

## 'Where is the European Movement heading?' from La Voix Fédéraliste (1955)

**Caption:** In 1955, Arthur Calteux, a Luxembourger and Vice-President of the Union of European Federalists (UEF), speculates on the future of the European Movement.

**Source:** La voix fédéraliste. Organe de l'Organisation Luxembourgeoise du Mouvement Européen. 1955, n° 1. Luxembourg: Organisation Luxembourgeoise du Mouvement Européen. "Où va le Mouvement Européen?", auteur:Calteux, Arthur , p. 3-5.

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## Where is the European Movement heading?

Created in 1947, the 'International Committee of the Movements for European Unity' has ensured a certain amount of coordination between the various movements that, since 1946, have taken on themselves the task of bringing together the most enlightened and informed minds on the subject of the needs of Europe.

The need for permanent cooperation between the movements has been obvious since the outset. The Committee's successful organisation of the Hague Congress in May 1948 was merely the first step; it had already determined its long-term objectives. The establishment of a permanent organisation was a must.

But the negotiations were not easy; each movement wanted to retain as much autonomy as possible and pursue its own particular objectives.

Established in Brussels in February 1949 against that background, the 'European Movement' was not a homogeneous movement but more a federation of movements whose role would be to ensure, as far as possible, a common line of action.

But how can effective action be ensured between those who want (in addition to national institutions, which no one would ever dream of destroying) to create supranational political powers indispensable to the protection of the most important common interests, and those who, on the other hand, advocate a simple confederation of States that would retain a sovereignty which was more apparent than real and be bound together simply by treaties of alliance? How can the views and the activities of those who seek the political integration of our continent be reconciled with the views and the activities of those who seek no more than economic and cultural cooperation?

It is in this way that, since its conception, the European Movement has been stricken with a congenital disease. It is, therefore, not surprising that the European Movement suffered from a debilitating internal friction until November 1951, when Paul-Henri Spaak, seeing that the Council of Europe was also affected by the same paralysing tendencies, took a definitive stance in favour of the federalist argument. Finally, something would be done! At the heart of the European Movement, an 'Action Committee for a Supranational Authority' was set up, its members the delegates of the six countries which, shortly afterwards, would form the first supranational authority: the 'Coal and Steel Community'. Europe was definitely on the move! A few months later, and the ad hoc Strasbourg Assembly would decide on the drawing up of a draft European charter. Since the autumn of 1952, real optimism mixed with genuine pride had suffused from the ranks of European activists. And, indeed, the European Movement had largely contributed to the success achieved by resolute efforts day by day!

Unfortunately, setbacks were not long in coming. We are familiar with the lack of action in foreign policy that characterised France since March 1953, after Robert Schuman left the Quai d'Orsay. We know the bitterness of defeat in France on 30 August 1954 and the despair that has consumed so many of Europe's great minds. The Paris Accords, albeit likely to safeguard Western military solidarity, can only be, at the very most, the starting point for viable European integration. At present, the unification of Europe remains jeopardised by serious threats. The inadequate solutions that we are preparing to implement are in reality, it must be said, the wrong solutions to the major problems that continue to plague Europe. They are wrong solutions that create a false and deceptive sense of security in people's minds and often lead to the ideal of a united Europe being rejected. And yet! Facing the giants – the USA and the USSR – there is Europe, still partitioned and divided, and therefore weak and powerless on the world stage. 18 nations, 18 markets, 18 currencies, 18 labour laws, just as many foreign policies, quota systems, excise duties, export licences, import licences, exchange control offices, passports, visas ... so many factors highlighting the inferior position of this disunited and divided Europe.

Only bold initiatives that cut to the heart of national sovereignties will be able save our countries.

The European Movement will have to rise up to meet the dangers that threaten Europe. If it wants to maintain its progressive role, if it does not want to sink into oblivion and lose all credit in the eyes of the

public, it must adopt daring resolutions. Over the next few months, fighting for the creation of the UNITED STATES of EUROPE will have to be the European Movement's battle cry.

May we remind you that the Luxembourg Council of the European Movement has pursued this policy for years and years.

Now is not the time for hesitation, procrastination, or half-measures, otherwise history will point the finger at us.

We have only a short time to leave the all-too-comfortable path that will inevitably lead Europe into servitude, if not into destruction. We must recognise the enormous responsibilities that we must assume.