

Address given by Walter Hallstein: the FRG and European integration (Bonn, 14 May 1956)

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What are our specifically German ideas with respect to future developments in the field of European integration? There is, first, the primacy of political integration. Our paramount concern is not economic or technical integration in this or that sphere but the political unification of Europe. We refute the contention that economic integration *can* advance while political integration is shelved. In the interest of our freedom and culture — the freedom and culture of the West — we must insist on and give priority to political integration and regard any form of economic *part* integration as a mere stage on the road to it. I do not in the least wish to deny or even underestimate the value of economic integration. But, the realisation that, for instance, the Common Market, quite apart from its political value, would constitute an economic advance, must not induce us to lose sight of our political goal. Strictly speaking, any sharp distinction between politics and economics at this level is quite without point. And, certainly, no such distinction was intended by or would be compatible by the Messina Resolutions, as the plan to set up a European Atomic Authority shows, a plan the significance of which goes far beyond the economic sphere.

Our second point is what I would like to call the institutional aspect. At Messina, by a unanimous resolution, the establishment of an Atomic Community with powers of decision, common organs and common financial and other implementing means, was envisaged. The experts, who later met in Brussels, carefully considered the plan and made appropriate proposals. The Americans, too, have officially stated that they regard the setting up of a European Atomic Community, having, in contrast to the OEEC, its own rights and responsibilities as a decisive factor in the political development. We agree with this view, because, on principle, we consider joined institutions to be the appropriate means of linking the six partners solidly and thus approaching the great political aim.

Our third point is: no dirigism. In this context, there is much talk about *Dirigismus*, *dirigisme*. We do not visualise Europe as being administrated by those dirigistic methods. You know that we Germans have been, from the start, exponents of the idea that private initiative should not be replaced by state interference, and we retain the conviction that the surrender or any disregard of this principle would be destructive to Europe. And here, we must bare in mind that, basically, every what we call liberal system, every system of free enterprise, as you call it, is in itself based on an enforced order, on certain strict rules. A good example is your anti-trust legislation.

Fourth point: the rule of law. I have already emphasised the fact that we attach great importance to the authority and independence of the court. In our opinion, there can be no real unification without the guiding principle of the rule of law. Out of practical considerations, we take the view that the institutions to be created should, as far as possible, make use of the Coal and Steel Community's already existing supranational organs. Thus, for instance, it would seem to me expedient to entrust the General Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community with the parliamentary controlling functions and the Court of Justice with the juridical functions of the European Atomic Authority.

And last point: no discrimination. We have always shared the view of those who insisted on absolutely equal rights in all European organisations. And, as this standpoint is appreciated by all treaty partners, the objections sometimes raised in Germany that, for instance, the Atomic Authority has been conceived so that it could control Germany in a discriminating manner and abuse its authority, for instance, by arbitrarily forbidding the setting up of research institutions in the Federal Republic, this objection is quite unfounded.