EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



25 years after

Ceremonial sitting of the European Parliament to mark the 25th anniversary of the Schuman Declaration

Special edition of 'The Sittings'

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25 years after

Speeches made at a ceremonial sitting held by the European Parliament to mark the 25th anniversary of the Schuman Declaration

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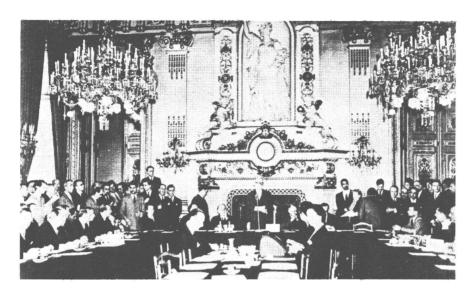
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Portrait of Robert Schuman by Rudolfo Zilli



Robert Schuman - 'tenacious, brave, modest'





The historic moment when Robert Schuman made his declaration in the Salle de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay on 9th May 1950.

Introduction

The European Parliament held a special, ceremonial sitting in Strasbourg on 14 May to celebrate the Twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration made by Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950. There were speeches by Mr Georges Spénale, President of the European Parliament, Dr Garret FitzGerald, President of the Council and Mr François-Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission. These are given here in full together with the full text of the original Schuman Declaration.

Speech made by Mr Georgés Spénale, President of the European Parliament.

I have received the following letter from Mr Jean Monnet:

Thank you for your invitation to the formal sitting to be held in Strasbourg on 14 May. I should have been extremely happy to join the Members of the European Parliament in commemoration the Declaration of 9 May 1950, which was the birth certificate of the European Community.

The European Parliament fulfils a democratic function which is vital to the balance and future strengthening of the Institutions of the European Communities. I sincerely hope that it will be required to assume increasing responsibility in the future.

I am sorry that I shall be unable to come to Strasbourg to address you but, as you know, owing to a recent illness I am having to observe a strict period of convalescence and am unable to travel.

I would appreciate it if you would convey my apologies to all those whom I should have had the pleasure of meeting once again in Strasbourg, and to those whose acquaintance I should have liked to make.'

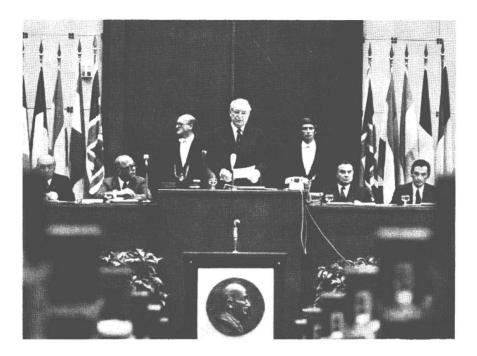
With your permission, ladies and gentlemen, I shall write to Mr Monnet, thanking him for his message and expressing our regret at his absence and our wishes for a full recovery.

I have received apoligies for absence from Mr Jean Duvieusart, Mr Spierenburg, Mr Coppé, Mr Lapie, Mr Lecourt, Mr Hirsch, Mr Chatenet and Mr Mansholt.

Mr Michel Arnaud is represented here by Mr Peeters and Mr Bord by Mr Jost.

Ladies and gentlemen, on 9 May 1950, Robert Schuman made the historic declaration which was to set in train the process of European integration.

As I open this ceremonial sitting to mark its 25th anniversary, I wish to welcome, on behalf of the European Parliament, the eminent personages, the comrades of Europe, the members of national governments and the diplomatic corps who are honouring with their presence this pilgrimage to the source of our



Georges Spénale, President of the European Parliament

Community. In the meantime, alas, some of those Heads of State, those great Europeans, who, together with Schuman signed the ECSC Treaty in April 1951 are no longer with us: Konrad Adenauer, Carlo Sforza, Joseph Bech, Paul Van Zeeland.

This solemn commemoration is essentially a tribute to those pioneers of Europe whose memory remains linked with that of Robert Schuman in the work which set the seal on the reconciliation of the peoples of Europe and laid the foundations for their union.

But this celebration will have none of the melancholy that attends the contemplation of a closed chapter of the past!

For although the event is an historical one, the enterprise then begun is today still young, vitally topical and, sometimes, alone capable of meeting the new challenges.

It is not a Magna Carta, capable of sweeping all obstacles aside. But everything in it has been weighed with scrupulous care: the analysis is crystal-clear, the means realistic, the aim an ambitious one and the institution revolutionary.

The analysis? 'World peace'...those are the first words, the ultimate aim - No peace without 'an organized and vital Europe'

No organized Europe without Franco-German reconciliation.

The means? 'Europe will not be built in a day: it will be built through practical achievements that first create a sense of common purpose.'

Let us bring together French iron and German coal for and with all those who wish to join us.

The aim? 'This proposal will lay the first practical foundations of a European Federation which is essential to peace.'

The Institution? A High Authority whose members, though appointed by the individual Governments, remain independent, their decisions enforceable in all acceding countries.

A special place among the originators of Europe belongs to Jean Monnet, for everyone well knows the notable part he played with his team in the conception and establishment of the first Community. His name springs particularly to mind in this House where some of us were privileged to debate with him when the Common Assembly of the ECSC represented the first expression of European Parliamentary life.

Many years of important responsibilities at all levels, and particularly in the League of Nations, gave him the vision needed for the conception of the institutional framework of the High Authority.

His criticism of the League of Nations can be easily transposed: 'The government representatives, all having to plead a national cause and hamstrung as to any joint action because of the necessity to agree on every sentence, could only propose small solutions to large problems.'

His method? 'Instead of the traditional diplomatic system of bargaining and compromise between rival national interests, one must always try to substitute joint action in the common interest to achieve a global solution.'



The ceremonial sitting in Strasbourg, seen from the public gallery.

We can thus see how the High Authority came into being, why Jean Monnet was best qualified to be its first President and how it fully played 'its role as a pilot Community and a testing ground for integration'.

Even though we still have far to go to achieve our aim, Jean Monnet can look with satisfaction on the immense amount that has been done, as he resigns from the Chairmanship of the Action Committee for a United States of Europe, in which so many leading figures were priveleged to work under him, for he was always original and stimulating.

To pay tribute to Jean Monnet in no way detracts from the renown of Robert Schuman. On 9 May 1950, ideas were not enough. At that decisive and difficult moment, it needed a statesman to assume political responsibility for such a revolutionary project with all its risks.

Robert Schuman accepted it without hesitation, fully appreciating what was at stake. He thus merited the primacy which history has in fact accorded him and which our Assembly has acknowledged by giving his name to the Parliament building in Luxembourg, the country in which he was born.

Here was a man from the 'marches' of Lorraine, Deputy for Metz, President of the French Government and several times Minister; who was proudly welcomed when, as a member of the Resistance, he came to Le Tarn, my own department, during the occupation.

A modest man, shy with other people, but courageous when it came to action and responsibility.

An idealist? A realist? There is still a difference in views.

In fact he believed, like Jaurès, that in striving for the ideal you must start from reality: he had in mind the 'indispensable European Confederation' of the future, but began with coal and steel — the basement, the very foundations.

That was cautious, but was it enough? Would it not lead to a 'Europe à la carte'? Could not more be decided right at the outset?

I was one of those who thought so. I was wrong.

For it is only a myth that in those days there was a European golden age, and that this first attempt at integration and the prospects which it opened up were welcomed almost unanimously and with unbounded enthusiasm.

For France, in particular, this was a dramatic and, to some people, a dangerous revision of traditional policies. Instead of the reassuring controls and restrictions it was able, under the treaties, to impose on Germany, could it so quickly place its trust in the bonds of a multilateral Community yet to be born?

Chancellor Adenauer was not wrong when he said, 'It is a generous offer', and replied, 'I accept wholeheartedly.'

The presence of the President of the Federal Republic last Friday in the Salon de l'Horloge and the words he spoke on that occasion show that these sentiments have not changed, and that the Franco-German reconciliation, which is now consolidated, dates from that day twenty-five years ago, since Schuman was quick to understand that the idea of dividing European nations into conquerors and conquered must be abandoned, without insulting history by doing so.

In France, however, the wounds were still fresh. In its time, then, this was a far-sighted, difficult and courageous proposal.

The first move is never easy!

The truth of this was underlined by what followed. The failure of the European Defence Community together with the rejection of a political Community, showed that a few years after the foundations of the ECSC had been laid it was still impossible to continue building Europe by putting on the roof and that progress would have to be made one step at a time.

That is what was done in the Treaties of Rome, which established the ECC and Euratom. This is what we are going to continue with European Union.

Nevertheless, the Treaties of Rome represent a measure of integration which lags well behind that of the ECSC. In this they show that Robert Schuman's initiative was well ahead of his time, probably the very limit of what was immediately possible.

Even too far ahead for some people who remained at the starting post.

Where have we got today?

Undeniably, progress has been made: the Franco-German reconciliation, the Customs Union, the rapid expansion of trade within the Community, the improvement in living standards until the recent crisis.

Three new countries have joined: let us hope they remain.

The cooperation policy has been extended to 46 ACP countries. The Lomé Treaty offers an unprecedented example and shows the attraction which the Community already - or is it still? - has for the Third World. China itself has just recognized the Community.

Common policies have been extended and diversified, social Europe is advancing and regional policy getting off the ground.

But there have also been disappointments: Economic Union is dragging, Monetary Union is receding into the distance, the chaotic fluctuations of exchange rates are destroying the agricultural policy; trade restrictions and derogations are becoming the rule; and the spirit of nationalism is daily taking precedence over the spirit of the Community.



Our inability to speak with a single voice on major problems is destroying our credibility and reducing our influence.

It seems that Europe has exhausted the initial impetus it received from the treaties, and that once more, as in May 1950, we are at one of those moments when History questions those in authority and presses them to act.

Robert Schuman's European Confederation seems further away than ever.

Who is responsible?

All of us, of course. And first of all the inadequacy of the decision-making process. But there is also nationalism, globalism the timid step-by-step approach, so-called realism

Nations need no justification. Often, they both transcend and synthesize their constituent parts: every nation of any size is already a living confederation.

They feel the need to survive. This need is legitimate and must be fully acknowledged. But it is precisely one of the main objectives of the Communities to enable them to survive, and they are not always sufficiently aware of this fact.

This leads to resistance.

We are surrounded by and imbued with globalism: trade, currency, pollution, energy, materials, multinationals — all these proclaim it as the troubled dawn of a new and distant era, a preoccupation today, a necessity tomorrow.

Interdependence is everywhere present.

The new Europe in the making is poised between those who reject any notion of transcending the old nations and those who are already aspiring towards world unity.

Some oppose it as premature, others as already behind the times. But what is it really? A foreshadowing, or a stage that has already been passed?

We must bring it to fruition: the final harmony is too far off, our countries are too small; Europe, the European Europe, is indispensable to the peace of the present and the balance of the future.

Step by step?

We all believe that small steps are necessary: not all fruits ripen at once, and as our friend Hirsch says, while you are waiting for the apples you have to eat the cherries.

But you ought not to expect everything at once or to hope that, right from the start, Europe will build itself, step by step, by a kind of dynamic destiny that justifies the avoidance of any fundamentally new decision.

To invoke Schuman here would be a betrayal. When he said 'Europe will not be built in a day', he was simply justifying the choices that had to be made in the first stage. As he knew very well, passing from 'the first practical foundations' to the 'indispensable federation', requires other fundamental decisions.

With societies as with species, sudden mutations are more decisive than slow evolution.

As for realism, it becomes suspect the moment it is invoked so as to avoid having to face the realities and so as to face them together when we cannot surmount them separately. The main ones can only be mastered in the long term by a united Europe and effective institutions.

We cannot stay the way we are. The conflicts between the integrated and non-integrated sectors are becoming increasingly unacceptable. Advance or give up: that is the choice.

You know our answer: advance.

But we run up against three basic obstacles: the inefficiency of the decision-making process, too little democracy and popular support, and the lack of substantial progress towards Economic and Monetary Union.

The European Parliament therefore welcomed with hope the decisions of the Paris Summit setting up a European Council, proposing election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, asking Mr Tindemans to make proposals on European Union.

But no-one will be surprised that, in the eyes of the European Parliament, the most important decisions are those concerning its legislative powers and its election by direct universal suffrage in 1978:

- since Europe will be a genuine parliamentary democracy, or else it will not exist:
- since national governments cannot reasonably be asked to abandon powers they have, or not to defend before all other interests, however important, the national interest in whose name they govern;
- since only an elected Assembly can give any guarantee to a government that
 has to acquiesce in a compromise that it is doing so because of a valid
 political interpretation of a common, higher interest and not because of a
 competing national interest;
- since nothing important can henceforth be accomplished without the
 effective participation of the people exercising their will and their pressure
 through free elections.

Then, perhaps, Europe too will be able to respond to the new anxiety of the peoples. For the world has changed.

The myth of unending, constantly accelerating growth has largely been exploded: people, and especially the young, have found that they were quantitatively richer, but qualitatively unhappier, theoretically freer but practically more alienated.

In the aftermath of May 1968, Europe became aware of certain contradictions. Production growth alone can no longer be presented as a goal, still less an ideal. Nor can this consumer society, which someone defined, not without humour, as a society 'where we buy things we don't need with money we don't have.'

The accent is on the quality of life, on participation by citizens, by the workers, men and women, in all spheres and at all levels; on the protection of nature, on the reduction of working hours and the pace of work; on sharing culture; and on the rediscovery of brotherhood, near and far.

Our States in isolation cannot react effectively or adequately to most of these problems, since any expenditure on the quality of life if decided on in isolation is a source of weakness in economic competition.

Here, as with all the great external problems, only Europe can provide an adequate base for a generous policy, and make a valid response to the new and irreversible aspirations.

For Marx, 'Force is the great midwife of nations'. In his day he was right.

But it is not force that has been the midwife of Europe.

The providential meeting of Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Adenauer showed that another way was possible: that modern times could replace the empires of history — which frequently destroyed the nations of the past — by voluntary Communities which set the preservation of past nations as their goal.

This is certainly the most effective way of providing against the solitude of nations in grave circumstances.

It remains to be seen whether these Communities, by allowing the shadowy nations, with their languages, their internal laws and their collective susceptibilities, to survive within them, will be able to stand the test of time.

That is our hope and our task.

The European Parliament wishes to take its place in the front line of this struggle for world peace, for the joint survival of our countries, for the happy brotherhood of our children, and that they may respond with an open and generous hand to the poverty in the world.

This is what Robert Schuman would have wished, that 'Moselle Catholic' with his frontiersman's hardihood, his straightforward courage, his shining modesty almost timidity, that made his renown shine so brightly — a renown all the brighter for his never having given it a thought, a renown which would no doubt have surprised him.

Speech made by Dr Garret FitzGerald, President of the Council.

It is right that we should celebrate here, in the European Parliament, the 25th anniversary of President Schuman's Declaration. It is right that it should be here, because the Parliament is placed first of the institutions of the Community in the Treaties which incarnate Robert Schuman's imaginative initiative. It is right because from 1958 to 1960 Robert Schuman was the first President of this Parliament in its present form. It is right because in its work, in its initiatives and in its attitudes to the construction of Europe, this Parliament represents most faithfully the vision of Robert Schuman.

In the life of each of us individuals, a quarter of a century is a long time. In the life of a nation it is very brief. In the life of a continent it is an instant. In a continent as culturally and socially diverse as ours, a radical transformation, at a new and higher level, of our whole system of government cannot be instantaneous in this historical sense, cannot be completed within the brief space of a quarter of a century.

One generation cannot unravel and re-work the millenial tapestry of Europe's history and political geography. Let us not be discouraged because this immense task has not been both initiated and completed by this first generation of Europeans, the very first generation amongst whom the idea of European unity has taken root and has secured the acceptance not merely, as in the past, of a handful of visionaries but of the great mass of our people.

The great design laid down by Robert Schuman — and inspired by President Jean Monnet, whose inability to be with us here today we all regret — was both realistic and an imaginative leap forward. His aim was, as he said himself in this Declaration which we commemorate today, to built Europe 'through practical achievements that first create a sense of common purpose'.

He was right, as we who have followed his wise prescription can attest.

It is on this basis, at once pragmatic in its means and idealistic in its aims, that the solidarity already achieved has been created. It is on this basis that the economic life of the citizens of Europe has already been improved; and it is the dynamism that this approach has unleashed that has attracted other countries, such as my own, to join the original Community of Six.

The European structure that we are building on Robert Schuman's foundations can only be democratic; it has to find a way of reflecting adequately and sensitively the complex reality of modern society, in which decisions are taken at many different levels, as well as the often inchoate aspirations of our diverse peoples. We have, on the one hand, to satisfy the growing desire of our peoples for maximum involvement in these decisions that they see as affecting their lives directly, and, on the other, to meet the compelling need to take many other important decisions on at least a sub-continental scale if they are to be our decisions and not decisions imposed on us from outside. We have to ensure that these Community-level decisions are democratically controlled through this Parliament.

If the Community must be responsive to the social and economic needs of its peoples, it must also be open towards the rest of the world. We should not under-estimate the rôle of our Community in the world of today. Europe is highly valued by the rest of the world, more so perhaps than she values herself. The successful conclusion of the Lomé Convention, the network of agreements concluded with third countries and the gradual evolution of a global development policy are all signs of this. Europe is seen by the world outside now as a civilian power, one that has abandoned the colonial past which was a feature of some of her states, and that is moving in a constructive and open direction in her relationship with developing countries.

In this work, as in the internal democratic development of the Community towards the objectives set by Robert Schuman, Parliament's rôle is the most vital of all. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, I salute its initiative in organizing this solemn commemoration of a great event in Europe's history.



François - Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission



Garret FitzGerald, President of the Council

Speech made by Mr François Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission.

Ladies and gentlemen, the ceremonies which have marked the 25th anniversary of Robert Schuman's Declaration would have been incomplete without the formal tribute of the Institutions of the Communities, presented here in the European Parliament.

In the eyes of Robert Schuman, of Jean Monnet, of all who presided over Europe's first practical steps, the European idea, the government initiatives, the political and technical machinery, had to be grounded in the democratic ideal, organized in a democratic framework. As we attend this ceremony here today, we are reminded of the vision of a politically united, European society which inspired men like Schuman, Adenauer, De Gasperi, Spaak, Bech. We recall the profound link which they saw between the progress of European integration and the development of democratic, European institutions. Robert Schuman did not simply make speeches about it; the ECSC Treaty bears witness to his commitment — a commitment which he confirmed both as a Member and as President of this Assembly.

Today, we are paying tribute to the man and the achievement. First of all to the man: I was a very junior inspecteur des finances when I first met him as a member of his staff, and I was a newly-appointed director-general for international trade when I began to have more contact with him in connection with European matters.

Last Friday at the Salon de l'Horloge, and again today, Mr President, you moved us with a subtle, sensitive evocation of that 'Moselle Catholic'. I myself, who knew him less well, recall that, as a politician and a European, he had certain characteristics which his apparent reticence and gentleness did not conceal for long; I mean that calm fearlessness, that simplicity in great deeds, which raised him to the stature of the true statesman.

On 9 May 1950 he succeeded in combining the two things which mark out the great political initiator; a vision, whose scope extended across a whole, ravaged continent, and an exceptionally bold capacity for making decisions. The lofty level and wide impact of his actions have inscribed the name of Robert Schuman on the tablet of history.

As to his achievement; Europe's present difficulties should not make us forget the great distance we have covered in the last twenty-five years. Today, our internal peace seems to us quite natural. But most of us here lived through the hostilities and the ravages of the war; we have known not only the absence of Europe, but also the confrontation of the countries of Europe and its ghastly consequences. That these countries have now agreed to share a common destiny represents a historical revolution. It has taken only a few years for this improbable goal to be reached. Let us bear this achievement in mind when making pessimistic, apprehensive judgments. Let us remember that it was not handed to us, but that we had to fight for it.

The organization of Europe, the consequent opening of markets and the gradual broadening of external relations, have made a decisive contribution to the economic and social developments of recent years. A large part of the credit is due to the construction of Europe, which has created greater interdependence and generated a spirit of emulation, ambition and progress. Let us remember that as well.

In this commemoration we cannot mention Robert Schuman without mentioning Jean Monnet. I had hoped today to have the opportunity to express our admiration and affection to that master-builder who conceived the idea of Europe and who devoted his now legendary keenness of judgment, powers of persuasion, tenacity and capacity for success — for that is a great quality — to that cause. Mr President, the Commission associates itself with the tribute of the European Parliament.

After twenty-five years the tasks of achieving peace and economic and social progress have not yet been accomplished. Although the problems may be different and the framework radically altered, the fundamental reasons for building Europe have remained unchanged. Neither has there been any change — the tribute of the Institutions is an apt occasion to stress this — in the reasons for providing Europe with a strong structure and institutions capable of making decisions, capable of administering, capable of organizing the progress of our Community. Without a political will nothing can be done. We know this, we have said it frequently in this very House when confronting all the difficulties and crises with which Europe has been unfailingly beset. But a political will must rest upon a solid basis of responsible institutions. This was understood by the Europeans of the first generation, who gave the first response. We should listen to their message and continue along the road which they opened up.

We should also listen to the other message which I alluded to at the beginning of this brief tribute. Further developments in the building of Europe, started by peoples who have chosen democracy and wish to defend it at all costs, required the democratic nature of our institutions to be strengthened. Direct elections to the European Parliament will prove a milestone in this respect. That there is now a definite programme for this shows that, after quarter of a century, we are still capable of moving forward.

On an occasion such as today, I have deliberately made little mention of the problems which press upon us. In looking back and recalling some of the first moments of the creation of a new European world, I wish only to take the measure of the inspiration which our continent has known since that time; I wish only to see the 'little bloom of hope', that rare flower, spoken of by Péguy, which was given the chance to grow, 'amid the ruins of war, by Robert Schuman and those who worked with him to change the destiny of Europe.

Declaration made by Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950

'There will only be peace in the world if the efforts we make to keep it are as great as the dangers that threaten it.

The contribution that an organized and dynamic Europe can make to civilization is essential for the maintenance of peaceful relations. For more than twenty years France has championed the cause of a united Europe, her primary aim always to serve the cause of peace. Europe was not unified; we had war.

Europe will not be built in a day nor as part of some overall design; it will be built through practical achievements that first create a sense of common purpose. If the nations of Europe are to join together, the centuries-old antagonism between France and Germany must first be expunged. Our efforts must be primarily concerned with these two countries.

To this end the French Government proposes to take immediate action in one limited but decisive area. It proposes to bring the entire Franco-German production of coal and steel under a joint High Authority within an organization in which the other countries of Europe will be free to participate.

This pooling of coal and steel production will immediately establish common foundations for economic development — a first step towards a European federation — and will change the destinies of those regions so long engaged in producing the munitions of war of which they themselves have most consistently been the victims.

Joint production thus established, it is clear that war between France and Germany will become not only inconceivable but physically impossible. The setting up of this powerful unit of production, open to all countries wishing to participate and destined to provide each member country, on the same terms, with the basic elements of industrial production will lay the true foundations of their economic unification. The fruits of its activity will be offered to the whole world, without distinction or exception, to help raise living standards and to promote peaceful endeavour. With greater resources, Europe will be able to pursue one of her prime tasks: the development of the African continent.

Thus will be achieved, simply and quickly, that merging of interests essential to the creation of an economic community; the impetus will be given to the creation of a broader, deeper community between countries long divided by bloody strife. This undertaking to pool certain basic products and to set up a High Authority whose decisions will be binding on France and Germany and the other acceding countries will lay the first real foundations of a European Federation, which is essential to the preservation of peace.

To further the achievement of these objectives, the French Government is prepared to open negotiations based on the following principles:

The High Authority's task shall be to bring about as rapidly as possible: the modernization of production and improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets and to the markets of other member countries; the development of joint exports to other countries; equal progress in improving the living conditions of workers employed in these industries.

To achieve these objectives, starting from the very different conditions attending member countries' production at present, it is proposed that certain transitional measures should be instituted, such as the application of a production and investment plan, the establishment of compensating machinery for equalizing prices, and the creation of an amortization fund to facilitate the rationalization of production. The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed from all Customs duty, and will not be affected by differential transport rates. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously provide for the more rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity. In contrast to international cartels, which tend to impose restrictive practices on distribution and the exploitation of national markets, and to maintain high profits, the organization will ensure the fusion of markets and the expansion of production.

The essential principles and undertakings defined above will be the subject of treaties signed between the States and submitted for the ratification of their Parliaments. The negotiations required to settle details of their application will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator appointed by common agreement. He will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the agreements reached conform with the principles laid down, and, in the event of a deadlock, he will decide what solution is to be adopted.

The High Authority entrusted with the management of the scheme will be composed of independent persons appointed by the Governments on an equal basis. A chairman will be chosen by common agreement between the

Governments. The Authority's decisions will be enforceable in France, Germany, and other member countries. Suitable provision will be made for appeal against the decisions of the Authority.

A representative of the United Nations will be accredited to the Authority, and will be instructed to make a public report to the United Nations twice yearly, giving an account of the working of the new organization, with particular reference to the manner in which its peaceful objectives are being guaranteed.

The institution of the High Authority will in no way pre-judge the legal position as regards ownership of enterprises. In the exercise of its functions the High Authority will take into account the powers conferred upon the International Ruhr Authority and the obligations of all kinds imposed upon Germany, so long as these remain in force.'

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