

Resolutions adopted at the Third Congress of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe (Paris, 5–7 November 1949)

Caption: At the third annual Congress of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe (MSEUE), held in Paris on 5, 6 and 7 November 1949, the participants adopt a series of resolutions on European integration.

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Resolution on the European Political Authority

The aim of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe has not altered since its foundation, the creation of a United Socialist States of Europe, which shall own the basic industries and organise them democratically on a European scale, and shall plan the economy of Europe as a whole.

The actual balance of the political forces in Europe will probably not allow of this aim being attained immediately.

The Socialist Movement none the less declares itself willing to contribute to the building of a European Federation, which will not realise, at the time of its formation, the objectives for which the Movement is working.

To its active and loyal participation it places only one condition, namely that the powers conferred upon the European Federal Authority not only do not prevent but, more than this, give to this Authority the constitutional means of realising the socialist objectives indicated above when the balance of the political forces in Europe will democratically allow the possibility of so doing.

To move through the first stage it is urgent and indispensable that the National States consent to exercise in common certain of their sovereign rights.

In the present state of things there can be no question of elaborating a European Constitution but simply of fixing the general principles of a pact to which the Governments of Europe will be invited to adhere.

Such a pact must include on the one hand the definition and the limits of the powers conferred upon the European Authority, and on the other hand the minimum institutions necessary in order that this authority can exercise these powers effectively and democratically.

I. The powers

Among all the powers conferred on the European Authority those which deal with the organisation and the development of European economy are of decisive importance in order to ensure for the community of European peoples a stable future and a satisfactory standard of life.

A. Economic Powers

The European Authority must have the power of controlling and developing basic industries and to decide upon the general policy concerning the production and the utilisation of raw materials, as well as the production and the exchange of agricultural products, including food. With this end in view it must create the necessary European public services. These powers include particularly: —

The movement and control of investments.

The convertibility of European currencies by means of a European monetary fund assuring stable rates of exchange.

The control of the national banks of emission; first stage before the creation of a Federal Bank of emission.

Such an economic and financial policy should be linked up with the necessary commercial measures governing the exchanges both in the interior of the European Federation as well as in the relations of this Federation with the rest of the world. These measures should be the following: —

A common policy concerning the exchanges with non-member countries.

The progressive but rapid suppression of the quota system and the progressive lowering of the customs tariffs between the member states.

These financial and commercial measures must be accompanied by arrangements aiming at the harmonising of the social legislations of the member states tending towards establishing them at their highest actual level.

The existing economic organisations such as the O.E.E.C. must be placed under the direction of the European Authority.

B. Foreign Policy

The object should be the creation of a Department or Ministry of Foreign Affairs common to all the member states.

In the first stage envisaged, the two following measures should be taken: —

Co-ordination of the different national policies in order particularly to formulate a common attitude of all the member states in the international conferences in which they will be called upon to participate.

The maintenance of the right of each member state to enter into treaties or agreements with non-member states but the ratification by the European Authority to be obligatory.

C. Common Defence Policy

Without prejudging what may be the military policy of the European Federation, and while affirming that it must tend by its independence to be a factor for peace, the following measures should be taken: —

The definition of the Defence Policy by the European Authority and with this end in view the placing at its disposition of the common military organisations actually existing.

The nomination and control of the High Command by the European Authority.

Double allegiance of the armies vis-à-vis the national authorities and the European Authority.

D. Judicial Powers

The European Court of Justice provided for by the Strasburg Assembly should have the following powers: —

To judge, in appeal, on differences between private individuals and the member states relative to the Charter of Human Rights.

To judge differences between the member states and between the member states and the European Authority.

The European Court must have the means to ensure the carrying-out of its verdicts.

II. Institutions

The European Authority must dispose of the institutions necessary to the exercise of the powers which will have been conferred upon it by its member states.

Legislative power will be exercised by two Chambers, the Assembly of the Peoples elected by universal free

franchise and an Assembly of States ensuring an equitable representation to the small states.

Executive power will, at the beginning, be derived from the Assemblies, and in all cases responsible to them.

Judiciary power, confided to the European Court of Justice, will be completely independent of the executive as of the legislative.

In order that these institutions enjoy the required independence, the European Authority must dispose of the necessary autonomous budgetary resources.

III. Citizenship

The establishing of a double citizenship, national and European, imposes itself immediately on the constitution of the European Authority both from a juridical and moral point of view.

In order to demonstrate clearly the solidarity of the European peoples and to give to the refugees from the Totalitarian countries of Europe a legal status, it is decided that European citizenship will be conferred upon them. This will be a clear proof to the popular masses that a decisive step has been taken towards European Federation.

The measures proposed in the present resolution should be adapted to the special circumstances of European States linked overseas with associated countries or dependents in such a manner that these latter can, if they express the desire, be invited to participate in the common task of which the supreme objective is well-being and peace.

It is highly desirable that the present federal pact receive the support, at least in its essential features, of all the democratic European states. If, for reasons which are particular to itself, one or another of the States is unable for the time being to sign the pact, it will nevertheless be necessary to put it into operation.

It goes without saying, however, that the pact should group a number of States of which the economic and human resources are such as to confer on the new community its justification and its means of existence. It will be open permanently to all the States which were not able to join at its origin.

Actions to be undertaken by the Movement

Each member of the Movement must consider it his duty to undertake a campaign in his own circles and by all the means in his power in order to make known the necessity and the urgency of such a pact. He should undertake the immediate organisation of a vast popular campaign in its favour.

It is decided that the above project of a Federal Pact will be examined and discussed by the Socialist Movement with the other movements working for European Unity.

Mandate is given to the Executive Committee elected by the present Congress to envisage unity of action with those of the movements which accept the essential points of the Pact, in particular the points referred to in paragraph 4 of page 2 of this document.

This unity of action could have in particular the organisation, in common, of a great popular campaign in support of the Pact, without which the adhesion of the masses, which alone can prevail against the governments, will not be obtained.

Resolution of the Economic Commission

The International Congress of the *Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe*, meeting at Paris on November 5, 6 and 7, 1949: —

Takes note that the campaign which is actually being waged for the integral convertibility of European currencies and the abolition of all restrictions on the liberty of currency exchanges in Europe is inspired by a purely laissez-faire capitalist conception. This conception artificially separates the monetary and commercial problems from the totality of the economic and social life and proceeds from ideas of which the fundamental errors and the catastrophic results were clearly demonstrated in the period between the two wars.

Congress warns the European masses against the dangers which will arise in the actual circumstances if the return to the convertibility of currencies and the liberty of currency exchanges is carried out *in isolation*, without *being preceded* by the setting up of institutions and the essential machinery for a general system of planning in the right direction towards the unity of Europe. These measures themselves are simply a return to the capitalism of the past. They can only engender new economic crises, unemployment, restrictive cartelisation, the exploitation of the feeble by the strong, misery in the midst of abundance, and will end in economic catastrophes and social troubles in a politically dislocated Europe.

To this conception which compromises the European idea by placing it in the service of particular interests, the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe opposes its conception of a Europe organised by a planned economy for the satisfaction of human needs, established on the wise utilisation of human and material possibilities, full employment and the equitable distribution of the wealth produced in common.

With this end in view it demands that these institutions and this machinery, which it persists in thinking must be established before the return to monetary convertibility and free currency exchanges, shall be set up at the earliest possible moment, viz.: —

1. The European organisations to be formed, destined to ensure a permanent co-ordination and a progressive integration of monetary policies, credit, investments, external European commerce and given the necessary powers to accomplish these tasks.
2. The institutions necessary for ensuring the planning of European economy in its totality and more particularly the planning of basic activities including the production and the distribution of agricultural products and food supplies.
3. The indispensable dispositions for the transition period, which, under present conditions, will safeguard, in the immediate circumstances, the legitimate interests of the workers and the industries which the anarchic re-establishment of a greater freedom of internal exchanges will place in undeserved difficulties.

We must guarantee to the workers their effective right to work and, at least, the maintenance of their standard of life. We must give to the industries reasonable conditions for adapting themselves to a new situation and overcoming the perturbations which will not fail to exist locally.

The economic and political unification of Europe will create a new situation in the world, independent of the past. It must not run the risk of the possibility of failure by the too rigid application of international agreements previously concluded.

Planning of Key Industries

Definition of Socialist Planning

We consider that *planning* has no economical or political virtue of itself. All interpretations are possible from the neo-liberal planning of industrial ententes to capitalist, totalitarian state planning. It is, therefore, necessary to define the essential elements of socialist planning: —

In the economic sphere, the raising of the standard of life of the workers obtained principally by the increasing of the total revenue (production of goods and services) linked up with the amelioration of the productivity of the workmanship and the invested capital, the opposition to all attempts at economic restrictions.

The development of all forms of technical knowledge and the using of them with the will and desire to produce practical efficiency.

In the social sphere, the movement recognises that the development of the economy towards production will entail inevitably a certain tension between man and the machine; it affirms that while the well-being of mankind is at once the present object and final aim of planning, the idea of the aim takes precedence over that of the object.

The final objective of socialist planning is the radical transformation of the social structures and relationships alone capable of surmounting the contradictions of the capitalist world and of founding a society where the exploitation of man by man becomes impossible and where Capital, even collectivised, is subordinated to labour and to the needs of the community.

The Movement recognises that any policy of planning contains a real danger of economic and political totalitarianism, against which it must be defended by economic and social structures which are essentially democratic and by the constant vigilance of the citizens against any attempt at the usurpation and the abuse of power whether on the part of functionaries, technicians, or professional or other types of organisations.

General Incidences of the Planning of Key Industries

Without rejecting the possibilities of an immediate partial realisation of planning the Movement takes note that the planning of basic activities, that is to say key industries, implies a plan covering the economic system, stretching from the budgetary policy up to the foreign economic policy of the United States of Europe.

These observations do not *exclude* the possibility of progress by stages, with the reserve that each intermediate operation shall be carried through as far as possible with a view to its integration subsequently in the plan as a whole.

The Idea of Basic Activity

The idea of basic activity is susceptible to diverse and vast interpretations. The Movement considers that the defined basic activities should at the minimum be agriculture, sources of energy, i.e. electric and other, transports, mineral resources. None of the branches or specialised activities entering into one of these sectors should be treated in isolation but in relation to the whole of the sector.

Structures of the Basic Activities

The Movement insists on the exceptional difficulties created by any project of structure of a basic activity integrated on the European plane.

It demands that in the definition of the new structures there should be clearly distinguished problems of general policy (the global level of wages, the prices of production, the investments, the external economic policy) which depend on the European Government, and the problems of the internal management of a particular industry.

With these reserves, it proposes the formation for each basic industry of an Industrial Council composed of representatives of the producers (workers, technicians and administrative and executive staff) of the industry in question, of the consumers and the European Public Authorities.

The essential task of these specialised councils will be to discuss and define in public the internal policy of their industry, to nominate and to propose to the European Government the Directing Committee of the particular industry.

Once the policy of the industry has been laid down the Directing Committee will have full powers to carry on to satisfactory completion the task of management and will only be responsible to the Council.

Each Industrial Council will delegate its representatives to the European Economic and Social Council having the power of making decisions within the limits assigned to it by the European Political Parliament.

These propositions are not exclusive and will allow the formation of a bureau of the European plan functioning as an administrative service of the European Government.

Apart from the economic powers of the European Government defined elsewhere, the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe thinks that in the sphere of operations, bearing in mind the actual situation, the following objectives should be attained by priority: —

The elaboration of a European Policy of Energy including atomic energy. The researches concerning this should be made in common with the view to an economical and peaceful utilisation thereof.

The extension to the whole of Europe of the internationalisation of heavy industries as has been started by the *Ruhr Statute* and more precisely the rapid formation of a *European Coal Authority as well as a European Steel Authority*.

The Council and later the Energy Authority, the Coal and Steel Authorities should be organised in conformity with the principles defined above.

The Congress does not judge it useful to enter into the numerous technical problems which it transmits for study to the permanent international committee which it has decided to set up.

It adopts, however, the following propositions concerning the organisation of European Agriculture.

The Organisation of the Production and Distribution of Agricultural Products

The Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe affirms that in the general framework of the planning of the basic activities of Europe, the organisation of the production and the distribution of agricultural products must be considered as of the first priority.

The food provisioning of Europe presupposes a nationalisation assuring the intensification of agricultural production. This can, only be obtained by a *European Agricultural Plan*.

The problems of the exchanges of agricultural products with the countries linked to the European Union and with countries which are external to this Union can only be solved by a *European Authority*.

The importance of the natural wealth brought into being in European Agricultural Production, the number of workers engaged in Europe in this activity, the high degree of permanent productivity obtained in Europe necessitate *socialist planning*.

The importance, on the one hand, of agricultural revenue as an element of economic prosperity, and on the other hand, the proportion of the expenditure on food in the budget of the less favoured classes, necessitate *socialist planning*.

As in the other basic activities, it is essential that the planning be carried out in the interests of the workers participating in the particular production and the consumers, and not with the object of obtaining the maximum profits for particular groups. This planning must extend to the supplying of the means of production, in particular, the fertilisers. In addition to this, the food standard of the peoples is so important for their health, particularly for that of the vulnerable groups, i.e. children, pregnant women and young mothers, heavy workers, etc., that the organisation of the production and distribution of food supplies must be governed by human needs which can only be attained by a *socialist policy*.

Consequently, having approved the Report on European Agriculture and Food Supplies, the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe demands: —

That the agricultural sub-committee of the European Assembly takes up the problem of the organisation of the production and the distribution of food supplies and brings into effect at once: —

(1) A European Food Board charged to lay down the general European Policy concerning the production and the distribution of food supplies. This Board should be constituted by:

(a) Representatives of European Agricultural Producers.

(b) Representatives of European consumers including the delegates of co-operative societies, women's associations, trades unions, etc.

(c) Representatives of the general public interests indicated by the European Assembly or by the European Economic Council, if it exists.

(2) The Convocation of Product Groups charged with the task of proposing the necessary organisms to work out the policy laid down by the European Food Board and in particular the administration of stocks, to make out the reports and to proceed in general to the operation of the international distribution of the products in question.

Finally, it approves a resolution on the organisation of a *European co-operative centre* presented to the Congress by the French Section.

Special Resolution of the Economic Commission

The Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, meeting in International Congress at Paris on November 5, 6 and 7, 1949: —

Decides upon the institution of a Permanent Economic Commission of the Movement.

Submits to this Commission for study the special problems raised by the general Economic Resolution.

Calls upon the Executive Bureau to take the necessary steps immediately.

Resolution on the Integration Of Germany

The Congress of the S.M.U.S.E. proclaims: —

The political and economic integration of the German people in the democratic European community is an urgent necessity

for Europe,
for Democratic Germany,
for World Peace.

It is also the only method of reducing to powerlessness the totalitarian and nationalistic forces which the fall of the Nazi dictatorship has not disarmed. To accomplish this task, Congress declares its solidarity with the German working class and democratic forces in their struggle for fundamental liberties and for the conquest of a standard of living comparable to that of the workers of the other industrial countries.

Resolution On Spain

Whilst Spain remains today still under the domination of the fascist dictatorship, which imposes a continually increasing misery on the toiling masses, and which can only maintain itself in power through a bloody and ceaseless persecution of all who believe in liberty and democracy, the reactionary forces of the whole world are seeking, under the pretext of the struggle against Stalinist communism, to bring the Franco regime into association with the democratic community of nations.

This Congress of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe raises its voice in protest against any integration of present-day Spain into the international life. This would be the negation of the democratic ideal defended by the European Nations and could only work out in the interests of the world-wide reactionary forces which have made fascism one of their emblems. It denounces the illusory character of the effective aid which fascist Spain could bring today, even to the eventual defence of Europe.

Congress proclaims that a completely democratic Europe can only be constituted after the elimination of the fascist regime and the re-establishment of a democratic regime in Spain.

The Congress makes an appeal to all the socialist and democratic forces of Europe and America in order that they oppose, by all means, any aid, whether political, economic or financial, being given to fascist Spain. The only persons who would benefit would be the minority of the profiteers of the regime and not the Spanish people. It demands that an active solidarity continues to sustain and assist the work of the Spanish democratic and socialist forces until the total abolition of the Franco dictatorship.

Resolution on Eastern Europe

Four years after the cessation of hostilities, the peoples of Esthonia, of Latvia, of Lithuania, of Poland, of Czecho-Slovakia, of Hungary, of Rumania, of Bulgaria, of Albania, and of Eastern Germany, remain under the domination of the U.S.S.R.

In spite of the fact that the Soviet Government promised to ensure for them the re-establishment of all the liberties of the democratic regimes, it has imposed everywhere puppet governments giving obedience to Stalinism, representing only the communist minorities and exercising an implacable persecution against all citizens who defend democratically their ideas.

The Congress of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe proclaims its solidarity with all individuals, with all organisations and particularly with the socialist and democratic parties, which either in exile or in their own country are carrying on the struggle for liberty.

It declares at the same time that European socialists are not advocating the restoration in Central and Eastern Europe of worn-out social conditions but only the re-establishment of essential liberties and the right of all peoples to decide democratically their own destinies within the framework of the European Community.

A Resolution Common to the Eastern European Countries, Spain and Yugo-Slavia

The Congress of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe:—

Demands urgently that the European Federal Institutions remain open for the participation of the Eastern European Countries, of Spain and Yugo-Slavia as soon as they are in a position to express themselves freely.

So far as the European Consultative Assembly and the European Council are concerned, Congress demands that they ensure for themselves the collaboration of the representatives of the democratic forces of the Eastern European Countries, of Spain and Yugo-Slavia, with a view to visualising now their eventual integration in a free and unified Europe.

Resolution against Anti-Semitism and Racism

In the spirit of Human Rights, the Congress of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe denounces anti-semitism and all forms of racialism as criminal action directed against one section of the population and addresses itself to the European Council in order that the participating countries introduce into their legislation the necessary measures whereby anti-semitic and racial activity will be punished as crimes of lese-humanity.

Resolution on the Right to Work of Political Refugees

The Political Commission takes note of the situation of many of the refugee comrades from Eastern Europe, who, by reason of the laws actually in force, find themselves in a position which makes it impossible for them to find work in the trades or professions which they normally exercised.

Seeing that the right of asylum for political refugees is useless and inefficacious unless it is accompanied by the right to work, Congress demands that all the comrades present intervene with their respective governments in order that all the facilities be given order to allow political refugees to work in normal conditions in those countries which have offered them hospitality or where they have found refuge.

In the same way, the European Authority, which it is proposed to institute should place this question on its first agenda.

[...]