

## **Reading B Zurich speech**

***Winston Churchill (1946)***

I wish to speak to you today about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern times. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations, which we have seen even in this twentieth century and in our own lifetime, wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind.

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller States have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, care-

worn and bewildered human beings gape at the ruins of their cities and homes, and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror. Among the victors there is a babel of jarring voices: among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair. That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient States and nations, that is all that the Germanic Powers have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed, but for the fact that the great Republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realised that the ruin or enslavement of Europe would involve their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succour and guidance, the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor. They may still return.

Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted, would as if by a miracle transform the whole scene, and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today. What is this sovereign remedy? It is to re-create the European Family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living. The process is simple. All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong and gain as their reward blessing instead of cursing.

Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the Pan-European Union which owes much to Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and which commanded the services of the famous French patriot and statesman, Aristide Briand. ...

There is no reason why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations. On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon coherent natural groupings. There is already a natural grouping in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken, on the contrary they strengthen, the world organization. They are in fact its main support. And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty continent and why should it not take its rightful place with other great groupings in shaping the destinies of men? In order that this should be accomplished there must be an act of faith in which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part ...

Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war. But when all this has been done, as it

will be done, as it is being done, there must be an end to retribution. There must be what Mr Gladstone many years ago called 'a blessed act of oblivion'. We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years that are to come the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past. If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery, and indeed from final doom, there must be an act of faith in the European family and an act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past. ...

I am now going to say something that will astonish you. The first step in the recreation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral leadership of Europe. There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany. The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honour by their contribution to the common cause. The ancient states and principalities of Germany, freely joined together for mutual convenience in a federal system, might each take their individual place among the United States of Europe. ...

But I must give you a warning. Time may be short. At present there is a breathing-space. The cannon have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped: but the dangers have not stopped. If we are to form the United States of Europe or whatever name or form it may take, we must begin now. ...

I must now sum up the propositions which are before you. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of U.N.O. Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe. The first step is to form a Council of Europe. If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join the Union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and those who can. The salvation of the common people of every race and of every land from war or servitude must be established on solid foundations and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than submit to tyranny. In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America, and I trust Soviet Russia — for then indeed all would be well — must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live and shine.

Source: 'The tragedy of Europe', speech given at Zurich University, 19 September 1946.

## Reading C Memoirs

**Jean Monnet (1945, 1975)**

### Peace (1945)

As for myself, I had already reached the conclusions that have inspired my work ever since. In a note written for the Committee of National Liberation in Algiers on August 5, 1943, I had said:

There will be no peace in Europe if States re-establish themselves on the basis of national sovereignty, with all that this implies by way of prestige policies and economic protectionism. If the countries of Europe once more protect themselves against each other, it will once more be necessary to build up vast armies. Some countries, under the future peace treaty, will be able to do so; to others it will be forbidden. We experienced such discrimination in 1919; we know the results. Alliances will be concluded between European countries: we know how much they are worth. Social reforms will be prevented or delayed by the pressure of military expenditure. Europe will be reborn yet again under the shadow of fear.

The countries of Europe are too small to give their peoples the prosperity that is now attainable and therefore necessary. They need wider markets...To enjoy the prosperity and social progress that are essential. The States of Europe must form a federation or a 'European entity' which will make them a single economic unit. The British, the Americans, and the Russians have worlds of their own into which they can temporarily withdraw. France is bound up in Europe. She cannot escape.

I concluded:

The solution of the European problem is all-important to the life of France.

The *Fortune* interview a year later later showed that by now the question of Germany was uppermost in my mind. What I was thinking of was a system whereby the former *Reich* could be stripped of part of its industrial potential, so that the coal and steel resources of the Ruhr could be placed under a European authority and used for the benefit of all the nations involved, including a demilitarized Germany. 'But this in turn,' Davenport quoted me as saying, 'implies a Europe far more unified than before the war'. Here he would like to see not merely a 'switchboard' association<sup>1</sup>, but a true yielding of sovereignty by European nations to some kind of central union – a union that could cut down tariffs, create a great internal European market and prevent that race of nationalism 'which is the curse of the modern world'. 'But that was where my certainties stopped. 'Where to begin? And how far to go? And

could England be brought in' so that Germany did not once again become preponderant in the European system? All I knew was that this was what we had to do.

The problem was urgent because, however slowly its solution might emerge, every decision reached now in the reconstruction of Europe had to take account of the future. The unification of Europe might be delayed, but the revival of nationalism would not. From now on, this was my deepest concern. It was not yet precise enough to act upon; but it was so deeply-rooted that the worry never left me. I knew that it would come to the surface again as soon as there was an opportunity for something constructive to be done. ...

<sup>1</sup> Davenport had quoted Monnet as fearing that the United Nations organization, like the League of Nations, would 'be only a "switchboard" through which nations can communicate with each other'.

Source: *Memoirs* (1978), trans. Richard Mayne, London, Collins (extracts from Chapters 9 and 21).

## **Reading D Memorandum to Robert Schuman and Georges Bidault**

### ***Jean Monnet (1950)***

Wherever we look in the present world situation we see nothing but deadlock – whether it be the increasing acceptance of a war that is thought to be inevitable, the problem of Germany, the continuation of French recovery, the organization of Europe, the very place of France in Europe and in the world.

From such a situation there is only one way of escape: concrete, resolute action on a limited but decisive point, bringing about on this point a fundamental change, and gradually modifying the very terms of all the problems. ...

The German situation is rapidly becoming a cancer that will be dangerous to peace in the near future, and to France immediately, if its development is not directed towards hope for the Germans and collaboration with the free peoples.

The situation cannot be dealt with by the unification of Germany, for that would require an agreement between the USA and the USSR, which for the moment is impossible to conceive. ...

We must not try to solve the German problem, which cannot be solved in the present situation. We must change the context by transforming it.

We must undertake a dynamic action which transforms the German situation and gives direction to the minds of the

Germans – not seek a static solution based on things as they are. ...

The continuation of France's recovery will be halted if the question of German industrial production and its competitive capacity is not rapidly solved. ...

The USA do not want things to take this course. They will accept an alternative solution if it is dynamic and constructive, especially if it is proposed by France.

With the solution proposed there is no more question of domination by German industry, which could create fear in Europe, a source of constant troubles, and would finally prevent Europe being unified and lead once more to the ruin of Germany herself. This solution, on the contrary, creates for industry – German, French, and European – the conditions for joint expansion, in competition but without domination. ...

Until now, we have been engaged in an effort to organize the West economically, militarily, and politically: OEEC [Organization of European Economic Co-operation], the Brussels Pact, Strasbourg.

Two years' experience, the discussions in OEEC on payments agreements, the liberalization of trade, etc., the armament programme submitted to the last Brussels meeting, the discussions in Strasbourg, the efforts – still without concrete results – to achieve a Franco-Italian customs union, all show that we are making no real progress towards the goal we have set ourselves, which is the organization of Europe, its economic development and its collective security. ...

For future peace, the creation of a dynamic Europe is indispensable. An association of the 'free' peoples, in which the USA will participate, does not exclude the building of Europe; on the contrary, because this association will be based on liberty, and therefore on diversity, Europe will, if it adapts to new conditions in the world, develop its creative abilities and thus, gradually, emerge as a stabilizing force.

We must therefore abandon the forms of the past and enter the path of transformation, both by creating common basic economic conditions and by setting up new authorities accepted by the sovereign nations.

Europe has never existed. It is not the addition of sovereign nations met together in councils that makes an entity of them. We must genuinely create Europe; it must become manifest to itself and to American public opinion; and it must have confidence in its own future. ...

At the present moment, Europe can be brought to birth only by France. Only France can speak and act.

But if France does not speak and act now, what will happen?

A group will form around the United States, but in order to wage the cold war with greater force. The obvious reason is that the countries of Europe are afraid and are seeking help. Britain will draw closer and closer to the United States; Germany will develop rapidly, and we shall not be able to prevent her being armed. France will be trapped again in her former Malthusianism, and this will lead inevitably to her being effaced.

Source: 'Memorandum to Robert Schuman and Georges Bidault' quoted in Richard Vaughan, *Post-War Integration in Europe* (1976), trans. Richard Mayne, St. Martin's Press, New York, pp.51-6.