to let the people speak and elect a Constituent Assembly by direct universal franchise.

The Congress of the European People has been created to advance this notion. This title naturally brings to mind the Pan-Indian Congress of Gandhi, conceived to materialize the wish of the Indian people to be independent, and at the same time united. In spite of all the criticisms made of this analogy, it is nonetheless exact: We Europeans too have an enemy to kick out of our territory: nationalist tyranny. We have a unity to create, that of a soil inhabited by men who share the same civilization. We have an independence to assert, that of free men against tyrannical nationalism.

The peoples of all free Europe, and probably the others too - because they realize the necessity of being united one with another and because they declare themselves interdependent on the same ideas and hopes, whatever their differences of opinion may have been in the past - thus impose, over the heads of their Governments, the overwhelming reason which demands the creation of a European federation. No official institution exists at present to express this deep feeling of a common destiny, but nevertheless it is true that the peoples of Europe are becoming aware of their unity and this desire will make itself felt as it progresses from a latent state to that of an active political reality.

The Primary Election for the Congress of the People of Europe

The Federalists felt that they had to give a way of expression to the people of Europe. The whole problem consisted in finding the right method, allowing the federalists to infuse into the mass of the citizens, to bring to the surface the spirit of a Europeanism which slumbers inside each of us, and to give everyone the possibility of participating in the political construction of Europe by his personal action. This method has today resulted in primary elections at the Congress of the People of Europe.

Primary elections, which according to the American tradition, are private elections, consult the citizens who are interested in public affairs. In the European structure, such private elections permit the citizens to proclaim their wish for a European Federation and give them the possibility of appointing the delegates chosen among the various social classes, without considering usual political and national alignments.

These delegates constitute the Permanent Congress of the People of Europe.

The first primary elections took place in 1957. Seventy-five thousand citizens from the localities of Antwerp, Geneva, Dusseldorf, Lyons, Maastricht, Milan, Strasbourg and Turin went to the voting polls, expressed their desire to found a European Federation through the establishment of a Constituent Assembly and nominated the first delegates to the Congress of the People of Europe to fight for its election. Following these elections, the first session of the Congress met in Turin in December 1957; it was the "outcome of a revolutionary initiative," said the Monde, the French newspaper.

In spite of the insufficiency of means resulting in a lack of propaganda, in spite of the opposition of all those who fear the methods of the Congress, the idea of Europe has made great advances in the heart of the people. In Milan, for instance, the number of the electors has risen from 13,000 in 1957 to 140,000 in 1959. In Feldbach, an Austrian town, 75% of the electors voted. In the town of Lyons 5,000 electors voted in 1957; in 1960 21,000 voted in the Rhone-Alps area, the city of Annecy alone having had a 25% turnout. The local press was able to write: "in view of the deficiency of the campaign, the result is appreciable. The opinion of the French audience only confirms that of the Italian, Austrian, and German public. An immense desire for unification is taking birth throughout Europe. At present, more than 500,000 citizens from Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy and Switzerland have been able to proclaim, as Europeans, their will to put an end to an out-of-date system, by demanding the creation of the United States of Europe. The idea is gaining strength."

The Treaty Project Convoking a European Constituent Assembly

This project is the backbone of the Congress' action. It was drawn up by a commission of lawyers after the political resolution had been noted by the first delegates at the session in Turin.

Approved during the second session of the Congress in Lyons, this Treaty Project was first presented to Mr. Robert SCHUMAN, the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of Europe, in May 1959; then in November it was simultaneously presented to the various national Parliaments by delegations composed of militants from the Congress.

III

Principal Stages of the Action of the Congress

- August 1956 - Streva-Novara (Italy) - Constitution, by a fraction of the European Federalist Movement, of an Organizing Committee to hold primary elections for the Congress of the European People.
- November 1957 - First primary elections in seven European cities.
- December 1957 - Turin (Italy) - First session representing 71,000 European citizens. Constitution of the Congress of the European People (CEP) and of its executive organs.
- January 1959 - Lyons (France) - Second session representing 220,000 European citizens. Approval of the Project of Treaty for the European Constituent Assembly. The Project was prepared by a commission of lawyers presided over by Professor Herand of the University of Strasbourg.
- May 1959 - Presentation of the Treaty Project to the President of the European Parliamentary Assembly.
- June 1959 - European Federalist movement decides to support the action of the Congress of the European People.
- November 1959 - Presentation of the Treaty Project to the Presidents of the Parliaments of the six countries.
- December 1959 - Darmstadt (Germany) - Third session of the CEP representing 392,000 European citizens.

- December 1960 - Ostende (Belgium) - Fourth session representing 436,000 European citizens.
- Feb.-May 1961 - New series of primary elections for the CEP, resulting in the participation of 193,000 European citizens.
- February 1961 - Introduction in the Italian Chamber of Deputies of a motion for the convocation of the European Constituent Assembly.
- March 1961 - Several members of the French and German Parliaments promise to present similar proposals to their respective Parliaments.
- April 1961 - The Bureau decides to call the Congress into extraordinary session at Bonn during the forthcoming "European summit meeting" to oppose the Europe of the European people to the "Europe des patries".

IV

Regions Where Elections Have Taken Place, through June 1, 1961

<u>Delegations</u>	<u>Votes Cast</u>	<u>Members Elected to Congress</u>
ANTWERPEN	6,415	30
BOLOGNA, FERRARA, ROVIGO	42,997	24
ST. JOSSE TEN NOODE/BRUXELLES	1,806	5
CAPUA, NAPOLI	7,571	11
DARMSTADT	25,826	22
DUESSELDORF	3,432	30
FELDBACH, NEUMARKT, HARTBERG	7,133	15
FIRENZE, MASSA	10,975	12
FRANKFURT/MAIN, GROSS-GERAU	2,668	11
GENEVE	1,522	30
GENOVA, LA SPEZIA	50,650 (2d election)	33
LYON, ANNECY	20,197 " "	22
MAASTRICHT, KERKRADE	12,657	32
MILANO, TICINO	146,591 " "	52
MONS, ST. GHISLAIN	3,934	17
MULHOUSE	13,133	9
NANCY	879	5
OSTENDE	2,839	10
ROME	117,180	38
STRASBOURG	27,001	30
TORINO, CUNEO	37,231 " "	24
UDINE	23,378	5
VERNON	2,948	5
VICENZA	16,000	9
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Total	584,963	331
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Members of the Executive Bureau
of the Congress of the European People

(Fourth Session, Ostende, 2-4 December 1960)

. MOUSKHELY Michel (University professor)	President	2, rue des Hallebardes	STRASBOURG (France)
. SPINELLI Altiero (Journalist)	Delegate-General	5, Clivo Rutario	ROMA (Italy)
. BOLIS, Luciano (Journalist)	Sec.-Gen.	8, rue de l'Arcade	PARIS 8 (France)
. HOUX Piet (Businessman)	Asst. Sec.	47, Alexander Battalan	MAASTRICHT (Holland)
. MORTARA Amedeo (Businessman)	Treasurer	6, via Pietro Mascagni	MILANO (Italy)
. HERAUD Guy (University Professor)	Member	11, rue de la Brigade AL	STRASBOURG (France)
. DIERICKX Ludo (Employe)	"	Villa Haardstee - Kapellei Koningshof	SCHOTEN/ANV. (Belgium)
. DARTEIL Andre (Employe)	"	55, rue de la Republique	LYON (France)
. GORIELY Georges (University Professor)	"	50, avenue des Grenadiers	BRUXELLES (Belgium)
. MALLET Henri (Physician)	"	112, cour Emile Zola	VILEURBANNE (France)
. MARC Alexandre (Journalist)	"	8, rue de l'Arcade	PARIS 8 (France)
. ORBAN Maurice Priest (Canon)	"	Rue Andre Masquelier	MONS (Belgium)
. SCHOENDUBE Claus (Journalist)	"	20, Langestrasso	FRANKFURT (Allemagne)

VI

The Request for a European Constituent Assembly Introduced to the Italian Parliament

MOTION

The Chamber of Deputies

CONVINCED that western Europe has today the unalienable duty: 1) to end irrevocably the growth of nationalism; 2) to foster a European economy that will be open to the rest of the world and that will foster the well-being, security and social justice of all Europeans; 3) to liquidate every form of colonialism and to assume the responsibility of a fraternal assistance to the peoples now emerging from oppression and struggling, in the midst of great difficulties, towards liberty and economic and social progress; 4) to contribute positively towards world peace;

PERSUADED that the attainment of these goals necessitates the founding of an authentic federal community, open to all the democratic countries of Europe and superseding the national sovereignties;

CONVINCED that, while the actual economic communities contribute somewhat to the formation of a unified market, they are completely insufficient for the attainment of political unity, since their interests are illogically limited to certain portions of the economy and are, moreover, under the jurisdiction, not of a European legislative and executive power, but of the individual national governments with their particular necessities;

CONVINCED that the conferences of heads of state, at which European political unity could be formed, are organically unable to create that permanent and growing unified political will without which real unity is impossible;

PERSUADED that European unity must be based on an authentic European democracy and must spring from the constituent power of the European people;

CONVINCED that the Italian Republic has a fundamental interest in the birth of a European federation and that therefore its government has the duty to take the necessary steps toward its realization;

REALIZING that, at the next meeting of the heads of state of the member nations in the economic community, projects pertaining to political unification will be examined;

THE GOVERNMENT IS ASKED

to firmly request in this meeting, the stipulation of a treaty that will create without delay the constituent power of the European people, by holding the direct election of a European assembly which will be responsible for drawing up the constitution of the European Federation. This constitution must be approved through a popular referendum held in each state.

February 23, 1961

(Signed by the following deputies:

Franco Ferrarotti, Ugo La Malfa, Rinaldo del Bo, Vittorino Colombo, Egidio Ariosto, Flavio Orlandi, Pier Luigi Romita, Oronzo Reale, Ezio Vigorelli, Francesco De Vita.)

VII

Members of Parliament Who Have Taken the Commitment
To Support the Action For the Project of Treaty
of the Constituent Assembly

In France:

- MM BOSSON (M.R.P.), depute maire d'Annecy
- DELACHENAL (Ind.), depute de la Savoie
- PAQUET (Ind.), depute de l'Isere
- VITTEY (Ind.), depute de la Hte Saone
- PINTON (Rad. Soc.), Senateur du Rhone)
- DEREMY (M.R.P.), depute de Meurthe & Moselle
- WEBER (Ind.), depute de la Meurthe & Moselle
- RIEUNAUD (M.R.P.), depute du Tarn
- JAILLON (M.R.P.), depute, Maire de St-Claude

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In Germany:

- MM Georg SCHNEIDER (C.D.U.)
- Hermann A. EPLER (C.D.U.)
- Gustav-Adolf GEDAD (C.D.U.)
- Joseph SCHLICK (C.D.U.)
- Mme Dr. Marie Elisabeth LUDERS (F.D.P.) dean of the Bundestag