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PRESS RELEASE

Summary of President Hallstein's speech to the Estates-general
of the Communes of Europe on October 15, in Rome.

Speaking in Rome at the opening session of the VIIth Estates-general of the Communes of Europe, Professor Walter HALLSTEIN, President of the Commission of the European Economic Community states :

"Nothing has changed in the conditions which moved the first generation of European statesmen to take action after the last war.

First, the world is still getting smaller and smaller, the peoples and human beings closer to each other and everyone on earth is more and more everyone else's neighbour. What we call development policy is only one expression - the most striking expression - of this fact.

Second: It is still true and it becomes truer from day to day that the political form our continent has inherited, its division into a large number of small States, is unsuited to our age - the global, atomic age, the dawning epoch of huge powers of continental scale, real "world powers", which have begun to open up outer space for Man. To yesteryear belongs the political concept of national sovereignty, the idea that the national unit relying on itself, its own strength and skill, should be the final and only valid yardstick of the historical process. In two frightful world wars this concept has succumbed to the flames of European self-destruction.

And thirdly: Our European world is still threatened - by internal decay and by subjection from outside. We are challenged at every turn to defend ourselves, and the forms assumed by the instruments of destruction are legion - physical exhaustion or violence, seduction or threat, nihilism or rodomontade. We are never left in peace.

Despite all this, the aim which we have set ourselves - the political unity of Europe - has not changed.

We call for it first and foremost in the interest of peace, and this is the argument by which our efforts most command respect. Twice in this century our continent has been led to the brink of complete annihilation, and half the world has been plunged into the maelstrom of inter-continental wars - on each occasion for reasons which had their origin in Europe. We want to put an end to this balkanization of Europe. We want not only to forbid the outbreak of such world-shaking conflicts - this has long been attempted in vain - but to make them impossible. We want to put the means for making war - and not only the economic potential - in common European keeping, under common European administration, and thus ensure peace once and for all, peace within Europe and defence against attack from without - against attack from without only.

But we also call for the unity of Europe because of the value which this Europe embodies and whose prestige must not suffer - for the sake of Europe and for the sake of the world at large. It is true : terrible things have happened, have been done by men to their fellow men, in Europe as elsewhere. But it is also true that this continent has given infinite benefits to humanity and made it greater, more noble and more human. In philosophy and the other sciences, in poetry and the pictorial arts, in all forms of technical progress, in statecraft - how much poorer we would all be without the genius of Europe. Particularly in the field of the political ordering of human destiny. What would the world be without the recognition of freedom, the imprescriptible dignity of the individual personality, the responsibility of human beings for their own destiny. What would the world be if these values had not been embodied in the organization of public powers, without the right of peoples to self-determination and without the constitutional principles of democracy ? It is therefore no base egoism when we demand that this Europe shall have the right to an equal say in the political affairs of the world. In the middle of the twentieth century stupidity and blindness led European policy into a situation in which this continent ceased to take part in the shaping of world history or even to be master of its own fate. We were the subject of decisions taken by other people, of other people's favour or disfavour. We will never cease to be thankful for the generosity which was shown to us from outside at that time of deepest humiliation - and in saying this, I am thinking principally of our American friends. But it could not escape anyone who really knew Europe that this situation, frightful and deeply humiliating as it was, could only be an accident in the great and venerable history of Europe, an event, but no permanent state of affairs, a wound, but not death. No, it was from this condition of profound demoralization that sprang the beginning of that creative policy which is to make Europe, having pooled its strength, an active participant in world history.

Unchanged, too, are the forces, means and methods with which this aim is to be reached.

The first is our unshakable belief in the European cause, the belief in eternal Europe. Despite all decadent fatalism, all highbrow talk of decline, we believe in the unimpaired vigour of this old continent which is yet so young, in its will to survive, its

self-respect and its pride, its trust in its own capacity to master the problems set by a world which is preparing to become one world.

We also believe in the power of reason. True, Man is not only a creature of reason; he is certainly as foolish as he is reasonable, and in the life of peoples, as of individuals, we will always come across those incomprehensible aspects which make life on earth so unpredictable - and often so attractive. But it is not unreasonable to assume that people can appreciate that the changed criteria which now apply to political communities are facts which no people and no State in Europe can evade. Of course, we also hold fast to the opinion that the conclusion from this does not have to be, and indeed should not be, that the existing political order in Europe, the order of nation States, is being extinguished and replaced by a European supernational State. The richness of Europe, its real strength, is its variety, and this variety of characters, temperaments, inclinations, spiritual and mental make-up and abilities is something we wish to maintain. For this reason we have never considered as a model for the political shape of the future Europe a monolithic and centralized State but a federation, with all the respect that this implies for the personality, special characteristics and needs of its constituent parts. Happily, the lessons learned in federal systems furnish us an abundance of models for such a solution.

We shall moreover continue - and on this third point no concession can be made - to recognize as the only element which gives an assurance of lasting unity the power of the law, the majesty of the law; it is on this firm foundation that we shall continue to build our European edifice. In the history of Europe attempts have often been made to establish unity through force, through conquest and subjection. But every attempt, with its accompaniment of blood and tears, has proved to be in vain. In the end the conviction has triumphed that the only civilized method of forming a unity out of the segments of Europe is also the only safe one. It involves negotiation and agreement between the European States, negotiation between democratically responsible governments and a treaty ratified by the Parliaments of the Member States. This path is long and laborious. There are delays and set-backs, resistance and disappointments. But do we not possess, in the very existence and success of our Communities, tangible proof that this path is the path of progress? They have been created and their machinery works as laid down in the Treaties. Is not the whole world astonished at this almost unbelievable phenomenon of a continent, that had been utterly given up for lost, rising out of the ashes of the greatest holocaust ever known and girding itself once again for further achievements, this time as a Community?

With what I have said, the main points on the strategy and tactics of unification have already been made. Here too we must continue on the path we have so far trodden. Our method is called "pragmatic". Many things are meant by this, but what is not meant is an attempt to conjure up a united Europe with a wave of the wand - with a readymade constitution, and with the powers, bodies and other attributes of a full federation. For the last fifteen to twenty

years the time was never ripe to attempt this by some such method as the convening of a European National Assembly and, however much we may regret it, the chances of success would be no greater today. What has, on the contrary, proved successful is the method of advancing step by step. We have been building brick by brick. We turned down a policy of all or nothing. We preferred to do little rather than nothing at all. When we could not bring in everyone we should have liked to have with us - either because they were not all willing or because we ourselves did not do what was needful - we were satisfied with less. When we had first harmonized our policy on heavy industry, we thought the time had come for a common defence policy and even for a "Political Community". Disappointed in this, we returned to economic policy, this time with a success that surpassed all expectations.

Of course - and this is a no less important and dynamic aspect of our pragmatic method - we have always taken care to include in our constructions an evolutionary element. They are so conceived that their progress is constantly creating new grounds for yet further advances: customs union creates incentives for establishing an economic union, that is, common policies covering, for instance, agriculture and trade. Economic union calls for what is known as political union, that is, a merging of external policy and defence policy - for how can we in the long run picture a common trade policy without a common external policy?

Few words are needed now to list the qualities that we in Europe need if we are to come through the great test of this century - and on whether or not we pass it will depend the survival or non-survival of this continent as a historic power. We need drive and initiative, a creative imagination, and instinct for the right moment, readiness to take a dynamic decision, even a little youthful love of adventure - for there are always risks. But we also need an iron will, tenacity and persistence, an enthusiasm for work even in the apparently trivial everyday things. It is easy to be enthusiastic when the flags are fluttering in the wind and the ship is forging ahead. It is less easy to maintain this enthusiasm amid the monotony of the daily round, when the common tasks pile up, when self-interest stalks abroad and pusillanimity extends its hold. Then it becomes evident that patience is not only a great virtue, but one which is quite indispensable for such a long-term task as European unity. If, despite our wishes, 1964 brings no spectacular advances in the political sphere, we can comfort ourselves with the thought that the remodelling of Europe at which we are aiming is too fundamental and too drastic to be completed in fifteen years, and that even the economic and social union inaugurated by the Treaty of Rome under the name of the European Economic Community has reached only the halfway mark. We shall not blame those realists who content themselves this year with taking modest steps.

Who are the "we" of whom all these qualities and attitudes are required? Let me conclude by answering this question.

If our great task is to be carried through to success, we need the wisdom of the Governments and institutions concerned, the political fervour of the Parliaments, the finesse and cool objectivity of the diplomats, the expertise and devoted service of the officials - including our European officials! - and the criticism and encouragement of the organs of public opinion. But what we need above all, as the indispensable basis for any European activity, is the approval of the European peoples. We need it for the future, in the same way that it is the final and decisive explanation of our success in the past. The approval of the peoples, however, the general will which gives the final sanction to our actions, means in a free Community the approval of the citizens. It gives us fresh courage that we are able to sense this approval in such a representative meeting as today's, and for this we are grateful.

Not quite two thousand years ago in an extensively unified order of almost the whole known Old World, which was based on domination and obedience, membership of this empire was expressed in the proud and haughty expression "Civis Romanus sum" - "I am a Roman citizen". May the time not be far distant when, in a more noble sense, in the sense of participation in an order based on the approval of all Europeans, it can be said with no less pride but with the awareness of sharing in a great responsibility : "Civis Europaeus sum" - "I am a citizen of Europe".
