

JEAN MONNET, A GRAND DESIGN FOR EUROPE



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Jean Monnet, a grand design for Europe

Manuscript by Pascal Fontaine completed in July 1988.

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Introduction

In the Community the European Council designated 1988, the centenary of his birth, a 'European Commemorative Year'. In France, at the instigation of the President of the Republic, his ashes are to be transferred to the Pantheon, the final resting-place of so many great men.

Why are Europe's political leaders paying tribute to a man who is virtually unknown to the general public?

Because Jean Monnet is seen as the founding father of the Community which has been developing and growing since 1950 from principles and plans he defined and began to put into practice.

His life's work is standing the test of time. It has transformed relations between the nations of Europe, long divided by conflict, and is now part and parcel of the daily lives of their citizens. It holds out a message of hope for the future not only for Europeans but for others too.

'When an idea corresponds to the needs of the times, it is no longer the property of the men who invented it and is stronger than those responsible for it,' wrote Jean Monnet. The truth of this maxim is obvious today. We have inherited Jean Monnet's idea and it is up to us to press ahead with the historic task of building Europe.

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I — A movement at the service of mankind

European integration is an unprecedented venture. Its aim is to bring together in peace men long divided by the barriers of prejudice, all too often a catalyst for conflict in the past. Today pursuit of the common interest has taken the place of suspicion and rivalry. Europe has been at peace for more than 40 years and Europeans have enjoyed rapid economic growth, enabling them to rebuild and modernize their war-torn countries.

Jean Monnet made a vital contribution to Europe's rehabilitation in the post-war years. He placed his experience as an organizer and a man of action at the disposal of both the victors and the vanquished, persuading them to forget past quarrels and start again on a new footing.

'Let us combine our efforts and adapt to the new world situation'

His message has the force of all simple ideas. Instead of wasting time and energy in trying to apportion blame for a horrific war, the countries of Europe should combine to bring freedom and prosperity to their continent. The imperative of the age was to bring economies together, to merge interests, to make the means of production more efficient in a world dominated by competitiveness and progress. Yet Monnet's message goes further than this: it is an eminently political statement going to the roots of national sovereignty. He argued that national sovereignty was outmoded if it prevented Europe keeping pace with the times in the age of superpowers. Since the United States and the Soviet Union had emerged from the Second World War in a much stronger position, the countries of the Old World had to choose between marginalization and union.

Union, said Monnet, less than five years after the end of the war, meant movement in a new direction, where common interests would be managed by effective, democratic institutions. These would not seek to rival or supplement national institutions, but would rather complement them, acting in areas where national measures proved to be inadequate or ineffective: for example, world trade, monetary affairs, security and Europe's role and influence in a rapidly changing world.

As we approach the twenty-first century these principles have lost none of their immediacy. On the contrary they are manifestly valid, given the world-wide trends which must surely encourage Europeans to opt for unity as a way of meeting new challenges: new technologies, monetary instability, the population explosion in the Third World, protectionist tendencies, international terrorism and protection of the environment. The problems which faced the people of post-war Europe are a far cry from those which will affect the rising generation. The countries of Europe are at peace: democracy is a day-to-day reality. They are modernized and prosperous, despite the fact that unemployment and the new poverty affect a sizeable proportion of the population. But some things have not changed. Europe is still in danger of being relegated to the sidelines of history and will remain so unless Europeans organize themselves to present a unified response to major world problems.

European unity, a moral crusade

There is no doubt that problems of a different kind are plaguing Jean Monnet's Europe today. What sort of civilization do we want? What values do Europeans stand for in a world where arbitrary decisions and violence are more common than compromise and the rule of law? For some, the resurgence of nationalism and xenophobia in certain sections of the population is an expression of concern at the persistent economic crisis. For others, extremism and the rejection of others is symptomatic of a breakdown in the consensus underlying the ground rules governing our political systems. One of the main tasks now facing Europe's leaders is to define and promote European identity. Economic Europe and political Europe are developing in tandem as part of the process which must lead to European Union. Cultural Europe, Europe of the man in the street, is at once the culmination and the motor of this process, since a sound and lasting institutional system presupposes grassroots support and the backing of business and organized labour.

Monnet was one of the first to realize — and to teach — that the process of European unification stems essentially from the search for a new brand of humanism. Domination and supremacy plunged Europe into centuries of warfare, conflict following conflict in an inexorable cycle, victory on one side breeding the desire for revenge on the other. Monnet's ambition was to break this vicious circle by establishing a new relationship between the nation States of Europe based on the equality and fairness which govern relations between individuals in any democratic country. With this aim in mind, the 'Father of Europe' set out to promote a new moral base for Europe, placing his faith in Man and his ability to advance by learning from his most painful experiences.

'We are not forming coalitions between States, but union among people': the epigraph to Monnet's *Memoirs*¹ serves as a reminder that European integration is not a matter for technocrats, but is primarily aimed at the hearts and minds of ordinary people.

1992: a vital deadline

The essence of Monnet's approach was to take one step at a time: to pinpoint strategic targets for action and generate fresh impetus, thereby creating a blueprint that politicians, businessmen and trade unions could work towards. This was reflected in the young Communities: the Coal and Steel Community, created in 1951, and the EEC and Euratom, created in 1957.

Today the European Community is preparing to take another decisive step on the basis of the Single European Act. Adopted in 1986 it sets 1992 as the deadline for the creation of the vast, integrated economic and social area.

This will open up opportunities for 320 million Europeans in their professional lives and give them new rights as Community citizens. Businesses and the professions, capital and labour will be able to develop in an environment free of all barriers, an area on a par with the large internal markets of Europe's main competitors, the United States and Japan. This target, towards which the Commission — headed by Jacques Delors — has been working steadily since 1985, with the encouragement and support of Parliament, is completely consistent with Monnet's grand design. It echoes his approach, takes over his vision, and gives fresh impetus, better adapted to today's world, to the process begun in 1950.

Working towards this goal, which calls for a level of determination and commitment on the part of our leaders and the European institutions comparable to that shown by the pioneers, is a concrete way of paying tribute to Jean Monnet.

A guide for future action

What was the secret of Jean Monnet's success? He certainly had one, judging by the fruit of a long career spanning the years from 1914, when he organized Allied purchasing and

¹ *Memoirs* by Jean Monnet. Translated by Richard Mayne. (London: Collins, 1978). Most of the quotations in this booklet are taken from this translation.

shipping, to 1974, when the European Council met for the first time. Yet Monnet was a simple, if clear-sighted, man. If he influenced world events, if he is associated today with the emergence of the European Community, it is because of his inventiveness and determination, the marks of all great creative minds. His firm conviction that union was vital, his ability to exploit situations to the full to advance his design and his influence on individual politicians in positions of power, all contributed to his success. Monnet had an eventful life, from which we can draw a number of lessons on how to further the process of European integration, both now and in the future. As Jacques Delors has pointed out, 'We are still drawing on Jean Monnet's legacy as a source of inspiration and ideas for our work in the service of Europe.'¹

¹ Preface to *Jean Monnet, l'inspirateur* by Pascal Fontaine (Editions J. Grancher, 1988).

II — A man of destiny

An international grounding in pragmatism

It would be hard to pigeonhole Jean Monnet into any of the standard types of biography. Born in 1888 in Cognac, in the heart of the Charente, this man of the provinces was soon forced by necessity to travel the world. Hardly out of secondary school, the young Monnet was in London learning English, discovering the hustle and bustle of the city, then travelling and selling brandy for his father all over the globe. As he rubbed shoulders with bankers, lawyers and other merchants, he discovered the spirit of initiative and learned that a man's word was his bond. But he also learned about the ruthless side of business, the demands of a job well done, the power of ideas strongly held. His lack of higher education did him no disservice, although he always respected culture and knowledge and surrounded himself throughout his life with gifted people who had been through the finest universities. His youthful openness gave Monnet a broad view of business and politics at an early age. Completely free of national prejudice, unimpressed with the trappings of power, he quickly showed himself to be extremely enterprising and intensely curious about the many different people he met.

Organizing the war effort

How did his extraordinary career begin, a career which led President Kennedy to dub Monnet a 'Statesman of the world'?

In 1914, at the age of twenty-six, Monnet was exempted from military service on health grounds. His frequent travels between France and Britain led him to observe the movements of French and British ships supplying the Allied troops at the Front. Nothing was being done to coordinate and thus make the optimum use of these vessels. On the battlefield, the French and the British were fighting side-by-side, but the two Commands had separate responsibility for supplies which were soon to become the sinews of war. So Monnet approached the highest authorities of both countries in an attempt to persuade them to abandon this costly process, which was sapping their combined efforts.

he was given the task of organizing it. In 1918, an Allied Maritime Transport Committee with a joint Executive was set up to control the specifications, cargoes and movements of all Allied ships. This marshalling of transport and supplies was to become the hub of the war effort and help to tilt the balance of forces once and for all in the Allies' favour. This taught Monnet that organization was the key to power and that wars are not always won on the battlefield.

Mandarin and banker

When he was appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations at the age of thirty-three, Monnet endeavoured to keep the international concertation machinery set up during the war operating in peacetime. Despite his efforts to give the League of Nations the means to play its role, he soon found that sovereign States were reluctant to create a supranational authority. Indeed, France had embarked on a fateful policy towards a defeated Germany, compelling her to pay reparations and occupying the Rhineland. After a number of useful missions in Austria and Upper Silesia, Monnet resigned from the League of Nations in 1923 to take care of family affairs in Cognac.

He left France again in 1926 to establish and run an international commercial bank with head offices in the United States. He went to Poland and Sweden and to China where he met Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai and made a contribution to the modernization of the Chinese economy.

War once more

His sense of public service and his concern for peace brought Monnet back into international politics in 1936, when he realized that the statements and behaviour of Adolf Hitler would inevitably lead to war. Monnet was never fooled by the 'reassurances' given by the dictatorships and he sensed that a victory for democracy would depend on moral and practical mobilization. In 1938 the French Prime Minister, Edouard Daladier, sent him on a secret mission to the United States. He was to order warplanes at a time when the American Government was bound by the provisions of the Neutrality Act, which prohibited exports of arms to nations at war. He successfully accomplished the delicate mission in the course of which he met Roosevelt and became one of the President's most trusted advisers throughout the war. Several hundred American planes were delivered in time and were used by the Royal Air Force in the heroic hours of the Battle of Britain.



Washington, 30 December 1941: Jean Monnet, member of the British Supply Council and adviser to President Roosevelt.

'A single Cabinet, a single army, a single nation'

In the spring of 1940, after the defeat of General Weygand's troops, what counted most for Monnet was to ensure that the allied democracies did not break ranks in the face of the enemy. He arrived in London a few days before General de Gaulle and drafted a plan for an indissoluble Franco-British Union, a true merger of the two nations, for de Gaulle, the British Government and the French authorities in refuge in Bordeaux. The idea was to create a psychological shock and encourage the French army to get out of enemy reach and the French navy to join up with British forces and carry on the fight.

The Franco-British Declaration, which gave the two nations a single sovereignty, was quite revolutionary. It was endorsed by the two governments on 16 June 1940 only to be rendered null and void the following day when the French Government fell and the new Prime Minister, Marshall Pétain, asked Germany for the terms of an armistice. The proposal, conceived in truly exceptional circumstances, came to nothing. However, it did foreshadow new relationships between States faced with a single challenge and forced to



Algiers, 5 June 1943: Jean Monnet is standing on the left. Seated (left to right) are General Catroux, General de Gaulle, Winston Churchill, General Giraud, Anthony Eden. Standing (left to right) are André Philip, Harold Macmillan, General Georges, Sir Alan Brooke, Admiral Cunningham, René Massigli.

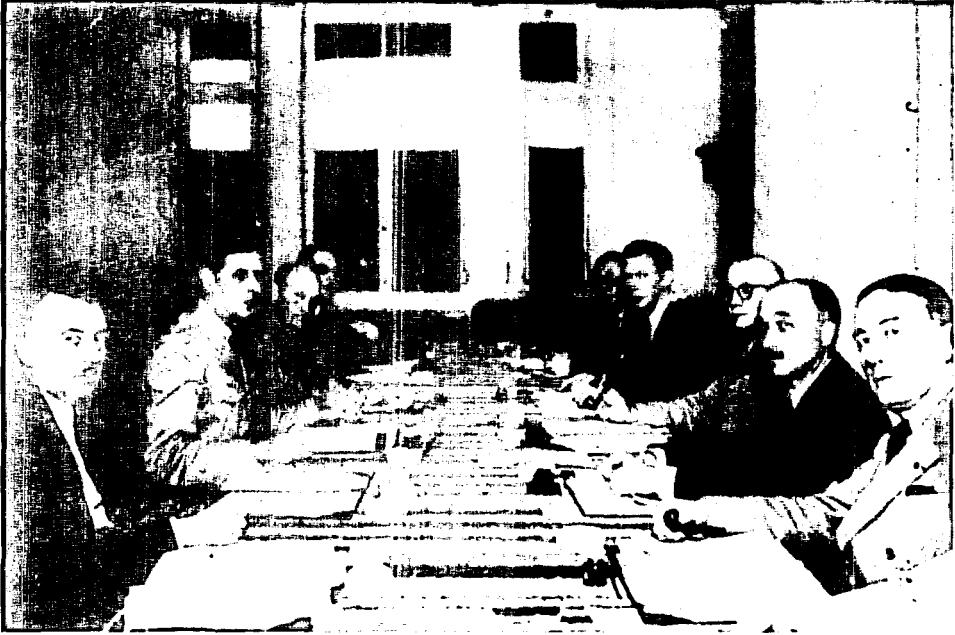
work together, which would reappear in another form with the Schuman proposal in 1950.

Victory and reconstruction

Winston Churchill sent Monnet on a special mission to the United States where he elected to continue the fight by helping to mobilize the American war effort. In Washington, he became the apostle of all-out production. In one of his famous 'fireside chats', Roosevelt declared that 'America must become the arsenal of democracy'. The phrase was Monnet's. Total mobilization of the American economy produced spectacular results. By the end of the war, 300 000 planes, 100 000 tanks and 124 000 ships left the arsenal and were thrown into the battle in Europe and the Pacific. The economist, John Maynard Keynes, argued later that the effort Roosevelt imposed on the American people, on Monnet's advice, shortened the war by a year.

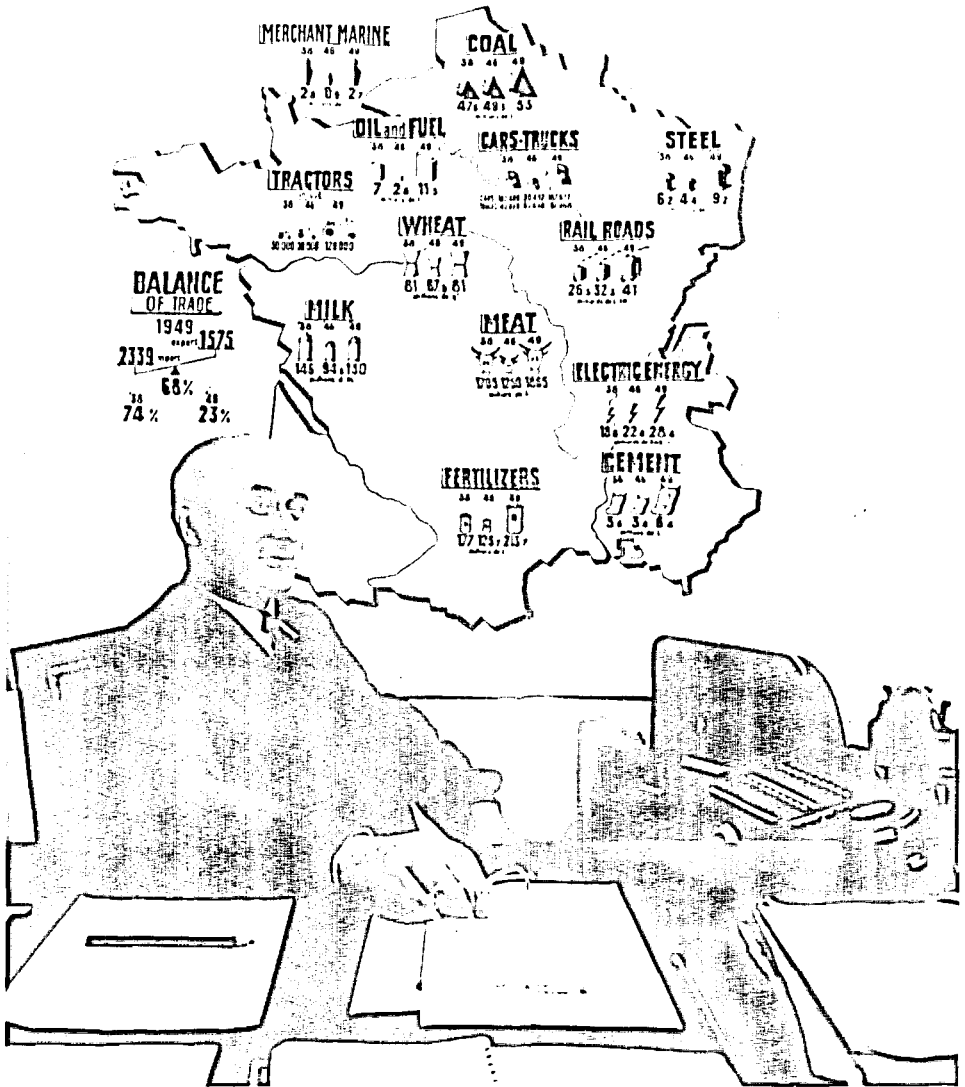
Monnet had more than the material conditions for victory in mind. As an expatriate in the United States, he was equally worried about what would happen to France after

liberalization, about what could be done to ensure that those who took charge of the country had democratic legitimacy. In February 1943 Monnet went to Algiers, seat of the French Provisional Government. There he worked to restore republican legality and paved the way for General de Gaulle, sole representative of the Resistance, taking power.



Algiers 1943: French Committee of National Liberation. Seated (left to right) around the table are Adrien Tixier, General de Gaulle, General Georges, René Pleven, Maurice Couve de Murville, General Le Gentilhomme, Jean Monnet and René Mayer.

With France free but debilitated and short of supplies, the new government asked Monnet to use his organizational skills in the reconstruction of France. In 1945 de Gaulle made him responsible for a modernization and investment plan, drawn up on flexible lines, with government departments, the business world and trade unions working together as equal partners. The object was to make the best possible use of national resources and Marshall Plan funds. But Monnet's main concern was to prepare the French economy for the production and trade conditions in the New World which was emerging. The priorities were productivity, competitiveness and a new social order based on concertation. The Plan, described as a 'burning obligation' by de Gaulle, gradually pulled the French economy out of the disastrous state into which it had been plunged before the war by belated investment and blundering economic policy. Production targets were now being met but so much leeway had to be made up at such a cost that Monnet, now Planning Commissioner, was already developing ideas that went beyond the frontiers of France. The creation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in 1948 to distribute Marshall Plan funds on an equitable basis was fostering solidarity

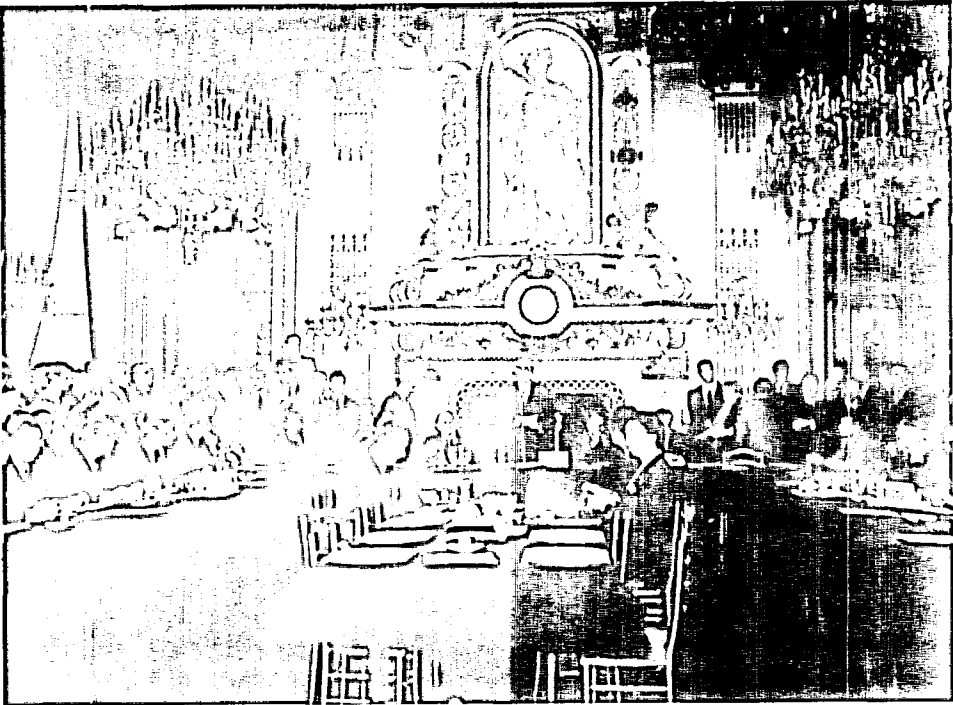


1948: Jean Monnet, French Planning Commissioner (Photo: CEC).

between the beneficiaries. Reconstruction on a national scale was proving to be inadequate. Frontiers were being seen as a yoke that Europe's economies had to bear. What was more, the status of Germany was still unresolved. A political initiative was called for. Europe's fate was in the balance.

III — Working for Europe

9 May 1950 — the adventure begins



9 May 1950: Launching of the Schuman Plan in the Salon de l'horloge at the Quai d'Orsay (Robert Schuman is at the microphone; Jean Monnet is on his right) (Photo: CEC).

The French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, was looking for an idea. His American and British counterparts had asked him to come up with a solution to the various problems confronting the Federal Republic of Germany and its partners: the status of the Ruhr, the level of coal and steel production and equal political rights. In his capacity as Planning Commissioner, Monnet was in constant touch with Schuman and in the early spring of 1950 he and his closest associates drew up a memorandum, which developed in time into a formal proposal. Schuman threw his support behind the proposal the mo-

ment he saw it. He came from the border region, had lived through two world wars, and immediately grasped the enormous political significance of Monnet's plan. The idea was to create a Coal and Steel Community encompassing German and French production, but open to other States as well, to be run by an independent authority with delegated powers.

The idea was enthusiastically welcomed by the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer: it would enable Germany to turn its back on defeat and play a full part in a venture which gave concrete expression to the solidarity that the people of Europe yearned for after so many years of chaos and humiliation.

While others were still debating the best way of building Europe, this concrete proposal — limited in its objectives, but of enormous significance — marked the birth of the European Community. It represented a revolutionary approach to international relations: the voluntary delegation of sovereignty in two crucial industries to joint, independent institutions.

The structure and powers of these institutions were detailed in the Treaty of Paris signed on 18 April 1951. It established a Coal and Steel Community for a period of 50 years, with a High Authority, a collegiate body with independent and executive powers; a Council, representing the interests of the Member States; a common Assembly, which was to become the European Parliament; and a Court of Justice.

Permanent dialogue between these institutions would lead to the creation of a common market in coal and steel, bringing lower prices, security and diversity of supplies, and social progress.

But the most radical feature of the Schuman Plan was political: it put the seal on Franco-German reconciliation by linking the destinies of the two nations. Because no peace treaty had been signed between the former adversaries, the first European Community was a vote of confidence in the willingness of the two countries and their partners to build on the mistakes of the past and an act of faith in a shared future based on cooperation organized by common institutions.

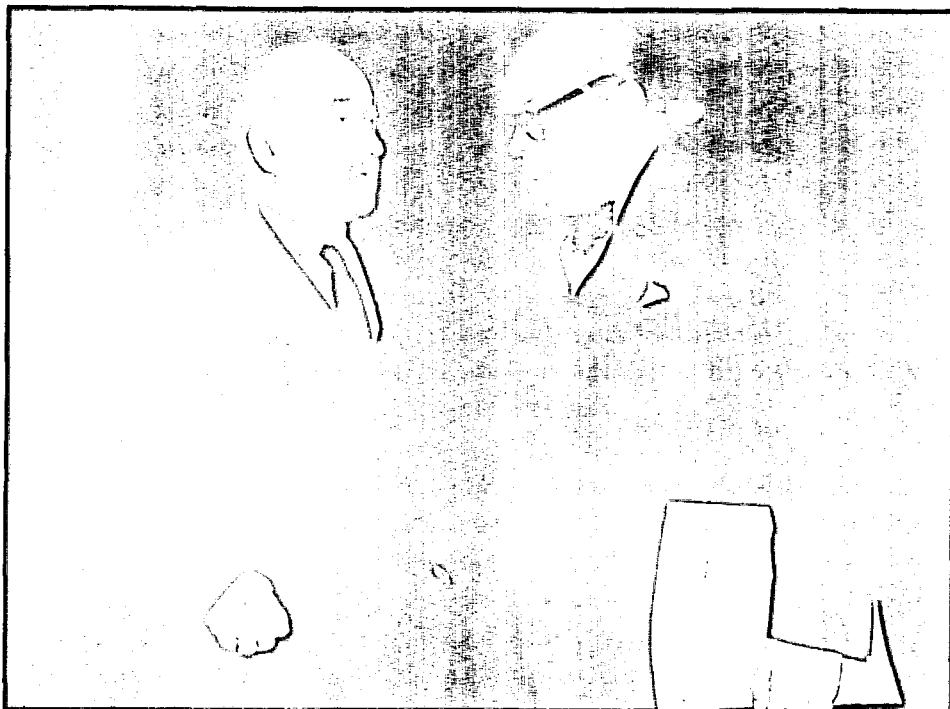
An army for Europe — the plan that failed

Hard on the heels of the Schuman Plan came the Pleven Plan, another brainchild of Jean Monnet. The French Prime Minister, René Pleven, was under pressure from the United States, alarmed by the outbreak of the Korean war, to rearm Germany so that it might contribute to the defence of the free world.



Luxembourg, 10 August 1952: Jean Monnet at the inaugural meeting of the ECSC High Authority (Photo: CEC).

How could Germany be involved in a collective European defence initiative when France was opposed to the reconstitution of the German army? Monnet suggested that the principles underlying the Coal and Steel Community be extended to the armed forces: soldiers of the European States which joined the European Defence Community (EDC) would wear the same uniform and serve under a single command. The French proposal was studied by the other partners and a new Treaty was signed on 27 May 1952. However, the easing of tension in the cold war, the death of Stalin and developments on the French political scene combined to make ratification by the French National Assembly impossible. The EDC Treaty was finally rejected on 30 August 1954. With it died the plan for a European Political Community, dashing the hopes of European federalists.



Strasbourg, 10 September 1952: Jean Monnet (left) with Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Prime Minister, and architect of the Treaty of Rome (Photo: CEC).

A new route — economic integration

‘There will be no peace in Europe if States are reconstructed on the basis of national sovereignty, with all that that implies in terms of prestige politics and economic protectionism The nations of Europe are too circumscribed to give their people the prosperity made possible and hence necessary by modern conditions Prosperity and vital

social progress will remain elusive until the nations of Europe form a federation or a "European entity" which will forge them into a single economic unit.'

Monnet first revealed this vision of Europe in Algiers on 5 August 1943. Ten years later the face of Europe had changed considerably. After a number of notable achievements, the European tide was on the ebb. But the effort had to continue, for the need for union was greater than ever. Monnet chose to attack on the economic front. With the Benelux Statesmen Paul-Henri Spaak and Jean Beyen, he set to work on a plan for the relaunching of Europe, which took clear form at Messina on 3 June 1955. In a novel move, the Six decided to create a specialized Community modelled on the ECSC, in the promising area of the peaceful development of nuclear energy. At the same time they decided to remove trade barriers and create a common market in which goods, persons and capital would move freely. This was the beginning of Euratom and the European Economic Community, established by Treaties signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 for an unlimited period.

Monnet was actively involved in the relaunching process. He resigned as President of the ECSC High Authority so that his hands would not be tied. He was acutely aware of the need for trade unionists and politicians to be involved in the process of European integration. To this end he set up the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, which was to play a considerable role in Community affairs from 1955 to 1975.

The Committee scored its first success almost immediately, winning the German socialists over to the European cause. It did much to speed ratification of the Treaties of Rome in the Six and by 1959 the first steps towards the establishment of a common market had been taken. Common agricultural and social policies were introduced to match the liberalization of trade, which was achieved 18 months ahead of schedule on 1 July 1968.

A relentless struggle for a united Europe

For 20 years the Action Committee for the United States of Europe was a valuable instrument in Monnet's hands. It allowed him to make his voice heard on all issues of importance in the Community: the accession of the United Kingdom, whose unsuccessful applications he backed in 1961 and 1967; European political union; economic and monetary union; relations with the United States; the development of common policies; respect for the institutions. Virtually all party leaders, whether in government or opposition, and representatives of all the trade unions in the six founding Member States, subsequently joined by the British, sat on the Committee at some time or other, making it an influential pressure group in support of the European idea.

The road to European integration has had its twists and turns. Monnet recognized the significance of crises. He considered them to be the inevitable precursors of change. He never fell prey to discouragement and was skilled at using obstacles to European Union to move things in a more profitable direction. He rushed to the defence of the institutions whenever they came under attack. During the 'empty chair' crisis in 1965, when France begged to differ with the Five on the principle of majority voting in the Council, he opposed the right of veto, which he saw as a negation of democratic law and an obstacle to progress. He upheld the independence and authority of the Commission as the guarantor of the common interest and the expression of a willingness to unite.

In 1973, in a bid to give the Heads of State or Government a greater say in the running of the Community, he promoted the creation of the European Council, the Community's supreme decision-making body, which first met in 1975 and was institutionalized by the Single European Act in 1986.

A tireless fighter

Monnet drove himself relentlessly. His influence extended well beyond the frontiers of Europe; successive US Presidents met and listened to him, accepting the principle of a partnership of equals between Europe and the United States, which Monnet saw as the only way of ensuring a balanced and productive dialogue across the Atlantic. Whenever the Community was faced with a new development, whenever a project needed a helping hand, whenever a crisis arose, whenever two capitals had to be reconciled, Monnet would mobilize his forces and set off on a pilgrimage to explain the realities of the situation to politicians.

He was listened to precisely because he wanted nothing for himself. He often quoted the American moralist Dwight Morrow: 'There are two kinds of people: those who want to be someone and those who want to do something.' Monnet was one of the latter and his disinterestedness won him many friends.

Monnet shunned publicity to work behind the scenes. He never embarked on a political career and no one could say where his sympathies lay. He worked through people in positions of power and let them take the kudos. The satisfaction for him was to see things progressing smoothly and to retain a freedom in his backroom role which he would have lost had he become a public figure.

The key to his success was his dogged determination to see things through. There was no magic solution to the problems he encountered; indeed he admitted himself that things had never been easy. He had a meticulous sense of detail, recognizing that even

matters of secondary importance contributed to the end result. He demanded a lot of the people he worked with and in return received a share of their devotion to a great cause. When he had to persuade others, he went over his plans again and again, returning to the charge, clearing all the hurdles of bureaucratic inertia.

Monnet never lost touch with his peasant origins. Wherever he went he sought to remain in contact with nature, the ideal environment for thinking things out. When he was involved in a project, he would lose track of the rhythm and conventions of society. It was not unusual for him to ring people late into the night. He liked memos to be as brief and as clear as possible, trying them out on everyone, from his gardener to visiting ministers. He was opposed to abstract digressions and he liked people to get down to the essentials and concentrate on one thing at a time. Such was the man who lived and fought for a single ideal: promoting understanding between men, organizing joint action, creating the framework for a more civilized international society.

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IV — Monnet's message today

European integration as an ongoing process

The European venture launched some 40 years ago is now well under way. What is the final goal? What form of integration will Europeans opt for? The fact is that nobody knows. And those who attempt to make predictions underestimate the forces set in motion and the imponderables involved: 'We want the Community to be a gradual process of change. Attempting to predict the form it will finally take is therefore a contradiction in terms. Anticipating the outcome kills invention. It is only as we push onwards and upwards that we will discover new horizons', wrote Monnet after many years' experience.

With the founding of the ECSC and the beginnings of the common market, Monnet knew that his brainchild would develop: 'By changing conditions in Europe, the Six have produced a new "ferment of change" in the West. As we can see from American and British reactions to the common market, one change brings another. The chain reaction has only begun. We are starting a process of continuous reform which can shape tomorrow's world more lastingly than the principles of revolution so widespread outside the West'.

Remaining competitive

Monnet had every faith in the ability of Europeans to adapt and their determination to hold their own in a rapidly changing world. He foresaw today's upheavals, including the technological revolution emanating from the United States and Japan, which is forcing the countries of Western Europe to cooperate on research to remain competitive. Community science and technology programmes now under way (Esprit, RACE, Brite, etc.), Eureka and the success of Ariane, show that Europeans have realized how vulnerable they are. Their only hope is to pool their intellectual and financial resources, so that what they achieve together is greater than the sum of their separate achievements and there is no duplication of effort. Europe may not be making the most of its enormous wealth of talent.

Monnet, the self-taught man, laid great emphasis on the development of individuals. He wanted to see them working together in the service of Europe. Euratom, the Community

proposed by the Action Committee in 1955 to promote the peaceful development of nuclear energy, foreshadowed today's cooperation on scientific research. By devoting a whole subsection of the Single Act to the aims and instruments of a common technological policy, the Twelve have provided a firm foundation for this essential new aspect of European integration.

1992 — the single European market

Travelling across the vast expanses of North America as a young man, Monnet met people who had come to conquer a continent and discovered new ways of looking at things, very different from what he had been used to in his native Charente.

'One day, at Calgary in Alberta, I wanted to visit some Scandinavian farmers to whom I had an introduction. I asked a blacksmith who was working in front of his forge what means of transport there were. Without stopping work, he answered that there were none. "But," he added, pointing to his horse, "you can always take this animal. When you come back, just hitch him up in the same place".' Monnet drew a lesson from that encounter: 'Everwhere I had the same impression: that where physical space was unlimited, confidence was unlimited too.'

In removing barriers to trade, the Six took the first steps towards creating the large area which Monnet hoped would give Europeans the confidence and dynamism which had so impressed him in America. The gamble paid off. From 1958 to 1970, intra-Community trade increased sixfold, while Community trade with non-member countries increased threefold. Over the same period, the Community's average GNP rose by 70%.

Enlargement of the Community from Six, to Nine, then Ten and now Twelve, has increased Europe's potential still further. Monnet wholeheartedly supported the first enlargement and there is every reason to believe that he would have favoured the accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal too. He believed that any European country with a democratic political system, sharing the same aspirations to European union, should be allowed to join the Community. Each new member would discover in turn that in unity lies strength.

The goals the Twelve have set themselves in signing the Single Act give everyone a better chance. From 1993 onwards, 320 million Europeans will enjoy the economic and social advantages of a large integrated area, free of the physical, administrative and fiscal barriers which still exist today. Although customs tariffs and quotas disappeared in 1968, the common market is still fragmented by restrictions: whether protectionism has been overt or covert, maintenance of these barriers into the 1980s has cost Europe dear, while the United States and Japan have been free to draw on their large internal markets for the resources needed to guarantee industrial redeployment and international competitiveness.

In 1985 the Commission sounded the alarm: if Europe did not rid itself of these barriers, it would plunge even further into recession and miss out on the post-industrial revolution. The 'cost of non-Europe' has just been evaluated: ¹ by maintaining existing barriers to trade and State monopolies in public procurement, by denying themselves the increase in productivity which would result from an integrated market, Europe's economies are losing more than 200 000 million ECU a year.

'Set yourself a goal, and move forward in stages'

This approach has been of key importance and is today giving fresh impetus to businesses and professional people anxious not to miss out on the opportunities opened up by 1992. Why 1992? Here again the Commission has taken its cue from Monnet, whose approach got the Schuman Plan, the true beginning of Europe, off the ground. His philosophy was to avoid confronting people with radical change which arouses mistrust and puts them on the defensive. He preferred to involve people in the search for their common interest and to propose gradual change. The step-by-step approach is one of the keys to the success of the Community. It gives people time to adapt and prepare themselves. 'The history of European unification shows that once people are convinced that change is on the way they revise their attitudes and take action, sometimes in advance of a new situation being created.' At the same time, timetables and goals are a powerful stimulus. This is how the common market developed from 1958 to 1968, and the same approach was adopted to successive enlargements. Similarly, the Single Act contains a timetable leading to 1992, allowing the Community to work towards the various objectives at an appropriate pace.

Working together for the common good

Monnet knew that people cannot be forced to accept change. Consensus on goals and the sharing of responsibilities are the essence of democracy. The ECSC would never have got off the ground if Monnet, as its first President, had not been at pains to ensure the active involvement of all concerned: national administrations, trade unions, businesses, consumers.

In the spirit of cooperation which had imbued France's Modernization Plan, he worked tirelessly to organize discussion and reconcile interests. He repeated his lesson, again and again, to help people to discover where the common interest lay. When he opened the Schuman Plan Conference in June 1950, he urged delegates to put the common interest first: 'We are here to undertake a common task — not to negotiate for our own national advantage, but to seek it in the advantage of all.'

¹ 1992 — *Le défi: Nouvelles données économiques de l'Europe sans frontières*. Foreword by Jacques Delors, Flammarion, 1988.

The 1992 deadline must be pursued in the same spirit. Entire sectors of the economy and society as a whole will be affected by the impending changes. Virtually everyone — from members of the professions to bankers, teachers to insurance brokers, small businesses to multinationals — will have to make some adjustment. We will all benefit provided deadlines are met and exceptions are limited. Clearly, 1992 will be a success only if the Commission's 1985 White Paper and the Single Act are implemented in their entirety, as an indivisible whole.

The removal of technical barriers to trade will not do away with the need for border checks unless the Member States can reach agreement on the harmonization of indirect taxation. Consensus on the internal market — the 'burning obligation' of the 1980s — will have to be sought as Monnet would have sought it. The Committee he ran for 20 years was a forum in which the political parties and trade unions could discuss Europe. Today that role belongs to the European Parliament, whose elected members represent the entire political spectrum and all regional and professional interests in the Community.

The Single Act, which came into force in 1987, encourages the Member States to seek broad-based agreement since it calls for absolute majority voting on legislation and flanking policies linked with the creation of a single European market.

A currency for Europe

As we have seen, one change leads to another. The dialectic of necessity so dear to Monnet remains valid today. The changes of the 1950s and 1960s drew their initial inspiration from the Schuman Plan. Once the main objectives of the Customs Union had been achieved in the early 1970s, European integration needed a fresh impetus. At its meeting in November 1959 the Action Committee put forward some bold proposals for developing a European financial policy by:

- '(i) freeing capital movements between the Six in such a way as to establish a real European capital market and thus to increase the Community's investment potential;
- (ii) coordinating the budgetary and credit policies of the Six in order to avoid the erratic movement of capital and of merchandise which would result from divergence of policy in this field, and to further overall economic expansion against a background of price stability;
- (iii) setting up a European reserve fund which would centralize at least a part of the Six's monetary reserves and in time of need enable the mutual aid procedures provided for in the Treaty to be put into operation, thus safeguarding the currencies of our countries.'¹

¹ *Action Committee for the United States of Europe, Statements and Declarations 1955-67*, p. 46. Chatham House/PEP European Series No 9, 1969.

Nobody was willing to put Monnet's ideas into practice at the time. It was not until the Paris Summit in October 1972 that the Member States reached agreement on economic and monetary union. But the plan was set back by the economic and monetary upheavals which followed the 1973 oil crisis and the second oil shock in 1979. It is now back on the agenda: in June 1988 the Hanover European Council recognized the need to speed up progress towards monetary union in the context of a single European market by 1992. Thirty years after Monnet put forward his first proposal, the liberalization of capital movements, the coordination of Member States' economic and budgetary policies and the creation of a European Central Bank have become prerequisites for any real progress towards European integration.

'There can be no Community except among nations which commit themselves to it with no limit in time and no looking back,' Monnet used to say. On his desk he had a photograph he was fond of — a picture of the young men who had set out to cross the Pacific on a simple raft, the *Kon-Tiki*. As they set out on their journey, they knew that there would be no turning back. Whatever the difficulties there would be only one option — to go on. So is it for the people of Europe today. By committing themselves wholeheartedly to the 1992 adventure, they are burning the bridges that link them to out-moded structures and practices. They are preparing to sail into the twenty-first century.

The need for strong, democratic institutions

European unity, a step forward for civilization

Is the Europe of businessmen in danger of taking over from the Europe of the man in the street? The European Community is often accused of being a technocracy. Will the single European market have a soul? Europe's leaders have become aware of the need to build not only an economic and political Europe, but also a people's Europe which goes straight to the heart of our everyday concerns. But the concrete manifestations of European identity are not enough to engender a sense of shared citizenship. The European flag, the European anthem and eventually a European currency will provide tangible evidence of membership of the same Community. If they are to be recognized and accepted, they will have to represent a civilization centering on progress and solidarity.

Monnet attached great importance to the moral and human aspects of the European idea. The Schuman Plan, by denouncing the spirit of supremacy and the discriminatory practices which create complexes and ill-feeling between nations, tackled the source of conflicts. It marked a decisive, irreversible step for the people of Western Europe, who had assumed peace to be unattainable so inured were they to war. Monnet's vision owes something to political philosophy, and is based on the following observation:

'In our national life, principles of freedom, equality and democracy have been accepted and applied because people managed after centuries of striving to give them concrete institutional forms — elections, parliaments, courts of justice, universal education, freedom of speech and information. Within national frontiers, men long ago found civilized ways of dealing with conflicts of interest: they no longer needed to defend themselves by force. Rules and institutions established equality of status. The poorer and weaker organized themselves to exert greater influence. The more powerful and the less-favoured recognized their common interest. Human nature had not changed. It was human behaviour that had been changed by common institutions under conditions providing at least a minimum of material well-being, which is essential to all societies.

But across frontiers nations still behave as would individuals if there were no laws and no institutions. Each in the last resort clings to national sovereignty — that is, each reserves the right to be judge of its own cause.

In Europe we have seen, and suffered from, the results of this attitude. Over the centuries, one after another each of the principal nations of Europe tried to dominate the others. Each believed in its own superiority, each acted for a time in the illusion that superiority could be affirmed and maintained by force. Each in turn was defeated and ended the conflict weaker than before. Attempts to escape this vicious circle by sole reliance on a balance of power failed repeatedly — because they were based on force and unrestricted national sovereignty.'

This behavioural anachronism must give way to a new form of relations between nation States based not merely on cooperation, which is liable to be revised and centres exclusively on the pursuit of unilateral interests, but on the Community spirit, which places the emphasis on the common good and entrusts the task of administering it to strong institutions. Monnet placed his faith in mankind's progress, observing that 'While Man may have begun to master the world around him, his control over political affairs is not commensurate with the risks. As he gradually breaks free of outside constraints, he learns that the main problem is to gain mastery of himself.'

Some commentators were quick to stick a revolutionary label on the idea that European unity is designed to transform relations between nations and peoples. Monnet, the 'Inspirer' of the Community, was to push the idea to its logical conclusion. He believed that the process under way was no more than 'a stage on the way to the organized world of tomorrow'. Europe, in its quest for unity, is conducting an experiment. Europe is the testing ground for a vision of mankind with a universal dimension.

Faith in institutions

The role of the institutions was one of Monnet's recurring themes.

Application to international relations of the principles of equality, arbitration and conciliation, already practised within democracies, is undoubtedly a step forward. But progress is possible only if it is based on the legitimacy and continuity which democratic institutions lend to human endeavour. Monnet read few books and was suspicious of erudition based on second-hand beliefs. He made an exception, however, in the case of the Swiss philosopher, Henri-Frédéric Amiel. A quotation from Amiel runs through Monnet's writings like a leitmotif: 'Each man's experience starts again from the beginning. Only institutions grow wiser: they accumulate collective experience; and, owing to this experience and this wisdom, men subject to the same rules will not see their own nature changing, but their behaviour gradually transformed.'

This faith in institutions, but specifically in institutions with real powers, forced Monnet to turn his back on the League of Nations, bedevilled from its inception by a lack of powers. With obstinate determination, he set about giving the ECSC High Authority the means to take decisions and to implement them. How were supranational organizations to be given the legitimacy and authority which would enable them to act and win the support of the administered?

Monnet saw the Community as the point at which isolated pockets of sovereignty merged. If these were exercised jointly, it would make it possible to distribute national resources more effectively and broaden the sphere of influence of the individual States.

Did Monnet perhaps underestimate the reluctance of the nation States to accept what they should have seen as enrichment rather than dispossession? He acknowledges that 'it had to be demonstrated — as it will for years to come — that national sovereignty withers when entrapped in the forms of the past. For it to be effective, in an expanding world, it needs to be transferred to larger spheres, where it can be merged with the sovereignty of others who are subject to the same pressures. In the process, no one loses: on the contrary, all gain new strength.'

Today this message is deeply embedded in the consciousness of European leaders and European public opinion. It is central to the integration process and is slowly gaining acceptance among those responsible for conducting Europe's affairs.

In adopting the Single Act the Member States increased the powers of the European Parliament and the Commission, acknowledging the pre-eminent role of the institutions in the attainment of targets liable to encounter resistance at national level. Because the institutions enjoy an overall view of the situation they are in a position to arbitrate in disputes, making them the driving force of revival. The Council, which now takes more decisions by qualified majority, continues to bear the ultimate responsibility for meeting

the 1992 deadline. We can only hope that, true to Monnet's message, it will act as the merging point of national sovereignties, where each Member State will contribute its capacity to act and its willingness to advance the cause of European integration.

A vital Europe working for peace

An exemplary method

By establishing relations based on equality and cooperation, the integration process has produced lasting peace between traditional enemies and rivals. Because of its unity, Europe has become a stabilizing element in the world balance of power. It has become a partner of world status, in a position to influence major decisions on trade and monetary affairs. The Community has introduced a novel, positive form of cooperation with the Third World: the Lomé Agreements establish preferential relations between the Twelve and 64 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, giving their exports access to the Community market and guaranteeing them the revenue they need for development.

Monnet was aware of the role a united Europe could play in creating a new world order. He considered it quite natural that the former colonial powers should accept some responsibility for the less privileged countries. This was consistent with the moral imperatives incumbent upon a group of nations determined to make amends for the past. He was particularly attentive to the possibility of cooperation between the Community and non-member countries, believing that the integration process and the dismantling of frontiers should be extended to all those who would benefit from Union.

The concluding words of Monnet's memoirs — 'And the Community itself is only a stage on the way to the organized world of tomorrow' — underline the universal application of the principles of integration. These should be applied wherever nations seek to define their common interest and organize collective action. The Community is doing all it can to encourage regional, economic and political cooperation throughout the world as a means of promoting progress and peace: in Africa and the Maghreb, by means of association agreements, and in Central and Latin America, where institutions in the Community mould are being created.

A partnership of equals with the United States

The role played by Monnet in bringing the United States into the war to save Europe from the totalitarian threat was discussed earlier. After the United States had helped to liberate Europe, rebuild the old continent and protect it against the Soviet threat, the two sides

had to establish relations as allies rather than as benefactor and beneficiary. Monnet was a firm believer in the unity of the Western World, which he felt was the only response to military pressure from the Soviet bloc.

'The United States and Europe do share the same civilization, based on individual freedom, and conduct their public life in accordance with common democratic principles. That is the essential point,' wrote Monnet. He admired the Americans' determination and sense of initiative and he knew that they would expect to find the same qualities in their allies as a basis for mutual respect. He saw a United Europe as a prerequisite for a balanced dialogue across the Atlantic: 'When one is strong, one can afford to be generous; but by trying to impose one's superiority, one loses it. Many Americans are aware of that fact, and they quite naturally shape their policy to take account of it. But I feel easier in my mind when Europeans take the necessary steps to establish equality between themselves and the United States.'

The 'European pillar' of the Western alliance

Has this analysis changed significantly 40 years after the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty? Western Europe and the United States have confirmed their support for an alliance based on common values, the most significant being freedom, democracy and the importance of the individual. The conditions for a clear affirmation of European identity are now satisfied: 320 million Europeans are enjoying a standard of living and development almost equal to that of 230 million Americans. The agreement on intermediate range nuclear missiles signed in Washington in December 1987 made Europeans aware of the need for them to play a more active role in their own security. The idea of a partnership of equals within the Atlantic Alliance has been warmly welcomed in Europe and in the United States. Does anyone remember that this was proposed by Monnet's Action Committee as early as 26 June 1962¹ and immediately taken up by President Kennedy in a speech he gave in Philadelphia on 4 July of that year?²

A year earlier Monnet had written to Adenauer, who was due to meet the new President of the United States: 'Cooperation on an equal footing between the United States and a divided, fragmented Europe would be impossible. Equality is possible now only because France and Germany together have begun to build a great European entity with the prospect of becoming a sort of second America.'

Europe has become a major participant in the GATT, where it sometimes adopts positions different from those of the United States on trade and agriculture. But it still has

¹ 'While the economic unity of Europe is being consolidated and a start made on its political unification, the cooperation that has already grown up between the United States and European countries should gradually be transformed into a partnership between a united Europe and the United States. The partnership between America and a united Europe must be a relationship of two separate but equally powerful entities, each bearing its share of common responsibilities in the world.'

² 'The United States looks on this vast enterprise with hope and admiration. We do not regard a strong and united Europe as a rival, but as a partner.'

to affirm its political personality, as required by Title III of the Single Act dealing with European foreign policy cooperation, and then to follow the rocky road to assuming responsibility for its own security while honouring its alliances.

An open, dynamic Europe

The success of the European venture and the advent of the single European market are still attracting non-member countries. Turkey applied to join the Community on 14 April 1987. Malta and Austria have announced that they too intend to apply, while the EFTA countries are fostering contacts with the Community in a bid to familiarize themselves with the trade implications of 1992 and make appropriate preparations.

The Community is a political venture which aims to unite all the countries of Europe which follow the same rules and aspire to the same goals. Successive enlargements have demonstrated its ability to adapt to new geographical, economic and cultural situations. However, political leaders in the Community have always seen to it that each enlargement is matched by a strengthening of its structures. The triple goal of 'completion, consolidation and enlargement' adopted at the Summit in The Hague in 1969 meant that the accession of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom was linked to the introduction of an own resources system and the first steps towards economic and monetary union. Similarly Greece's entry was followed by increased regional action in the form of integrated Mediterranean programmes. The accession of Spain and Portugal provided an opportunity to increase the endowment of the structural Funds and to improve management procedures.

Meeting the 1992 deadline is so vital that it calls for particular vigilance on the part of the institutions. The consensus reached by the Twelve after rather difficult negotiations was confirmed by the Hanover European Council in June 1988. If the timetable for the single European market is to be adhered to, if an *ad hoc* Committee on Monetary Union is to be set up under the chairmanship of Jacques Delors, all the institutions and each country taking its turn in the chair at the Council will have to concentrate all their efforts on the job in hand. Further membership negotiations during this crucial phase could distract attention from the ultimate objective.

From the beginning Monnet sought to protect the embryonic European venture from erosion and dilution.

The Europe we know today has preserved its homogeneity and is moving forward at its own pace, progressing in accordance with the ideal from which it sprang. Its external influence derives from its identity and the strength of its institutions. It would be counter-productive for applicant countries to try to force the pace and wreck the subtle mechanism introduced by the Treaties and refined by the Single Act.

The Community already enjoys an open relationship with its Western partners and has opted for a generous, innovative cooperation policy with the Third World. It is now anxious to open a dialogue with countries long deprived of a means of expression. The signature in Luxembourg in June 1988 of a mutual recognition agreement between the EEC and Comecon ended a long period of frosty relations between the two Europes. The establishment of diplomatic links between the Community and the countries of the socialist bloc and the simultaneous consolidation of individual trade and cooperation agreements with some of these countries are opening up new horizons. *Détente* in Europe will serve the cause of peace only if it is founded on the recognition of each side's individual characteristics.

Monnet knew that a productive dialogue with the Communist world would not be possible until democratic Europe learned to speak with one voice and carried more weight on the international scene. His dream of a self-confident Europe, open to the rest of the world, is coming true. But we need to work hard and remain vigilant if we are not to stray from the path which leads to European Union.

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Annexes

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Declaration on Franco-British Union

BY WINSTON CHURCHILL AND GENERAL DE GAULLE

London, 16 June 1940

'At this most fateful moment in the history of the modern world, the Governments of the United Kingdom and the French Republic make this declaration of indissoluble union and unyielding resolution in their common defence of justice and freedom against subjection to a system which reduces mankind to a life of robots and slaves.

The two Governments declare that France and Great Britain shall no longer be two nations, but one Franco-British Union.

The constitution of the Union will provide for joint organs of defence, foreign, financial and economic policies.

Every citizen of France will enjoy immediately citizenship of Great Britain; every British subject will become a citizen of France.

Both countries will share responsibility for the repair of the devastation of war, wherever it occurs in their territories, and the resources of both shall be equally, and as one, applied to that purpose.

During the war there shall be a single War Cabinet, and all the forces of Britain and France, whether on land, sea, or in the air, will be placed under its direction. It will govern from wherever best it can. The two Parliaments will be formally associated. The nations of the British Empire are already forming new armies. France will keep her available forces in the field, on the sea, and in the air. The Union appeals to the United States to fortify the economic resources of the Allies, and to bring her powerful material aid to the common cause.

The Union will concentrate its whole energy against the power of the enemy, no matter where the battle may be.

And thus we shall conquer.'

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Extracts from a note by Jean Monnet

Algiers, 5 August 1943

'There will be no peace in Europe if States are reconstituted on a basis of national sovereignty with all that that implies in terms of prestige politics and economic protectionism. If the nations of Europe adopt defensive positions again, huge armies will be necessary again. Under the future peace treaty, some nations will be allowed to re-arm; others will not. That was tried in 1919; we all know the result. Intra-European alliances will be formed; we know what they are worth. Social reform will be impeded or blocked by the sheer weight of military budgets. Europe will be reborn in fear.

The nations of Europe are too circumscribed to give their people the prosperity made possible, and hence necessary, by modern conditions. They will need larger markets. And they will have to refrain from using a major proportion of their resources to maintain "key" industries needed for national defence and made mandatory by the concept of sovereign, protectionist States, as we knew them before 1939.

Prosperity and vital social progress will remain elusive until the nations of Europe form a federation or a "European entity" which will forge them into a single economic unit ... Our concern is a solution to the European problem. The British, the Americans, the Russians have worlds of their own into which they can temporarily retreat. But France is bound to Europe. France cannot opt out, for her very existence hinges on a solution to the European problem. Developments on the European scene in the wake of imminent liberation, will inevitably prompt the three major powers to protect themselves against Europe and hence France. For no agreement into which France might be drawn with

Britain, America or Russia could cut her off from Europe, with whom she has so many intellectual, material and military ties.'

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Declaration of 9 May 1950

'World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a *de facto* solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes to take action immediately on one limited but decisive point. It proposes to place Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole under a common higher authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification.

This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and to promoting peaceful achievements.

In this way, there will be realized simply and speedily that fusion of interests which is indispensable to the establishment of a common economic system; it may be the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by sanguinary divisions.

By pooling basic production and by instituting a new higher authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and other member countries, this proposal will lead to the realization of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace.

To promote the realization of the objectives defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following bases:

The task with which this common higher authority will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; the equalization and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries.

To achieve these objectives, starting from the very different conditions in which the productions of member countries are at present situated, 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 equating prices, and the creation of a restructuring 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 common higher authority entrusted with the management of the scheme will be composed of independent persons appointed by the Governments, giving equal representation.

A chairman will be chosen by common agreement between the Governments. The authority's decisions will have executive force in France, Germany, and other member countries. Appropriate measures will be provided for means of 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, particularly as concerns the safeguarding of its specific objectives.

The institution of the higher authority will in no way prejudice the methods of ownership of enterprises. In the exercise of its functions, the common higher 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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Resolution by the Heads of State or Government, meeting as the European Council

in Luxembourg, 1 and 2 April 1976

'Community Europe, which has been in existence for more than 25 years, is already, despite its imperfections and lacunae, a remarkable achievement. Meanwhile, hopes of a deeper European Union are beginning to take shape.

The positive balance-sheet that can be drawn up at the end of this first stage, and on the eve of progress towards political unification, is something we owe in large measure to the boldness and breadth of vision of a handful of men. Among them, Jean Monnet has played a leading role, whether as inspirer of the Schuman Plan, first President of the High Authority, or founder of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe. In these various capacities, Jean Monnet has resolutely attacked the forces of inertia in Europe's political and economic structure, with the aim of establishing a new type of relationship between States, making apparent their *de facto* solidarity and giving it institutional form.

As a realist, Monnet took economic interests as his starting-point, but without abandoning his vision of achieving a broader understanding among the men and nations of Europe which would extend into all fields. Sometimes, this objective may have been lost to view amid the vicissitudes of the unification of Europe. Nevertheless, that objective has never been disavowed. Now, more than ever, it should serve as a guide, enabling us to rise above our task of daily administration and give it its true and substantial meaning.

Jean Monnet recently retired from public life. He has devoted the best of his ability to the European cause. It is only fitting that Europe should pay him a particular tribute of gratitude and admiration.

That is why the Heads of State or Government of the Community meeting in Luxembourg as the European Council, have decided to confer on him the title of "Honorary Citizen of Europe".'

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Chronology

9 November 1888	Jean Monnet born in Cognac
1916	First Anglo-French Executives formed
1920	Jean Monnet appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations
1922	Missions to Upper Silesia and Austria
1923	Return to Cognac
1926	Vice-President of French Blair & Co. Foreign Corporation
1926-27	Mission to Warsaw to save the Polish currency
1928	Bucharest
1932	Stockholm
1933	Adviser to the Chinese Government in Shanghai
1938-39	Mission to purchase warplanes from Roosevelt
16 June 1940	Jean Monnet proposes Declaration on Franco-British Union
1940-43	Adviser to Roosevelt in Washington
1943	Member of the French Provisional Government in Algiers
1945	French Planning Commissioner
9 May 1950	Schuman Declaration leading to the first European Community
October 1950	Jean Monnet proposes the creation of a European Army

1952	Jean Monnet appointed President of the ECSC High Authority in Luxembourg
30 August 1954	Rejection of the European Defence Community
October 1955	Action Committee for the United States of Europe formed
25 March 1957	Signing of the Treaties of Rome
4 July 1962	President Kennedy gives his speech on partnership between the United States and Europe
1973	Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the Community
1973	Action Committee for the United States of Europe wound up
1974	European Council meets for the first time
1976	Jean Monnet's memoirs are published
2 April 1976	European Council makes Jean Monnet an 'Honorary Citizen of Europe'
16 March 1979	Jean Monnet dies at Bazoches-sur-Guyonne

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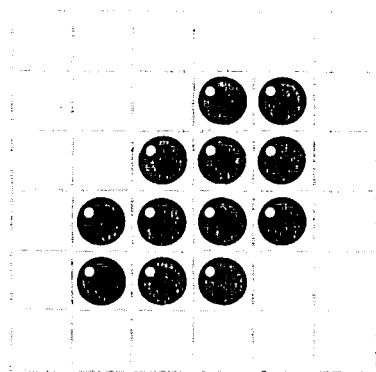
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EN

On Jean Monnet's desk stood a photograph he was fond of. It showed the young men who had set out to cross the Pacific on a simple raft, the *Kon-Tiki*. As they set out their exciting, perilous voyage, Thor Heyerdahl and his companions knew that there would be no turning back. Whatever the difficulties there would be only one option — to go on. So is it for the people of Europe today. By committing themselves wholeheartedly to the 1992 adventure, they are burning the bridges that link them to outmoded structures and practices. They are preparing to sail into the twenty-first century.

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These ideas and principles are still valid today as we approach the twenty-first century. Europeans have no choice but to unite if they are to meet new challenges. Jean Monnet's methods and approach still illumine our endeavours. His legacy is very much alive and the Community draws on it day after day as it works towards a single European market in 1992.



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