

Press and Information Office

German Diplomatic Mission

1742-44 R Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

October 21, 1953

The following is the text of an address delivered by Prof. Walter Hallstein, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the Federal Republic of Germany, on the occasion of receiving an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., at 11 A.M., Wednesday, October 21, 1953. Prof. Hallstein was a visiting Professor at Georgetown in 1948-49.

#

ADDRESS

of

Prof. Walter Hallstein

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany

on

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

October 21, 1953

Georgetown University

Washington, D.C.

I

When I had the privilege of addressing you here in March 1952, I gave my remarks the title "Peace in Our Time", and endeavored to show you the "vital importance of the Schuman Plan not only for Europe but for the whole world", because it is the foundation stone of the system which is to secure peace in Europe and beyond that--"peace in our time".

I said then that in our view the "imperfections of Europe can only be overcome step by step as we progress towards unity".

Today I am glad to be able to tell you that since the spring of 1952 it has been possible to take a number of further steps in this development; thus, the road chosen in initiating the Schuman Plan has in fact proved right. That this road could be successfully followed, however, is due in a large measure to the moral and political support which the United States has continued to give to the cause of European integration. I feel impelled to emphasize this at the beginning of my address.

II

Which, then, are these further steps which Europe has been able to take during the past eighteen months in spite of a multitude of external and internal

Hallstein--2

difficulties?

1. When I spoke to you in the spring of 1952, I concluded with some brief remarks on the "second step toward integration", the European Defense Community, which at that time still lay in the future. Meanwhile this plan, too, has assumed concrete shape.

(A) You probably know that after more than a year of work in conference, the Foreign Ministers of the governments of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany--the six states constituting the European Steel and Coal Community--on 27 May 1952 in Paris signed a comprehensive set of treaties establishing a European Defense Community. This set of treaties consists of the treaty proper, a military protocol, a financial and jurisdictional protocol, a protocol on the military penal code and another on the status of the European Defense Forces. This set of treaties further includes a protocol on guarantees given by the member states of the Defense Community to the States participating in NATO, a protocol regarding the relations between the EDC and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as well as a treaty between the United Kingdom and the member states of the EDC.

European integration has thus made considerable progress in another, very important sphere. The projected community, which exclusively serves defensive aims, ensures the security of its member states by participating in the defense of the western world within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty. To this end the manpower and

material reserves of the individual member states are to be merged in a supranational European organization. This merger -- also providing for a common budget and joint arms programmes -- will lead to an expedient and economical employment of resources and make a thoroughgoing consolidation of military power possible without jeopardizing social progress in the various countries. The importance of this plan can hardly be overrated. Its military significance is obvious, but its political importance is at least as great. The integration of the armed forces safeguards the participating states from war-like conflict among each other and permits, in particular, the utilization of German military forces for western defense in a manner which cannot arouse any fears among the other European states. The restriction to defensive aims -- which is an essential feature of the community and is implemented strictly in all the individual provisions -- constitutes a guarantee of security for all non-member states. Furthermore, by the transfer to a supranational community of the rights of military sovereignty, rights which have always been regarded in Europe as the very core of state sovereignty, the decisive step has been taken towards the political integration of Europe.

(B) You will not, therefore, be surprised that after the signature of this set of treaties, there cropped up certain difficulties in the way of ratification. Essentially these difficulties result from traditional nationalist conceptions. There is an historic background to the objections which have been advanced against the surrender of essential sovereign rights in the sphere

of military defense.

Political conceptions which in the course of centuries have proved incapable of securing genuine peace for Europe are still too deeply rooted in the consciousness of the various European nations to be replaced at once without difficulty by bold modern ideas.

Latest political developments in Europe, however, provide grounds for hoping that these difficulties will soon be overcome. In all the member states there is an ever-growing realization that only a genuinely European defense force of a supra-national character can provide effective security against external aggression and prevent European states once and for all from ever fighting each other again.

The present state of ratification proceedings in the various countries is as follows:

In Germany the set of treaties has been approved by the legislative organs. Our opposition's action, by which the constitutionality of the EDC Treaty is to be tested, will in its practical effects not produce any delay in ratification. The German people at the elections of September 6, 1953 having expressed themselves by so large a majority for the continuation of the policy of European integration that Parliament in its present composition can take all the necessary decisions.

In Belgium the special commission of the Chamber of Deputies has approved ratification of the EDC Treaty. The debate in the Chamber of Deputies itself has already begun. For the moment, it is true, this debate centers around the question of whether, and if so, to what extent the constitution will have to be amended

before the EDC Treaty can be put into effect there. Towards the end of this month, however, the Chamber of Deputies will begin consideration of the EDC Treaty proper.

In Italy, too, the Special Committee charged with the study of all matters relating to the ratification of the EDC Treaty has approved the bill to start with, and has thus paved the way for the opening of the parliamentary debate.

In the Netherlands, the Second Chamber of Parliament has already passed a law approving the ratification of the EDC Treaty and its additional protocols. Consideration of the EDC Treaty by the First Chamber of Parliament is not expected to meet with any further difficulties.

In Luxemburg, the Council of State, while finding that the EDC Treaty bill submitted to Parliament exceeds the provisions of the constitution, has at the same time recommended that ratification can be made possible with the least delay by an appropriate amendment of the constitution.

In France, the preparatory work of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers has led to positive results. Here, too, the parliamentary debate will soon commence. The progress of ratification proceedings can be looked forward to with confidence also in France.

The interval has not gone by unused. Advantage has been taken of it to attend to certain advance work for the implementation of the EDC Treaty, which would have had to be done during the initial period after the Treaty's entry into force, if ratification had been quickly completed. The Interim Committee established by virtue of a protocol to the EDC Treaty has tackled

and largely completed its work on arrangements and organizational measures which are to take effect simultaneously with the Treaty and which are to enable the Commissariat of the Defense Community to start practical work at once. Apart from preparing many draft laws and regulations, the Interim Committee has also been able to find a satisfactory solution for the special wishes of the French in the form of additional protocols.

2. A year and a half ago I pointed out that powerful "tendencies towards final federation" were emerging in Europe as the latest phase -- at that time -- of European integration, tendencies towards a political European federation the constitutional structure of which was foreshadowed by the pattern of the Coal and Steel and Defense Communities. I was of course referring to the European Political Community which is to complement and coordinate the specialized communities and to endow them with a truly democratic character.

(A) This final objective was clear even when the Treaty constituting the Coal and Steel Community was drafted. It also found expression in article 38 of the EDC Treaty which envisages the establishment of a Political Community as a matter deserving priority. According to Article 38, this democratic completion of European integration was to be brought about not only by the Governments of the member states but was to be based from the outset on a parliamentary procedure. As you know, the member states of the Coal and Steel Community, when they met at Luxembourg in September, 1952, transferred this mandate, in order to save time, to that Community's Assembly, already existing. This body formed from among its

members the so-called Ad Hoc Assembly which tackled the practical work. The Ad Hoc Assembly was able to present the draft prepared by its Constitutional Committee on time -- after only six months -- to the member states for further action.

(B) This Strasbourg draft of the Ad Hoc Assembly develops and extends the system outlined in the Schuman Plan; it absorbs the Coal and Steel Community and the Defense Community; as a matter of principle, however, the new Community is not to limit itself to special fields but is to leave open all the possibilities for a broader integration proceeding step by step; the draft also provides -- and this marks an essential advance -- for a Chamber of Peoples directly elected by the peoples of Europe -- something comparable to your House of Representatives -- which is to exercise democratic control of the European Executive.

For the rest, the draft of the new Treaty, just like the Treaties of the Coal and Steel and Defense Communities, provides for a Council of Ministers, an Executive Authority and a Court of Justice; there might also be a Senate.

I don't think I need say any more about the further details of this draft the rapid formulation of which by the Parliamentary representatives deserves true admiration. I have just mentioned its essential features.

(C) This draft is now before the governments which are to draw up the final treaty. You will therefore want to know what stage has been reached in the negotiations among the governments on this subject.

I must point out that the internal political conditions which in the summer of 1953 existed in some of the member states

of the Coal and Steel Community have unfortunately slowed down somewhat the pace of governmental discussions of the draft. Nevertheless, the governments have not been idle during this time. Particularly the Conference of the six Foreign Ministers held in Rome (February 1952), in Paris (May 1953), and in Baden-Baden (August 1953) have already produced agreement on important points.

Recently the Deputies of the Foreign Ministers and their staffs, meeting in conference in Rome for three weeks, have discussed the whole range of subjects dealt with in the draft; the conference was able to sum up both the conclusions jointly arrived at and the differences of opinion expressed by the various delegations in a report which is now before the foreign ministers. You know that another Foreign Ministers Conference to be held at The Hague at the end of November 1953 will take decisions on the results of the Rome conference. But I can already tell you that the following principles for a European Constitution may be regarded as assured:

The European Community will rest on the principle, approved by the ministers at Baden-Baden, that there shall be created a Community of sovereign states which in the interests of all shall exercise those supra-national powers which are provided for in the Treaties already in force or which will derive from Treaties yet to be concluded. A balance between supra-national and national forces is thus aimed at, such as exists in your Constitution between federal rights and states' rights.

This balance will manifest itself in the institutional structure of the Community by a cooperation between those organs which are of a purely supra-national character and those which also represent the interests of the member states. No final decisions have been

taken on the details of this structure; it is, however, agreed that the supra-national idea, coupled with that of genuine democracy, must be embodied in a parliamentary organ, the Chamber of Peoples.

As regards the competencies of the Community, the governments are not yet agreed on all points, especially as regards the extent to which further competencies in the economic sphere -- beyond those of the Coal and Steel and Defense Communities -- will be vested in the Community. In this direction, too, the Conference in Rome has been able to achieve progress.

3. While I was speaking to you of these far-reaching aims for an integrated Europe just now, some of you will perhaps have wondered whether this fine and logical system developed from the Schuman Plan will be realistic enough to function in practice.

I can reply with a firm and confident Yes to this question, which is being asked again and again on both sides of the Atlantic: this clear-cut conviction and confidence result from the experience which we have meanwhile gained in working the Schuman Plan. As you know, this Plan entered into force in July 1952. Its organization has been functioning since August 1952. It has already produced concrete and gratifying results.

(A) On February 10, 1953, the Common Market for Coal and on May 1, 1953 that for Steel was established. All customs barriers and other restrictions and discriminations imposed by the various national states have thus been removed from the most important basic materials of the economy.

(B) Within a short time, the High Authority has given life to and procured respect for its position as the first supra-national

authority established by treaty. By the harmonious cooperation which has developed within that first body of officials composed on a European basis it has been proved in the face of all doubts that it is possible to think and act in European terms.

(C) The Common Assembly, the first European parliament vested with genuine responsibility, has tackled its work with eagerness and a sense of European responsibility, having thereby secured greater weight for itself than could have been expected on the strength of the powers connected to it in the Treaty.

Through its committees (especially the Political Committee, the Committees on the Common Market, on Investments, on Transport, on Social Affairs), the Assembly has taken a continuous and active part in dealing with the topical day-to-day problems concerning the Common Market.

(D) Faithful to its task of serving as the connecting link between the High Authority and the interests of national economic policies, the Council of Ministers has become a forum for candid discussion. The resulting coordination in European economic questions is steadily extending. Only at the last meeting held a few days ago the Council of Ministers and the High Authority decided to deal jointly too with urgent problems of general business policy in respect of which certain fears had arisen as a result of business trends.

(E) The existence of the Community's Court of Justice has helped to create from the start an atmosphere of probity and good faith for the work of the Community.

(F) In their economic measures the organs of the Coal and Steel Community, especially the High Authority, have shown that in the

spirit of a free economy, while taking into account the legitimate interests of the national economies, the Common Market has been made the foundation of a healthy economy for 159 million people. Even where certain limits to the scope of action of the High Authority have become apparent, this has had a positive result. The disputes about the tax problem, in particular, have effectively confirmed the view that the integration of one sector of the national economies can only be the beginning of a development which in the last resort is bound to lead to an ever closer linking up of the various national economies.

Apart from these considerations of internal development, the question of the relations of the European Community with the other European states and the United States is of decisive importance for its continuing viability. In this sphere too a favorable development is perceptible. On the other hand, forms have been found which provide for a sort of graduated membership or, to speak in the terms of the supra-national Communities, of "Association", that is to say the possibility of closely associating third states individually in a graduated form with the Community without that state acquiring full membership. On the other hand, arrangements have been drafted and partly put into effect which regulate the relations of the Community to international organizations, especially the Council of Europe.

(A) In respect of the Coal and Steel Community, the United Kingdom and the United States have pointed the way by the early establishment of Diplomatic Missions with the High Authority. Their example has been followed by several European states whose

economic interests are affected by the establishment of the Common Market. Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and Norway have established such Missions with the High Authority and maintain constant exchanges of views with it.

The consolidation of these links into a formal "association" has for the time been the subject of consideration.

The Coal and Steel Community has devoted special attention to its relations with the Council of Europe which, apart from the six countries, includes -- albeit loosely knit -- most of the other states of Free Europe.

Similarly the relations between the Coal and Steel Community and the other international organizations have been intensified even during the first year. Here it was necessary to harmonize the rules applying to the Common Market with the provisions already applicable to economic cooperation within the framework of existing international organizations. In the European sphere this concerns the OEEC and the obligations undertaken by its member states in the liberalization code. As regards the sphere extending beyond Europe, these rules had to be harmonized with the provisions applicable to the contracting states of GATT.

It may be said today that the Coal and Steel Community within a short time has placed its relations with third states as well as its cooperation with international economic organizations on a satisfactory basis.

(B) Although the Treaty establishing the European Defense Community has not yet entered force, relations between the future

Community and other states and organizations have already been initiated. As you know, good progress has been achieved in the negotiations between the United States and the various member states of the question of support of the EDC. The United Kingdom has expressed its readiness on principle to associate itself to a far reaching extent with the EDC. Details are to be discussed in the Interim Committee and as I am speaking to you may already be in progress. This type of association with the EDC is being promoted by the close cooperation between the EDC and the NATO, to the significance of which I have already referred.

(C) In view of the foregoing I need hardly stress that in the European Political Community the graduated system of membership, association and other links will presumably play an even more important role than it does in the case of the specialized Communities. The parliamentary draft of the European Constitution contains detailed provisions for this purpose.

IV

In these remarks on the progress achieved toward European unification during the past 18 months I have been able to present to you facts which in my mind give rise to justified hopes. These hopes are based on the fact that European integration, founded on economic prosperity and military security, will develop a stable democratic order which in its effects cannot be limited to the immediate members of the Community, but will benefit everybody. It is this which confers upon the "growing European Unity" an importance far transcending the Europe of the Six.

###