

# 7. Post-World War II – Visions of Europe



## Your aim

To enable the students to come to a greater understanding of the forces that shaped modern day Europe.



## Learning Outcome

By the end of this lesson students will have learned who the key figures were that suggested a united Europe and their reasons for promoting the idea.



## Time

Two/ Three classes (one double for preparation and a single for presentation)



## Materials or Sources required

- » 'Who Am I?' cards
- » 'What I Said' speech sheets
- » Poster paper/ materials
- » Wall size Map of Europe showing the 15 members of the union in 1997



## Preparation

- » Photocopy 'What I Said' speech sheets
- » Photocopy and cut 'Who Am I?' cards
- » Resource box of markers, Blu Tack etc
- » For the presentation class, use a room with enough space to hold a discussion forum. On the day of the class, some people could set out a room in theatre style with a top table for the speakers and the audience chairs arranged in rows. The press secretaries could hang their posters on the walls.



## Links to Investigating Europe

- » Activity IV – An Olympic Variety
- » Activity V – The Olympics

## Introduction

The teacher begins the class by explaining to the students that this lesson will be covered over two sessions i.e. this class is part of a preparation for the next. The purpose of this class is to prepare for a whole class presentation of the key characters in the formation of the modern Europe.

S/he asks for one volunteer to play the role of chairperson for the next class. The chairperson needs to be aware that the role involves reading a lot of documentation in order to prepare adequately for the meeting.

The teacher then divides the rest of the class into 5 groups.

## Group Work

Four of the groups will be key figure groups and the fifth group will take the role of audience, which is to consist of politicians, journalists etc. and whose task it will be to question the speakers at the next class.

Each of the key figure groups will be asked to choose a 'Who Am I?' card and also be given the appropriate 'What I Said' resource sheet as well as a large sheet of paper and markers.

The task for each key figure group is to examine the character they are, appoint someone who will take the role of the person, appoint public relations people whose task it is to introduce him to the members of the audience group, and a Press group whose task it is to prepare a flipchart sheet as a press release outlining his key ideas.

The audience group is given copies of the 'Who Am I?' cards as well as copies of the 'What I Said' speeches so that they can meet to prepare questions for the speakers for the next class.

### Important Note on Preparation:

The teacher needs to read the next lesson procedure given below and familiarise him/herself with the suggested outline for the class. S/he then needs to talk with the chairperson and together they can visit the groups (other than the audience group) and familiarise them with how the presentation will work.

## Procedure for Presentation Lesson

- » The teacher begins the class by asking the Chairperson to take her/his seat and to introduce the meeting as a forum on “A New Europe after World War II”. The Chairperson should give a short description of the conditions in Europe at the time and why this meeting has been called.
- » The Chairperson then introduces each speaker and invites them to take their place at the table.
- » All the speakers, except Jacques Delors, will make their speeches in turn. They can use the full text or have memorised parts of it. The Public Relations people of each group should give a short introduction of the person before she/he starts to speak, using some of the biographical information on the cards. The Press Groups should display their flipchart sheet in the background.
- » Following the speeches, the discussion is opened to the floor for comments and questions from the audience. The teacher can assist in trying to generate discussion if the students are unwilling.
- » Then the chair concludes the discussion with his/ her comments. (These comments could be that he/she wishes the European project well and comments how nice it would be to be able to look into the future to know if the project will be successful.)
- » After the chairperson’s comments, Jacques Delors will stand up and be introduced by his Press Secretary while his Public Relations (PR) personnel hang up the map of Europe in 1997. Following the introduction, he will proceed to make his speech.
- » At the point in his speech where he quotes Churchill, the person playing Churchill can stand up and come in with his own words. Delors can be questioned by the panel and the audience about what happened in between, who has joined, what progress and plans have been made e.g. the introduction of the Euro etc.
- » Delors can conclude the meeting by thanking all those with the vision and energy to start the project from which many modern day Europeans have benefited.



### Homework Option

Students can be asked to write a short personal reflection on which of the speeches they heard made the greatest impression on them.

## ‘Who Am I?’ Cards

### 1. Jean Monnet 1888-1979



**“There will be no peace in Europe if the States rebuild themselves on the basis of national sovereignty, with its implications of prestige politics and economic protection (...). The countries of Europe are not strong enough individually to be able to guarantee prosperity and social development for their peoples. The States of Europe must therefore form a federation or a European entity that would make them into a common economic unit.”**

**“Continue, continue, there is no future for the people of Europe other than in union”**

**“Make men work together, show them that beyond their differences and geographical boundaries there lies a common interest.”**

Jean Monnet was born on 9 November 1888 in Cognac, France. His family were cognac merchants. In 1906, his father sent him abroad to work for the family business. “Do not bring any books” his father advised him. “No one can think for you. Look out the window, talk to people...” Monnet made many business trips, travelling to Scandinavia, Russia, Egypt, Canada, and the United States. He was in the French army during the First World War but was discharged for health reasons, but he wanted to serve his country in other ways. He thought that the French and British should coordinate their war efforts instead of acting independently. His advice was followed and it proved effective, so that after the Great War he was named Secretary General of the League of Nations (a forerunner to the United Nations) when it was created in 1919. During the interwar period he provided very important economic and financial advice and help in many countries in Europe and around the world.

When France was defeated by Hitler in 1940 Monnet did not accept Nazi control of France and he worked with the British and other French people in exile (de Gaulle) to defeat the Nazis and liberate France. Although he worked hard to help defeat the Germans he hoped that after the war that the countries of Europe would work together as his speech of 5 August 1943 above shows. When the war was over he was involved in the rebuilding of the French economy but also by 1950 he began to work with the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the French Foreign minister Robert Schuman to create cooperation between their two countries. He prepared the famous “Schuman Declaration” on behalf of the French government, which began this process. The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and the Netherlands all agreed to become part of what was called the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

Jean Monnet became the first President of the ECSC’s High Authority. He died on 16 March 1979 at the age of ninety-one.

## 'Who Am I?' Cards

### 2. Winston Churchill 1874-1965



Winston Churchill was born in England in 1874. As a boy he spent some time in Dublin, after his grandfather had been appointed Viceroy of Ireland. After graduating from a British military college he served the army in various locations across the world, becoming famous for his bravery in the Battle of Khartoum in Sudan and the Boer War in South Africa. He was a talented writer and acted as a war correspondent during his service in the military.

He entered the field of politics and became known as a highly individual politician and a dynamic speaker. He became Prime Minister in 1940, in the middle of World War II and managed to rally the British people, leading his country from the brink of defeat to victory.

Surprisingly, Churchill and his Conservative party lost the election to Labour in May 1945. Feeling shocked by the rejection of his nation he turned his focus to foreign policy. Churchill believed in the need for Britain and the United States to unite against the threat of Soviet Communism, which had brought down an "iron curtain" across the face of Europe. He also became a passionate advocate of a European union. In 1946, Churchill put forward both of these proposals in his famous speeches in Fulton (USA) and Zurich (Switzerland).

### 3. Jacques Delors 1925

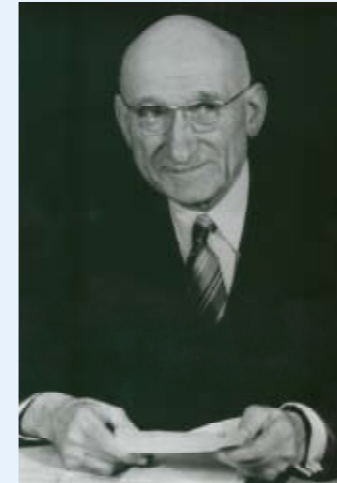


Jacques Delors was president of the European Commission from 1985 to 1995. During this time he played a major part in reforming the EC and was involved in negotiating the Maastricht treaty which led to a giant leap forward of the then European Community to eventually become the European Union. He was born on the 20th of July 1925 and worked in 'Banque the France' after receiving a degree in economics from the University of Paris (La Sorbonne). Delors became active in politics and joined the Socialist Party in 1974.

He served as minister of economics and finance under President François Mitterrand 1981 to 1985, when he left to become president of the European Commission. One of his many achievements as president was the creation of the 'single market' in 1993. The single market abolished tariffs and quotas within the union, resulting in increased trade between member countries. He is to date the only person to have served two terms as president of the Commission.

## 'Who Am I?' Cards

### 4. Robert Schuman 1886-1963



***"Through the consolidation of basic production and the institution of a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and the other countries that join, this proposal represents the first concrete step towards a European federation, imperative for the preservation of peace," declared Robert***

Robert Schuman was born in Luxembourg, but his father was from the French province of Lorraine, which had been taken by the Germans in 1870. He actually served in the German army during the First World War but then became a French citizen when Lorraine was given back to France at the end of the war. He studied law, but then went into politics in 1919. Schuman was elected Prime Minister of France in 1947 and held the post of Foreign Minister from 1948 until 1953.

It was during this time that he presented the proposal which was to lay the foundations for a European Union. On 9 May 1950, he made the famous "Schuman Declaration", prepared by Monnet. It proposed a body which would jointly manage the French and German coal and steel industries. This proposal to pool resources came to be known as the Schuman Plan and formed the basis for the European Coal and Steel Community which was subsequently established in 1951. When a Joint Assembly was formed in 1958, which later became the European Parliament, Robert Schuman was elected its first president. Robert Schuman's role in creating the European Union is commemorated annually on the 9th of May.

## What I Said

### Winston Churchill's Speech to the Academic Youth, Zurich, 19 September 1946

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to speak to you to-day about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, the arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern time... Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this twentieth century and even in our own lifetime, wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind.

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller States have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, care-worn and bewildered human beings gape at the ruins of their cities and their homes, and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror. Among the victors there is a babble of voices; among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair. That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient states and nations, that is all that the Germanic races have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed but for the fact that the great Republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realized that the ruin or enslavement of Europe would involve their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succour and of guidance, but for that the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor. Gentlemen, they may still return.

Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted by the great majority of people in many lands, would as if by a miracle transform the whole scene, and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is to-day. What is this sovereign remedy?

It is to re-create the European Family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe.

Much work, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been done upon this task by the exertions of ... the famous French patriot and statesman Aristide Briand. There is also that immense body of doctrine and procedure, which was brought into being amid high hopes after the First World War. I mean the League of Nations. The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those States who had brought it into being. It failed because the governments of those days feared to face the facts, and act while time remained. This disaster must not be repeated. There is therefore much knowledge and material with which to build; and also bitter dear bought experience to stir the builders.

I was very glad to read in the newspapers two days ago that my friend President Truman had expressed his interest and sympathy with this great design. There is no reason why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations. On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon coherent natural groupings. There is already a natural grouping in the western hemisphere. We British have our own Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken, on the contrary they strengthen, the world organization. They are in fact its main support. And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty continent? And why should it not take its rightful place with other great groupings and help to shape the onward destinies of men?...

We all know that the two world wars through which we have passed arose out of the vain passion of a newly-united Germany to play the dominating part in the world. In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed for which there is no parallel since the invasion of the Mongols in the fourteenth century and no equal at any time in human history.

The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war. But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, then there must be an end to retribution. ...We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward, across the years that are to come, the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past. If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery, and indeed from final doom, there must be this act of faith in the European Family and this act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past... Is there any need for further floods of agony? Is the only lesson of history to be that mankind is 'un-teachable'? Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The peoples have only to will it, and all will achieve their hearts' desire.

I am now going to say something that will astonish you. The first step in the re-creation of the European Family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral and cultural leadership of Europe. There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany. The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honour by their contribution to the common cause. The ancient states and principalities of Germany, freely joined together for mutual convenience in a federal system, might take their individual places among the United States of Europe...

But I must give you a warning. Time may be short. At present there is a breathing-space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped; but the dangers have not stopped. If we are to form the United States of Europe, or whatever name it may take, we must begin now.

In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I will even say protection, of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a state and nation which we know will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom. But it may well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilization, but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I must now sum up the propositions which are before you. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations Organization. Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European Family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe. And the first practical step would be to form a Council of Europe. If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join the Union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and those who can. The salvation of the common people of every race and of every land from war or servitude must be established on solid foundations and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than submit to tyranny. In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America and I trust Soviet Russia-for then indeed all would be well-must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live and shine.

Therefore I say to you: let Europe arise!

## What I Said

### Jean Monnet Memorandum to Robert Schuman, 4 May 1950

Whenever we look in the present world situation we see nothing but deadlock – whether it be the increasing acceptance of a war that is thought to be inevitable, the problem of Germany, the continuation of French recovery, the organisation of Europe, the very place of France in Europe and in the world. From such a situation there is only one way of escape: concrete resolute action on a limited but decisive point, bringing about on this point a fundamental change, and gradually modifying the very terms of all the problems.

Men's minds are becoming focused on a object at one simple and dangerous: the cold war ..... The course of events must be changed. To do this men's minds must be changed. Words are not enough. Only immediate action on an essential point can change the present static situation. This action must be radical, real, immediate and dramatic; it must change things and make a reality of the hopes which people are on the point of abandoning. And thereby give the peoples of the "free" countries faith in the more distant goals that will be put to them, and the active determination to pursue them ..... Britain, however anxious she may be to collaborate with Europe, will agree to do nothing that might result in a loosening of her ties with the Dominions or a commitment to Europe going beyond those undertaken by America herself.

.....As it is the people's of Europe hear nothing but words. Soon they will no longer believe in the deals which governments persist in offering them, and which gets no further than empty speeches and futile meetings..... For future peace, the creation of a dynamic Europe is indispensable..... Europe will if it adapts to new conditions in the World, develop its creative abilities and thus, emerge as a stabilising force.

We must therefore abandon the forms of the past and enter a path of transformation, both by creating common basic economic conditions and by setting up new authorities accepted by the sovereign nations. Europe has never existed .... We must genuinely create Europe ... This creation ..... is indispensable in order to make clear that the countries of Europe ... believe in themselves, and that they are setting up without delay the first machinery for building a Europe within the new community of free and peaceful peoples, to which it will bring stability and the continuation of its creative thinking. At the present moment, Europe can be brought to birth only by France. Only France can speak and act. But if France does not speak and act now, what will happen?

A group will form around the United States, but in order to wage the cold war with greater force. The obvious reason is that the countries of Europe are afraid and are seeking help. Britain will draw close and closer to the United States; Germany will develop rapidly, and we shall not be able to prevent her being armed. France will be trapped again ...

Since the liberation , the French, far from being cast down by suffering, have shown vitality and faith in the future; increased production, modernization, the transformation of agriculture, ...

During these years the French have forgotten Germany and German competition. They believed in peace. Suddenly they have rediscovered Germany and war.

The growth of German production, and the organization of the cold war, would revive past fears .... The French would relapse into their old timidity, at the very moment when boldness would enable them to eliminate these two dangers and cause the French spirit to make the progress for which it is ready. At this juncture, France is singled out by destiny. If she takes the initiative that will eliminate fear, revive faith in the future, and make possible the creation of a force for peace, she will have liberated Europe. And in a liberated Europe, the spirit of men born on the soil of France, living in freedom and in steadily improving material and social conditions, will continue to make the contribution that is essentially theirs.

## What I Said

### Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950

*Extracts from the text of the proposal, presented by the French foreign minister Robert Schuman and which led to the creation of what is now the European Union*

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it. The contribution which an organised and living Europe can bring to civilisation is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries. With this aim in view, the French Government proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point.

It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe. The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification. [...]

By pooling basic production and by instituting a new High Authority, those decisions will bind France, Germany and other member countries, this proposal will lead to the realization of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace. To promote the realization of the objectives defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following bases.

The task with which this common High Authority will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; the equalization and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries. [...]

The essential principles and undertakings defined above will be the subject of a treaty signed between the States and submitted for the ratification of their parliaments. The negotiations required to settle details of applications will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator appointed by common agreement. He will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the agreements reached conform with the principles laid down, and, in the event of a deadlock, he will decide what solution is to be adopted. [...]

A representative of the United Nations will be accredited to the Authority, and will be instructed to make a public report to the United Nations twice yearly, giving an account of the working of the new organization, particularly as concerns the safeguarding of its objectives.

## What I Said

### Mr Jacques Delors (Delivered in the Oxford University, Monday 27 October 1997)

Vice Chancellor, Professors, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is a very great honour to be here with you today, in this prestigious University of Oxford [...] You have invited me to speak on the future of the construction of Europe from this standpoint, at a time when serious doubt has been cast upon the capacity – and above all the will – of the 15 to continue along the road towards genuine political union. Nor has the recent Amsterdam Treaty done much to dispel those doubts.

There is nothing new in this. Over the past 40 years, the European project has had its ups and downs, its moments of enthusiasm and periods of disappointment. People have predicted its demise or decline on many occasions. And yet, the adventure has forged ahead, overcoming crises and constantly finding the inner resources needed to emerge from periods of stagnation [...]

You know my thinking on this point. I would not change a single one of those powerful words spoken by Paul-Henri Spaak in 1962. “My conviction, which daily grows stronger”, he said, “is that those who were good Europeans in 1949 and 1950, in the heroic years, were right, and that what needs to be done is not to destroy their work, but to consolidate and continue it”.

[...] In other words, I believe it is pointless to go on advancing along the road to ‘ever closer union’ between our peoples without having first settled this debate: has the Community model effectively ceased to be meaningful in post-cold war Europe, or has it gained in both relevance and difficulty? To answer this question, we first need to look at the model as imagined by Europe’s founding fathers.

For Europe, notwithstanding all those who are happy with vague professions of faith, is not just a state of mind. You academics know this well, for Europe is also a question of institutional and legal mechanics. It is a mechanism that guarantees respect for the law, democratic accountability, and effective action. There, I believe, lies the originality of the Community model as compared with all previous attempts at unification. For the idea of an organised Europe pre-dates 1957, needless to say. Down the centuries, visionaries – writers, philosophers, poets and economists – have dreamed of bringing the warring nations of Europe together. But while plans came and went, no politician was prepared to fight for them.

After the failure of a first attempt promoted by Aristide Briand in 1929, it was not until the end of World War II that the idea of a united Europe surfaced once more, but this time with unprecedented vigor. [...] Just think, in particular, of the celebrated speech given by Winston Churchill in Zurich on September 19, 1946. This is what he said: “This noble continent... is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the cradle of Western civilization... Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels ... which have (twice) in our own lifetime wreaked the peace and marred the prospects of all mankind.” He went on to stress the need to “recreate the European Family” and to “provide it with structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom,” by building “a kind of United States of Europe.” Even if not everyone agreed as to the precise form this new Europe should take ... his speech galvanized the enthusiasm of all those who believed in the need for a new Europe. The impetus had been given.

Jean Monnet in particular had drawn a clear lesson from the misadventures of the League of Nations, namely that essential though it is, political will alone cannot guarantee a project’s success. In an inherently unstable world, only the primacy of law and stable institutions can guarantee co-operation among nations and hence peace. [...]

[...] But public opinion sometimes has difficulty understanding why European law should impinge on areas concerning traditions, and values, and the fundamental choices relating to the type of society we wish to live in. [...] But, for the time being, let’s not lose sight of the key point, which is that, while it is sometimes perceived as a constraint, European law has above all shown itself to be a formidable weapon on behalf of freedom and democracy, for both the individual citizen and for economic agents.

Clearly, and we all understand this as a matter of common sense from our own professional or private lives, a system’s effectiveness largely depends on how decisions are taken.

A system based on unanimity, for instance, encourages intransigence, for everyone knows from the outset that he has the power to block any decision.

Of course, there is a price to be paid for accepting a system based on majority voting, in so far as it presupposes a transfer of sovereignty by the state and, consequently, acceptance of the need to compromise. But this can equally well be seen as an expression of enlightened self-interest by states that submit to the system. Just think of what Winston Churchill wrote to Stafford Cripps on this subject in 1948: “it is said that this implies some sacrifice or some watering down of national sovereignty, but one can also consider that it represents a gradual assumption, by the nations that embark upon it, of that wider sovereignty which also permits the preservation of the diversity of their customs, their distinctive traits and their national traditions”. [...]

I would like to make clear from the outset that, contrary to unfounded claims that those who favour an effective Community model would prefer to concentrate on deepening the Union rather than enlarging it. Believe me, this ritual opposition between “widening” and “deepening” is not the key issue. In reality, we have no choice. Our brethren to the East, though separated from us by historical decree, are culturally, geographically and spiritually just as European as ourselves. It is our imperative duty to open our arms to them, at the dawn of the 21st century. Having said that, the task is not easy: how can we best spread our values of peace and mutual understanding to Europe as a whole, while safeguarding the efficacy and solidity of the Community model? For, bear in mind, this model has come to be a rallying point for all the Continent’s peoples.

The question is an acute one today, for two reasons at least. On the one hand, previous expansions have concerned only two or three countries at a time. Right now, as I said, no fewer than twelve countries are officially candidates. On the other hand, the institutional system, originally designed for a six-member Community, is already seriously strained with fifteen members. What are we to expect when the number rises to twenty or thirty? How can we ensure that widening our membership won’t simply compound our weaknesses instead of combining our strengths? .... More modestly, I would like to formulate two imperatives that I believe confront Europe today: an imperative of democracy, and an imperative of efficacy.

Yet it is obviously that, from its beginnings, the European project has been, and still is, intimately associated with the democratic ideal. Its spiritual roots lie in resistance to all forms of totalitarianism, and it has consistently reinforced its drive to promote democracy and respect for the rule of law. The Community is also the only international organisation to have an Assembly directly elected by its citizens. And the powers of that Assembly have just been significantly reinforced by the recent Treaty of Amsterdam.

Above all though, it must be stated clearly that Europe has never sought to substitute for the state as the natural framework for the exercise of democracy or for participation in it. Which is why, it seems to me, the democratic deficiency from which Europe suffers today lies first of all in the lack of involvement in the decision-making process at the European level by people and their representatives.

While Europe is penetrating ever more deeply into people’s daily lives, it worries rather than reassures them, bores them more than it excites them. Nor is Europe alone in suffering from this remoteness: it is a problem facing many of our national democracies, which are experiencing a growing gap between governors and governed. Admittedly, the situation is not identical from one country to the next, in this respect, frequently depending on the vigour of each society’s democratic traditions.

[...] Consequently, to instil greater vitality into the democratic project, Europe needs to draw its legitimacy from two sources, namely the legitimacy of the nation state, represented in the European Council, and a direct legitimacy derived from its citizens via a European Parliament better integrated into the Community system” [...] But speaking as a citizen, I do want the issues of the future to be clarified before public opinion. I further want this necessary deepening to take place in full awareness of the historical responsibilities that weigh upon the shoulders of Europeans. Also, each of us should keep in mind the lessons of a 50-year long experiment that has enabled Europe to rise above its mortal divisions and thus fit itself – if it has the clear-sightedness and courage- to confront the challenges of the far-reaching changes now taking place.