Speech for the

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Prendendo la parola in questa sede debbo anzitutto adempiere al gradito dovere di ringraziare i dirigenti del Council on Foreign Relations per il gentile invito che hanno voluto rivolgermi e che io sono stato assai lieto ed onorato di accettare.

La mia presenza tra voi, quale Presidente del Parlamento Europeo, coincide con un'ora della vita internazionale percorsa, sia alla superficie sia nel profondo, da forze nuove tendenti a ~~spostare il centro di gravità di~~ multiplare quegli equilibri tra i popoli sui quali essa si era sino ad oggi retta, nel periodo, denso di inquietudini e di pericoli, ma anche ricco di alte aspirazioni e di fervide energie creatrici, seguito agli sconvolgimenti della seconda guerra mondiale. E' evidente che questa situazione in movimento si riflette in modo particolare sui rapporti tra l'Europa e gli Stati Uniti d'America.

Credo di corrispondere al Vostro desiderio ~~dei miei gentili ascoltatori~~ proponendomi di ragguagliarVi, in questa breve conversazione, sullo stato attuale delle cose della Comunità europea e sulle sue prospettive di sviluppo così come appaiono a chi, al pari di me, li esamini da quell'osservatorio particolarmente indicato che è il Parlamento europeo.

Voi ben sapete che la presente situazione della Comunità è lungi dall'essere rosea. ~~Personalmente~~ Io sono convinto che non sia il caso di drammatizzarla eccessivamente ma neppure di sottovalutarla. E' indubbio, ad ogni modo, che il processo unitario europeo viva un'ora assai delicata la quale può essere superata solo con un grande sforzo di ricognizione di

tutte le possibilità di cui disponiamo.

La storia dell'unità europea, dalla famosa dichiarazione del 9 maggio 1950, alla quale resta per sempre legato il nome di Robert Schuman, uno dei grandi Padri fondatori della nuova Europa, purtroppo di recente scomparso, sino alla seduta del Consiglio dei Ministri della C.E.E. del 29 Gennaio di quest'anno, è la storia di un cammino in ascesa. La C.E.C.A., nata dalla dichiarazione di quel giorno di maggio di 13 anni fa, capovolgeva la tradizionale politica franco-tedesca e, al tempo stesso, tracciava all'Europa tutta, e a tutto l'Occidente libero e democratico, il solco di un nuovo destino. Essa infatti non solo annullava un antico dissidio tra le due grandi Potenze europee che, per più di mezzo secolo, aveva fatto grondare di sangue e di lacrime interi continenti; non solo decideva la messa in comune di due industrie chiavi che sono il carbone e l'acciaio; ma introduceva per la prima volta nella storia europea ed in tempo di pace, sia pure soltanto in bozzolo, il principio detto della sovranazionalità, il principio cioé della supremazia di una autorità sovranazionale su quelle nazionali.

Ecco cosa ha rappresentato la C.E.C.A.: l'embrione di ciò che resta tuttora l'obiettivo principale dell'azione unitaria, ossia la creazione di un'Europa politicamente ed economicamente unita, mediante il vincolo federativo. La sua felicissima esperienza incoraggiò i più insigni e ferventi statisti europei ad accelerare i tempi verso una più ampia e più completa forma di integrazione: nacque in tal modo il progetto della Comunità europea di difesa cui si collegava intrinsecamente quello della Comunità politica europea. Senonché ciò che era riuscito alla C.E.C.A. non riuscì alla C.E.D.: questo secondo tentativo si infranse, nella cadente estate del 1954, contro la tenacissima resistenza delle tradizionali forze pluralistiche d'Europa. Fu il primo segnale d'allarme sulle gravi difficoltà che d'ora innanzi l'itinerario europeo sa

rebbe stato destinato ad incontrare; e fu anche un insegnamento ed un ammonimento per coloro che attendevano, e volevano continuare ad attendere, all'opera dura e perigliosa, ma entusiasmante, di innalzare le mura della nuova casa comune degli europei.

Come certo ricorderete, circa un anno dopo il fallimento della C.E.D., fu indetta a Messina, per iniziativa del Governo italiano, in cui allora io rivestivo la carica di Ministro degli Esteri, la Conferenza dei Ministri dei sei Paesi aderenti alla C.E.C.A. e costituenti quella che si suole indicare col nome di "piccola Europa".

L'operazione allora decisa, e che è ormai consegnata alla storia come l'operazione del "rilancio europeo", si caratterizzò per una maggiore prudenza ed avvedutezza rispetto al disegno della C.E.D.. Essa, tuttavia, pur tornando a battere la strada, originariamente imboccata, dell'integrazione economica, non perse di vista lo scopo ultimo da raggiungere, quello della completa unità politico-economica del continente europeo.

I Trattati di Roma del marzo 1957, che furono il frutto della Conferenza di Messina e che diedero origine alle due nuove Comunità europee, l'economica e l'atomica, recano impresso, sia nella lettera sia nello spirito delle loro norme, il vero intendimento dei loro autori che fu quello di creare e mettere in moto tutti i fattori unificanti della vita europea non solo sul piano economico ma anche su quello politico e spirituale.

Tra i fattori politici meritano di essere particolarmente sottolineati: l'apparato istituzionale nel suo complesso, il quale, attraverso alcuni organi essenziali, ha congiunto strettamente le nuove Comunità alla precedente della C.E.C.A. sicché tutte e tre formano quella che comprensivamente viene designata come "Comunità europea"; la funzione assegnata al Parlamento europeo di cuore politico della Comunità, ossia la funzione di stimolo del moto unitario propriamente politico; l'adozione del criterio delle decisioni a maggioranza, il quale via via si sostituisce a quello delle decisioni all'unanimità. Proprio tale criterio attesta chiaramente che le

due nuove Comunità si sono sostanzialmente poste su una linea di riaffermazione e, si deve aggiungere, di progresso, della concezione di una direzione sopranazionale degli affari europei.

Perciò è un errore giudicare l'attuale Comunità europea come semplice strumento, per quanto perfezionato, di solidarietà economica; ed è ugualmente un errore giudicarla come una Comunità chiusa, ripiegata su se stessa, restia ad aprirsi verso l'esterno. La presenza e le funzioni dell'apparato istituzionale, da me poc anzi rilevate, attestano che la Comunità è nata come Comunità economico-politica ed io posso affermare, con sicura scienza e coscienza, per la parte non secondaria avuta nella redazione dei relativi Trattati, che essa è stata anche concepita e realizzata come una Comunità aperta e liberale, ansiosa di ampliarsi sul restante terreno dell'Europa non ancora integrata e non meno ansiosa di rafforzare sempre più i vincoli di solidarietà tra la libera Europa e la libera America.

Se dunque il processo unitario europeo ~~del suo avviamento~~ ha segnato un avanzamento, per quanto cauto, dalle iniziali posizioni della C.E.C.A. a quelle del Mercato Comune; se è riuscito a concretare per la prima volta in Europa una ~~parziale~~ sostanziale unità economica, fecondissima di frutti, ed un inizio di unità politica tra i sei Paesi associati; come spiegare la battuta d'arresto che lo ha investito all'inizio di quest'anno, proprio quando sembrava prossimo ad arricchirsi di nuova linfa vitale, mercé la partecipazione, generalmente prevista come sicura, della Gran Bretagna alla responsabilità ed al destino dell'Europa unita?

Le cause dei fatti storici e politici sono sempre molteplici e complesse, difficilmente semplificabili come noi le immaginiamo e vorremmo. Ad ogni modo io penso - e questo mio pensiero è in Europa largamente condiviso - che la principale spiegazione di quanto è avvenuto nel gennaio scorso debba trovarsi nel fatto che nel corso del processo unitario europeo si è verificato un grave squilibrio tra politica ed economia, essendo mancato il parallelo sviluppo dei fattori integrativi politici e di quelli

economici. All'inizio, con la C.E.C.A., economia e politica avevano mantenuto pressapoco lo stesso passo; poi con la C.E.D. la politica volle sopravanzare l'economia ed il tentativo fallì; infine, con il Mercato Comune, nonostante le buone intenzioni dei suoi artefici, l'economia ha finito col sopravanzare decisamente la politica.

Considerato sotto l'aspetto economico il Mercato Comune è stato un evento prodigioso, miracoloso, tale da superare largamente ogni più ottimistica aspettativa. Esso ha elargito larghissimi benefici ai cittadini europei che, grazie ad esso, hanno raggiunto un rilevante grado di benessere, raramente prima conosciuto. Con straordinaria rapidità ha assunto dimensioni mondiali ponendosi ovunque come modello e polo d'attrazione. Si è quindi diffuso il convincimento che fosse ormai un fenomeno irreversibile, destinato a conoscere solo ulteriori avanzate. Ma a questi mirabili progressi sul cammino economico non ha fatto riscontro alcun sensibile progresso sul cammino politico. Ciò, naturalmente, ha via via aggravato lo squilibrio iniziale tra politica ed economia, dovuto alla imperiosa esigenza di sfuggire agli scogli su cui era naufragato il vascello della C.E.D..

Non solo i numerosi germi politici deposti nei Trattati non sono riusciti a svilupparsi ma precise norme politiche in essi contenute, tendenti appunto ad attivizzare i fattori politici del processo unitario, sono rimaste ineseguite. E' il caso dello stesso sistema di nomina dei parlamentari europei. Una inequivoca disposizione dei Trattati assegna al Parlamento europeo il compito di elaborare progetti elettorali intesi a sostituire l'attuale sistema di nomina da parte dei Parlamenti nazionali con il sistema del suffragio universale diretto da parte dell'elettorato europeo. Un progetto in tal senso da tempo predisposto dal Parlamento europeo attende ancora di essere approvato dai competenti organi della Comunità. E' sin troppo evidente che solo con l'adozione del nuovo

sistema elettorale i popoli europei saranno posti in condizione di prendere viva parte alle vicende della Comunità europea influenzandone politicamente gli sviluppi ai quali si sentiranno direttamente interessati. ~~E' il caso anche della mancata designazione del~~ la Capitale della Comunità europea e della mancata creazione di una Università europea. La scelta dell'una, la nascita dell'altra, rivestirebbero non solo un grande valore politico ma anche un grande valore psicologico in quanto rappresenterebbero due simboli della effettiva volontà politica unitaria dei popoli europei, due fari destinati ad illuminare la nuova strada che l'Europa è chiamata ~~a percorrere.~~

~~Conclusivamente~~, è lecito affermare che quel che da noi è mancato dal 1957 in poi è stata la chiara, netta determinazione di procedere verso l'unità politica europea. Nell'illusione che il più ed il meglio fossero stati raggiunti col Mercato Comune e nulla più potesse essere perduto, si è troppo presto e facilmente dimenticato il grande insegnamento, profeticamente impartito da Schuman, secondo il quale "a lungo andare l'integrazione economica non è concepibile senza un minimo di integrazione politica". La verità è proprio questa: se non si rafforzano, e con la maggiore sollecitudine possibile, le basi politiche della Comunità europea, ci sovrasterà di continuo il pericolo di vedere vanificate le stesse conquiste economiche così felicemente raggiunte.

Se tale è l'attuale critica situazione del processo unitario europeo, se tali ne sono le cause, resta ora da chiedersi se e quali rimedi possano essere apprestati per reinserirlo nel suo corso normale ed affrettarne i tempi. A mio parere questi rimedi esistono ma la loro efficacia è strettamente condizionata alla rapidità ed all'impegno con cui essi saranno usati.

Il primo rimedio consiste nel ristabilimento della piena fiducia tra i 6 Paesi della piccola Europa, fortemente compromessa a seguito del mancato accordo per l'ingresso della Gran Bretagna nella Comunità europea. Fino a quando non sarà stata ricucita la tela

dilacerata in quella buia giornata dello scorso gennaio, occorrerà porre ogni cura nell'evitare che insorgano nuovi motivi di attrito. Sarebbe, io credo, sommamente opportuno lasciare intanto il calendario fermo alla data del 29 gennaio 1963 per riprenderlo a sfogliare quando la Gran Bretagna entrerà, com'é assolutamente indispensabile, nella Comunità europea che non può fare a meno di essa come essa non può fare a meno della Comunità europea.

Il secondo rimedio consiste nel non frapporre ulteriori indugi alla integrale attuazione delle norme dei Trattati. A nessuno deve essere lecito esigerne la piena applicazione per quelle cose che fanno comodo e poi rifiutarla, con un pretesto o con un altro, quando le cose non fanno più comodo. ~~Come che Cicero vola già parlare pro domo sua~~ E' giudizio unanime ~~di quanti hanno a cuore l'ideale e le istanze europeistiche~~ che il futuro della integrazione economico-politica dell'Europa si affidi principalmente alla forza della coscienza popolare. ~~Renderà direttamente~~ partecipi i popoli europei del destino della loro Comunità, sostituendo, come ho già detto, all'attuale sistema elettivo del Parlamento europeo quello del suffragio universale diretto, significherebbe stimolare efficacemente l'intiero moto dell'unità europea.

Il terzo rimedio consiste nel rafforzare, con tutti i mezzi, nei popoli dell'Occidente libero, europeo ed atlantico, quei principî e quegli ideali ai quali deve necessariamente ancorarsi il processo della nostra unità, - sia che abbia luogo sul perimetro europeo sia che abbia luogo sul perimetro atlantico - poiché rappresentano ciò che non muta essendo essi stessi la cagione prima di ciò che muta.

Solo applicando tali rimedi la Comunità potrà essere posta in grado di riprendere il suo cammino, riguadagnando anche il tempo perduto. E' fuor di dubbio che essa non potrebbe sopravvivere se dovesse continuare a restare immobilizzata nei suoi attuali confini. Invano avremmo lavorato se al posto dei fortilizi naziona-

li avessimo eretto un fortilizio della stessa specie, anche se di maggiori proporzioni.

Non altro - l'ho già detto - era lo spirito che ha presieduto la sua nascita. Di esso si è reso efficace interprete qualche mese fa lo stesso Presidente della Commissione C.E.E., il Sig. Walter Hallstein, esattamente dichiarando che "i due aspetti della nostra natura, il fatto che siamo legati da una coesione interna e siamo aperti verso il mondo e ci rivolgiamo verso il mondo, sono inseparabili l'uno dall'altro. E val la pena di notare anche la dichiarazione resa dal leader del Partito laburista britannico, parlando proprio qui, nella scorsa primavera. Egli ha detto che il suo partito ha come obiettivo "una Comunità atlantica e più larga dell'Atlantico".

Ecco dunque gli obiettivi che a noi ed a voi tocca di raggiungere: passare dalla piccola alla grande Europa unita per poi passare dalla grande Europa unita alla Comunità Atlantica.

La libera America e la libera Europa vengono dallo stesso passato e sono chiamate a procedere unite verso lo stesso avvenire. Noi europei non dimentichiamo, non possiamo dimenticare, che la marcia europea verso l'unità è iniziata dietro lo scudo protettivo dell'Alleanza Atlantica. Lo storico dell'Europa, dopo aver identificato il momento estremo della crisi dello spirito europeo, non potrà non registrare e non additare nell'atto di volontà, in virtù del quale è nata l'Alleanza atlantica, l'inizio della resistenza attiva allo scetticismo ed alla stanchezza dei popoli europei. L'attivo politico-militare dell'Alleanza è facilmente riconoscibile ed è generalmente riconosciuto; ma esso è superato dall'attivo morale e spirituale.

Tuttavia mi sia consentito di aggiungere subito che l'Alleanza non può sottrarsi alla legge del moto. Quando essa si costituì e cominciò a produrre i suoi effetti la situazione in Euro-

pa e nel mondo era ben diversa dall'attuale. Allora l'Europa era un desolato terreno di rovine: industrie distrutte; campi abbandonati; case ridotte in macerie. Oggi è tutto un cantiere di attività mirabili; è tornata ad essere il grande, ridente giardino, caro ai poeti. Allora alla perdurante angoscia d'un conflitto, che si era appena spento, si aggiungeva, nel nostro animo, una nuova angoscia per la tensione della situazione internazionale, gravida di estremi pericoli. Oggi, invece, in un cielo rimasto coperto per tanti anni da plumbee nubi ci è dato d'intravvedere uno spiraglio attraverso cui - per usare una frase del vostro Presidente - "comincia a passare un raggio di speranza". Si tratta, è vero, solo di un raggio; ma d'un raggio che succede ad una lunga notte, resa più lunga dal timore che, come quella di Macbeth, non vedesse mai il sorgere del giorno.

In una situazione storico-politica tanto diversa, l'Alleanza Atlantica non può non adeguarsi alle mutate circostanze.

Ritengo di dover precisare subito che i migliori europei respingono come del tutto aberrante l'idea di una Europa neutrale o di una Europa terza forza che si assegni il compito di assidersi arbitra tra Stati Uniti e Russia. Questa idea non può che rientrare nei calcoli o di quelle forze politiche che tentano di scardinare l'Europa dall'interno, dal momento che non è loro riuscito di scardinarla dall'esterno, o di quelle altre forze politiche, nella sostanza non molto dissimili dalle prime, che si alimentano esclusivamente ai miti del passato e vorrebbero che le lancette dell'orologio della storia fossero rimaste ferme sull'ora più favorevole al destino del loro Paese.

Tuttavia non può certo dirsi infondato o ingiusto il desiderio dell'Europa, qual'essa è nel presente momento storico, così rivitalizzata e rafforzata nelle cose e ne-

gli spiriti, di assumere maggiori responsabilità nel quadro dell'Alleanza Atlantica. ~~Non meno giusto e naturale è che~~ l'America sia esitante ad aderire a ~~tale~~ desiderio avendo l'occhio anche allo spettacolo di un'Europa in cui di tanto in tanto affiorano e sembrano prevalere forze e sentimenti ~~egoistici e irrazionali~~.

~~Personalmente~~ sono convinto che quanto più America ed Europa saranno capaci di avvicinarsi a quella stabile consociazione tra di esse che è rappresentata dalla Comunità Atlantica, le attuali polemiche sull'alleanza ~~Atlantica~~ via via si placheranno e l'Europa sarà progressivamente investita delle responsabilità che le spettano in proporzione al contributo da essa recato alla causa comune. ~~Nel frattempo l'a~~dozione del Vostro progetto di una forza atomica multilaterale o multinazionale, che purtroppo sta incontrando tanti ostacoli, pur non essendo la soluzione ideale, segnerebbe un progresso nella edificazione della Comunità atlantica.

Mi domando anche se non sia il caso che gli Stati Uniti si pongano il problema di impegnarsi sin d'ora a consegnare i segreti atomici solo ad un'Europa unificata. Tale impegno potrebbe costituire un potente stimolo acceleratore del ~~processo dell'unità politica europea~~.

L'Alleanza atlantica è ~~come~~ un'istituzione destinata a svilupparsi e a crescere su se stessa, ma non è un'istituzione contingente. Essa rappresenta il primo stadio di quel grande, univoco processo storico che, come ho già ricordato, viene di molto lontano e tende alla progressiva unione economico-politica dei popoli della libera Europa e del libero Occidente; di quel processo storico destinato a raccogliere una parte cospicua dell'umanità, proveniente da vie diverse ma ispirantesi alle stesse forze ideali e morali e agli stessi sentimenti di solidarietà e di fratellanza. Quello che è stato anche chiamato il "grande disegno" della Comuni-

tà atlantica non è il frutto di una fredda escogitazione politica ma riflette ciò che dovrebbe essere uno sbocco naturale del corso dell'intera storia dell'Occidente europeo ed atlantico.

La Comunità atlantica non unisce estrinsecamente l'Europa all'America e l'America all'Europa ma nasce e si costituisce come l'unità organica dell'una e dell'altra e in cui l'una e l'altra sono destinate a superare i loro limiti originari. Nella Comunità atlantica l'Europa riceve l'impulso a svolgere i germi più pieni e più fecondi della sua eredità storica guardando a quella parte di se stessa che si è potuta sviluppare con grande slancio, al di là dell'Oceano, su di un suolo sgombro dai vincoli ritardanti della tradizione. L'America, a sua volta, si ricongiunge alle sue radici da cui riceve ad un tempo il vigore e la misura per il suo sviluppo.

Nelle tragiche circostanze di due guerre, l'America e l'Europa hanno ritrovato e riconosciuto la loro intima, comune essenza. Unite in prove dolorose e decisive hanno preso coscienza dei fattori più dinamici e determinanti che sono alla base della loro vita. Questo incontro è ormai nella storia dell'una e dell'altra come la sorgente viva ed inesauribile delle loro energie ispiratrici.

Nostro compito primario è di continuare a stare insieme per il nostro reciproco bene ed interesse, per il bene e l'interesse di tutti i popoli liberi dell'Occidente, dei popoli del terzo mondo, i quali seguono da vicino le nostre vicende e se ne servono come di una bussola per orientare la loro politica. Perciò non ci sono problemi americani cui l'Europa non sia tenuta ad interessarsi, così come non ci sono problemi europei che non debbano interessare anche gli americani. Sempre nuovi ponti dovranno essere gettati per saldare maggiormente tra loro

le fronteggiantisi e sempre più ravvicinate rive dell'Atlantico in vista di quel traguardo finale, chiaramente indicato dal vostro Presidente nel suo storico discorso di Filadelfia del luglio 1962, e consistente appunto nell'associazione permanente dei popoli dei due continenti nella quale egli ha indicato la sola speranza di creare un mondo di piena legalità e di libera scelta da cui siano bandite guerra e servitù.

Verso questo luminoso, avvincente traguardo, verso l'accogliente e sicuro porto della Comunità Atlantica, dobbiamo continuare a marciare, in sempre più intima solidarietà. D'altra parte non mi pare che ci resti altra scelta. L'Europa non può tornare indietro sulla via del suo sviluppo unitario se non rivivendo la dura esperienza dell'immediato dopoguerra; l'America non può più fermarsi sulla via delle sue responsabilità se non abdicando alla funzione che la storia le ha assegnato.

~~Perciò anche se non lo volessimo, come invece lo vogliamo profondamente e sinceramente, voi Americani e noi Europei siamo, per così dire, condannati a riuscire.~~

Le nuove strade che abbiamo scoperto e cominciato a percorrere non sono agevoli, anzi diventeranno sempre più ardue a mano a mano che andremo innanzi. Talvolta ci toccherà di fermarci e ci fermeremo, ma col proposito di riprendere subito il cammino con lena rinnovata. E' già accaduto, e accadrà ancora, che qualche volta America ed Europa non riusciranno ad intendersi; ma poi finiranno con il ritrovare le parole adatte a riprendere il dialogo in piena comunanza di pensieri e di azioni.

Le strade che portano in alto, alla sommità delle vette, non sono mai facili. Ma sono quelle che sole ci possono avvicinare a Dio il quale vuole che gli uomini conquistino con il sacrificio e con il dolore i sommi beni che Egli ha concesso.

UNIFICATION OF EUROPE AND ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I should like first of all to discharge the pleasant duty of thanking the Council on Foreign Relations for their kind invitation which I was glad and deeply honored to be able to accept.

My presence among you, as president of the European Parliament, coincides with a moment of international life crossed, both on the surface and in depth, by new forces that are tending to modify the balance between nations on which it had been based -- that is, during the period of anxiety following the upheaval of World War II. It is obvious that this fluid situation is reflected in particular on the relations between Europe and the United States of America.

I think I would meet your wishes in outlining in the course of this talk the present state of affairs in the European Community and the prospects of development such as they appear to those who observe them, as

I do, from that special vantage point which is the European Parliament.

You are as aware as I am -- indeed more -- of the work that has been done in the postwar years, on both sides of the Atlantic, with a view to achieving the highest degree of unity between the free peoples of our two continents.

It has become the custom to regard integration at the European level and at the larger Atlantic level as two distinct processes. But in reality, when we probe deeper into the question, and pause to reflect on the values and ideals that underlie each of these apparently separate processes, we find them merging into a single process which, as has been aptly remarked, "is not so much the result of certain political factors as mainly the outcome of a complex, but at the same time consistent, historical development." This is why I am convinced that Americans and Europeans alike must reject as equally false two theories that have been put forward: the first, that the integration of

Europe would of itself involve the dissolution of the Atlantic Alliance or at least convert Europe into a "third force" that would either be neutral or act as referee between the main protagonists on the world stage -- the United States and the Soviet Union; the second, that the Atlantic Alliance is purely and simply an instrument of traditional defense policy, and the European Community the outcome of measures dictated by contingent economic and political exigencies and, in any case, of interest only within the boundaries of Europe.

The opposite is the truth. The Atlantic Alliance and European unification are two different aspects and moments of a single political and economic process, whose aim is to usher in a new and happier era in the lives of all the peoples of the free world. The problems of the Atlantic and European Communities should therefore be approached, compared and resolved from a global standpoint in the light of the same broad, guiding principles. Moreover, just as the

European peoples must not regard the problems of the Atlantic Community as being no affair of theirs, so the Atlantic peoples must not regard the problems of European unification as being of no concern to them. The integration of Europe is as essential to Atlantic integration as the part is to the whole. This is borne out by the fact that, up till now, every step forward, every crisis, in the process of unification on one side of the Atlantic, has been accompanied by a similar phenomenon on the other. Even recently, the crisis in European unification precipitated by the failure last January of the Brussels negotiations for the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market was reflected in a slowing down in measures aimed at the consolidation and improvement of Atlantic solidarity.

If, therefore, the present crisis in European unification is to be overcome, efforts must also be made to overcome the crises encountered in the integration process in the Atlantic area.

What practical steps, then, should be taken? This, as I have already said, is a matter that concerns everyone of us. Let us go back for a moment to the days in which Europe, having only recently emerged from the depths into which the war had plunged it, was taking its first tentative steps toward unification. At that time, it was obvious to the more farsighted among Europeans that unification would be impossible unless the individual countries, with a view to unity and harmonious co-existence, made a real and sustained effort to subordinate national interests to the permanent overall needs of the new European society they intended to establish in common. Throughout its history -- a history fraught with struggles and divisions -- Europe had shown an astonishing dynamism that had made it the moral center of the world. However, in the situation it had inherited from two savage wars, these struggles and divisions no longer represented a source of energy and progress, but a mortal peril. It was vital that

the peril should be averted. To achieve this, it was imperative to remove the causes underlying this constant bickering and strife. One of these was the dissension that had poisoned Franco-German relations for half a century. The long-standing breach was finally healed in 1952 with the creation and rapid development of the Coal and Steel Community, which at the same time enabled Germany, through the integration of the two main pillars of the economy -- coal and steel -- to re-enter the field of European politics.

Nevertheless, the factors making for cleavage and disruption which the European Coal and Steel Community had been able to overcome -- thanks largely to the imagination and enthusiasm of its creators -- were coming gradually to the forefront as the pluralistic forces of the old Europe emerged from the shadows of defeat. The resistance offered by these traditional forces shattered the bold and liberal project for the creation of a European Defense

Community linked to a European Political Community, which, in one leap, would have given Europe, not a preliminary, barely sketched-in plan for unification, but a fuller, more complete form of economic and political integration characterized by the existence of a supreme organ of decision elected by the same European peoples but exercising authority over one and all.

The failure to establish the European Defense Community left the statesmen responsible for Europe's destiny with no choice but to return to the path of economic union. This appeared at the time to be a retrograde step. The "revival of Europe," decided upon at the Messina Conference in June 1955 -- at the initiative of the Italian government whose Foreign Minister I then had the honor to be -- had two immediate economic objectives: the establishment of the European Economic Community and of the European Atomic Energy Community. As I remarked, this was only <u>apparently</u> a retrograde step. The originators of the

two Communities had designed them as economic instruments, but in such a way as to leave the road open, in a not distant future, for a resumption of the march towards political unification. To this end, the Treaties signed in Rome, and to which the two new Communities owe their existence, provided for institutional machinery that would serve not only as a means to weld these Communities and the European Coal and Steel Community into one vast Community, but also as the political driving force behind the movement towards European unification. As a result, the Communities, which at the time of their creation were primarily economic in scope and content, would have had to be gradually transformed into a single, organic and more highly developed economic and political Community. I should add that, in the eyes of its authors, this economic and political Community, whose boundaries coincided with those of "little Europe" countries, would then have had to expand until it embraced the entire area of free Europe. Moreover,

the vision of a Europe solidly coherent and rapidly advancing along the path towards complete unification, was intimately associated with that of the establishment of ever closer, firmer and more fruitful ties between a united Europe and all the other countries of the Atlantic Community, foremost among them the United States of America.

The Messina and Rome programmes could be only partially implemented. The pluralistic forces to which I referred earlier continued to put up vigorous opposition to any effective progress in the political reconstruction of Europe. While progress towards economic unification has proceeded at a truly astonishing rate, and has at times been regarded as little short of a miracle, the process of political unification has made no significant headway. It is, in fact, the institutional machinery -- intended, as I remarked earlier, to stimulate progress towards political unification -- that has fallen short of its goal.

No one working for European unification today has the slightest doubt that, in order to surmount the critical situation that has arisen, the essential thing is to concentrate attention on the political aspects of the Community, completing and improving the two basic organs of its directive machinery: the legislative and the executive.

Under the provisions of the Treaties, the European Parliament now consists of members selected by the parliaments of each Member State. However, the Treaties regard such a system as provisional, since they entrust the same Assembly with the preparation of schemes to enable its members to be elected by direct universal suffrage in accordance with a procedure that is to be identical in all Member States.

The European Parliament was conceived as the heart that sustains the life and ensures the growth of the Community in conformity with democratic laws and customs. It is quite obvious, however, that so long as the present electoral system remains in force,

the European Parliament can never exercise these functions. In order that it may become the true mouthpiece of the European public conscience -- to which the future of the ideal of unification is ultimately entrusted -- nothing must be allowed to delay the introduction of direct universal suffrage. Although the European Parliament prepared a complete scheme for this purpose a long time ago, this is still waiting to be examined by the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

The fact that, five years after the Treaties came into force, we are still faced with problems whose technical solution presents no difficulty, clearly proves that the only obstacle is a political one. This is why we can, and should, insist that the real causes of the crises occurring in European development are to be found in a progressive weakening of the will to create a Europe politically united by federal ties.

This will must be revived, stimulated and strenthened. But this can be done only if the peoples of Europe acquire the firmest conviction -- such as characterized the initial stages of the process of European unification -- that their Community interests should be placed at least on a par with their national interests. Until such a conviction becomes rooted in the minds of the majority of Europeans, not only will the future of a United Europe and of the Atlantic Community appear to us in a deceptive and uncertain light, but there will be an ever-present danger of the immense progress made in Europe towards economic unification being irrevocably lost. The European Economic Community -- known mainly in its partial aspect, the Common Market -- could also turn out to be the legendary colossus with feet of clay.

It is useless and dangerous to ignore facts: the crisis precipitated early this year by the failure of the Brussels negotiations is a grave one. But we must fight on to prevent our fears from stifling our

hopes. After all, we have many and excellent reasons to hope.

One of your countrymen, in a speech delivered in Pittsburg a few months ago, pointed out that when Ulysses steered his vessel between Scylla and Charybdis, he may well have had to travel only a few hundred yards; but it was precisely that short stretch of water, gained at the cost of so much effort, that enabled him finally to reach Ithaca.

This is precisely where we stand today. The vessel of the European Community, like that of the Atlantic Community, is lashed by the fury of the waves; but it is riding the storm and remaining afloat. This alone gives us grounds for hope. So do the broad lines of American policy on Europe laid down by your President in his historic speech at Philadelphia in June 1962, which were clinched by the Trade Expansion Act and confirmed in the speeches made during the President's trip to Europe. Hope there is, too, in the activities -- often untold, but always resolute and conceived in an

enlightened spirit -- of many distinguished American and European statesmen who are imbued with the same faith in the ideal of unification, of a "strongly coherent Europe" -- to use the phrase employed by President Kennedy in Frankfurt -- and determined to devote themselves heart and soul to its fulfillment. Thus, hope drives out fear, but its triumph calls for swift and vigorous political action -- either through prompt implementation of the provisions of the Rome Treaties, by allowing the political seeds deliberately sown in them to attain full bloom, or by any other formula devised by human ingenuity.

What we need, therefore, are political solutions that will really help to speed up the creation of the unified political corpus of Europe. Such a creation must be regarded as the prerequisite for a more decisive advance towards the final stage of the process of unification -- the creation of the great Atlantic Community. I am convinced that, once the progress of European development resumes its true

course, the disputes and controversies that have in recent years disturbed the relations of the Atlantic Community will also automatically subside.

But every political problem is first and foremost a spiritual problem. We must therefore ask ourselves whether, at the root of the recurrent crises that have hampered Western unification on both sides of the Atlantic, there may not perhaps lie a weakening of our spiritual awareness, a lack of faith in the lofty values created by Western civilization in its magnificent flowering over the centuries.

The Atlantic civilization -- of which both the Americans and Europeans are at once the heirs and custodians -- represents the richest organic synthesis yet achieved by a historic people on whom has been bequeathed the legacy of the Greeks and Romans, and who are constantly vitalized and purified by Christianity. The historical dynamism of Western civilization has undergone a similar phenomenon to that which befell the Greek spirit which, transplanted beyond the seas

far from its native soil, was cleansed and revitalized, and rendered capable of even greater and more noteworthy achievements. In our own times, Western civilization has in part been transferred to the American shores of the Atlantic where, in its development, it has achieved a marvelous synthesis of the old and the new. This it is that we defend today. But we cannot defend it as a possession if we do not first defend it as the source and standard of our actions. The Atlantic civilization rests on a number of moral imperatives and manifests itself in a particular social and political <u>way of life</u>. This way of life of ours is opposed by another, totally different in nature, which is bent upon destroying it. As long as this struggle endures -- and it now involves the entire world -- and whatever the nature and significance of existing and future political agreements between West and East, it will remain the duty of each of us who wishes to preserve the way of life of his fathers and to pass it on, enriched, to his

children and his children's children, not only to remain constantly alert, but to revive in himself, day by day, an awareness of the ideals of the Community to which he belongs.

The spirit which brought about the European Community was no other than that. The President of the Commission of the European Economic Community, Professor Walter Hallstein, gave a clear interpretation of this spirit a few months ago when he stated that "the two aspects of our nature, the fact that we are bound by an internal cohesion and are open to the world and turn to the world, are inseparable from one another." It is also worth recalling the statement made by the leader of the British Labor Party, when he spoke here last spring. He said that the aim of his party was "an Atlantic community, larger than the Atlantic."

The objects which you and we must endeavor to attain are therefore to proceed from a <u>little Europe</u> to a <u>large united Europe</u> and then to proceed from a

large united Europe to the Atlantic Community.

Free America and free Europe have the same past and are destined to advance united towards the same future. We, Europeans, do not forget, indeed cannot forget, that the European progress towards unity is being achieved under the protective shield of the Atlantic Alliance. The European historian, after having identified the extreme moment in the crisis of the European spirit, will be unable not to record and not to show when describing the act of determination as a result of which the Atlantic Alliance was born, the beginning of the active resistance to the scepticism and weariness of the peoples of Europe.

May I be allowed to add straightaway that the Alliance cannot escape the law of motion. When it was formed and began to produce results, the situation in Europe and in the world was quite different from what it is now. Europe was then in ruins: destroyed industries, abandoned fields, houses reduced to rubble. Today it is a scene of remarkable activity;

it is once again the large and pleasant garden, so dear to the poets. In those days, in addition to the persisting anxiety due to a conflict that had just ended, there was also anxiety over the tension in the international situation, fraught with grave dangers. Today, however, in a sky which remains overcast as a result of so many years of leaden clouds, we can see a gleam through which, to quote your President, "a ray of hope is beginning to pass." It is true that it is only a ray but this ray follows a long night, made longer still by the fear that, as in Macbeth's night, it would not see the light of day.

In such a different political and historical situation it is impossible for the Atlantic Alliance not to adapt itself to the changed circumstances.

I am convinced that inasmuch as America and Europe are capable of ensuring a stable association between themselves, such as represented by the Atlantic Community, the present controversies over the Alliance will gradually dwindle away and Europe will be

progressively invested with the responsibilities to which she is entitled by virtue of her contribution to the common cause.

The Atlantic Alliance is an institution destined to develop and grow on itself, but it is not a contingent institution. It represents the first stage of a large and single historical process which,as I recalled, comes from the past and tends towards the progressive political and economic union of the peoples of free Europe and of the free West. It is an historical process which is bound to embrace a large part of mankind, coming from different walks of life but drawing its inspiration from the same moral forces and ideals and from the same feelings of solidarity and brotherhood. What has also been called the "grand design" of the Atlantic Community is not the result of a cold political device, but represents a natural development in the course of the whole history of Europe and the Atlantic West.

The Atlantic Community does not unite extrinsically Europe to America and America to Europe, but derives from the organic unity of both, and both are destined to go beyond their original limits.

In the tragic conditions of two wars, America and Europe have recovered and recognized their intimate, essential oneness. United in painful and decisive trials, they have become aware of the dynamic and determining factors that are at the basis of their way of life.

Our prime task is to continue to work together for our mutual well-being and interest, for the well-being and interests of all the free peoples of the West and for the well-being and interests of the peoples of the THIRD WORLD, who closely follow developments in our field and use them as a guide to formulate their own policies. This is why there are no American problems in which Europeans should not take an interest, and no European problems in which Americans should not take an interest. New links must constantly be

established to weld even more closely between them the opposite and always closer banks of the Atlantic in view of the final goal, consisting precisely in the permanent association of the peoples of the two continents, in which, as President Kennedy pointed out, is the only hope of creating a world of full legality and free choice from which wars and servitude will be banned.

We must continue to advance, with growing solidarity, towards this luminous aim, towards the safe harbor of the Atlantic Community. There seems to me to be no other choice. Europe cannot go back on the road of united development, except by going through the hard experience of the immediate post-war period. America can no longer stop on the road of her responsibilities unless she abdicates the function she has been ascribed by history.

The new avenues which we have discovered and which we are beginning to cross, are not easy to follow. In fact, they will become even more difficult

to follow in our progress. At times we shall have to stop and we will stop, but with the intention to resume our advance with new energy. It has already happened, and it will happen again, that Europe and America may not be able to agree. But they will succeed in finding suitable words and resuming the dialogue with full identity of thought and action.

The roads which lead to the summit are never easy. But they are those which can bring us nearer to God, who intends that man should conquer by sacrifice and by pain the good things which He has given to them.

24 October 1963
(off-the-record)

Council on Foreign Relations
New York City

Unification of Europe and Atlantic Community (1

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In addressing this distinguished audience, I should like first of all to discharge the pleasant duty of thanking the Council on Foreign Relations for their kind invitation which I was glad and deeply honoured to be able to accept.

My presence among you, as president of the European Parliament, coincides with a moment of international life crossed, both on the surface and in depth, by new forces that are tending to modify the balance between nations on which it had been based up to now, that is during the period of anxiety and dangers - but also rich in high aims and intensive creative energies - following the upheaval of World War II.

It is obvious that this fluid situation is reflected in particular on the relations between Europe and the United States of America.

I think I would meet your wishes in outlining in the course of this short talk the present state of affairs in the European Community and the prospects of development such as they appear to those who observe them, as I do, from that special vantage point which is the European Parliament.

~~As you undoubtedly know, the present~~ situation of the Community is ~~far~~ from rosy. I am convinced, however, that it should neither be excessively dramatized nor ~~underestimated. Nevertheless, it is quite~~

~~solidarity between all who live and work in~~ it. This, in my view, is a problem that calls for a supreme common effort on our part, and ~~that involves our common responsibility.~~

You are as aware as I am - indeed more - of the work that has been done in the postwar years, on both sides of the Atlantic, with a view to achieving the highest degree of unity between the free peoples of our two continents.

It has become the custom to regard unification at the European level and at the larger Atlantic level as two distinct processes. But in reality, when we probe deeper into the question, and pause to reflect on the values and ideals that underlie each of these apparently separate processes, ~~and that serve to guide their course, and on their common~~

~~Soci~~ we find them merging into a single process which, as has been aptly remarked, "is not so much the result of certain political factors as mainly the outcome of a complex, but at the same time consistent, historical development". This is why I am convinced that Americans and Europeans alike must reject as equally false two theories that have been put forward: the first, that the integration of Europe would of itself involve the dissolution of the Atlantic Alliance or at least convert Europe into a "third force" that would either be neutral or act as referee between the main protagonists on the world stage - the United States and the Soviet Union; the second, that the Atlantic Alliance is purely

and simply an instrument of traditional defence policy, and the European Community the outcome of measures dictated by contingent economic and political exigencies and, in any case, of interest only within the boundaries of Europe.

The opposite is the truth. The Atlantic Alliance and European unification are ~~neither mutually exclusive nor competitive, but~~ two different aspects and moments of a single political and economic process whose aim is to usher in a new and happier era in the lives of all the peoples of the free world. The problems of the Atlantic and European Communities should therefore be approached, compared and resolved from a global standpoint in the light of the

same broad, guiding principles. Moreover, just as the European peoples must not regard the problems of the Atlantic Community as being no affair of theirs, so the Atlantic peoples must not regard the problems of European unification as being of no concern to them. The integration of Europe is as essential to Atlantic integration as the part is to the whole. This is borne out by the fact that, up till now, every step forward, every crisis, in the process of unification on one side of the Atlantic, has been accompanied by a similar phenomenon on the other. Even recently, the crisis in European unification precipitated by the failure last January of the Brussels negotiations for the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market

was reflected in a slowing down in measures aimed at the consolidation and improvement of Atlantic solidarity.

If, therefore, the present crisis in European unification is to be overcome, efforts must also be made to overcome the crises encountered in the ~~unification~~ integration process in the Atlantic area.

What practical steps, then, should be taken? This, as I have already said, is a matter that concerns everyone of us. Let us go back for a moment to the days in which Europe, having only recently emerged from the depths into which the war had plunged it, was taking its first tentative steps towards unification. At that time, it was obvious

to the more farsighted among Europeans that unification would be impossible unless the individual countries, with a view to unity and harmonious co-existence, made a real and sustained effort to subordinate national interests to the permanent overall needs of the new European society they intended to establish in common. Throughout its history - a history fraught with struggles and divisions - Europe had shown an astonishing dynamism that had made it the moral centre of the world. However, in the situation it had inherited from two savage wars, these struggles and divisions no longer represented a source of energy and progress, but a mortal peril. It was vital that the peril should be averted. To achieve this, it was imperative

to remove the causes underlying this constant bickering and strife. One of these was the dissension that had poisoned Franco-German relations for half a century. The long-standing breach was finally healed in 1952 with the creation and rapid development of the Coal and Steel Community, which at the same time enabled Germany, through the integration of the two main pillars of the economy - coal and steel - to re-enter the field of European politics.

Nevertheless, the factors making for cleavage and disruption which the European Coal and Steel Community had been able to overcome - thanks largely to the imagination and enthusiasm of its creators - were coming gradually to the forefront as the traditional

pluralistic forces of the old Europe emerged from the shadows of defeat. The resistance offered by these age-old forces shattered the bold and liberal project for the creation of a European Defence Community linked to a European Political Community, which, in one leap, would have given Europe, not a preliminary, barely sketched-in plan for unification, but a fuller, more complete form of economic and political integration characterized by the existence of a supreme organ of decision elected by the same European peoples but exercizing authority over one and all.

The failure to establish the European Defence Community left the statesmen responsible for Europe's destiny with no

choice but to return to the path of economic union. This appeared at the time to be a retrograde step. The "revival of Europe", decided upon at the Messina Conference in June 1955 - at the initiative of the Italian government whose Foreign Minister I then had the honour to be - had two immediate economic objectives: the establishment of the European Economic Community and of the European Atomic Energy Community. As I remarked, this was only apparently a retrograde step. The originators of the two Communities had designed them as economic instruments, but in such a way as to leave the road open, in a not distant future, for a resumption of the march towards political unification. To this end, the Treaties signed in Rome, and to which the two new Communities

owe their existence, provided for institutional machinery that would serve not only as a means to weld these Communities and the European Coal and Steel Community into one vast Community, but also as the political driving force behind the movement towards European unification. As a result, the Communities, which at the time of their creation were primarily economic in scope and content, would have had to be gradually transformed into a single, organic and more highly developed economic and political Community. I should add that, in the eyes of its authors, this economic and political Community, whose boundaries coincided with those of ~~the E.C.S.C. countries or~~ countries "little Europe" would then have had to

expand until it embraced the entire area of free Europe. Moreover, the vision of a Europe solidly coherent and rapidly advancing along the path towards complete unification, was intimately associated with that of the establishment of ever closer, firmer and more fruitful ties between a united Europe and all the other countries of the Atlantic Community, foremost among them the United States of America.

The Messina and Rome programmes could be only partially implemented. The pluralistic forces to which I referred earlier continued to put up vigorous opposition to any effective progress in the political reconstruction of Europe. While progress towards economic unification has proceeded at a truly astonishing

rate, and has at times been regarded as little short of a miracle, the process of political unification has made no significant headway. It is, in fact, the institutional machinery - intended, as I remarked earlier, to stimulate progress towards political unification - that has fallen short of its goal.

No one working for European unification today has the slightest doubt that, in order to surmount the critical situation that has arisen, the essential thing is to concentrate attention on the political aspects of the Community, completing and improving the two basic organs of its directive machinery: the legislative and the executive.

Under the provisions of the Treaties, the European Parliament now consists of members

selected by the parliaments of each Member State. However, the Treaties regard such a system as provisional, since they entrust the same Assembly with the preparation of schemes to enable its members to be elected by direct universal suffrage in accordance with a procedure that is to be identical in all Member States.

The European Parliament was conceived as the heart that sustains the life and ensures the growth of the Community in conformity with democratic laws and customs. It is quite obvious, however, that so long as the present electoral system remains in force, the European Parliament can never exercise these functions. In order that it may become the true mouthpiece of the European

public conscience - to which the future of the ideal of unification is ultimately entrusted - nothing must be allowed to delay the introduction of direct universal suffrage. Although the European Parliament prepared a complete scheme for this purpose a long time ago, this is still waiting to be examined by the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

The fact that, five years after the Treaties came into force, we are still faced with problems whose technical solution presents no difficulty, clearly proves that the only obstacle is a political one. This is why we can, and should, insist that the real causes of the crises occurring in European development are to be found in a progressive weakening of

the will to create a Europe politically united by federal ties.

This will must be revived, stimulated and strengthened. But this can be done only if the peoples of Europe acquire the firmest conviction - such as characterized the initial stages of the process of European unification - that their Community interests should be placed at least on a par with their national interests. Until such a conviction becomes rooted in the minds of the majority of Europeans, not only will the future of a United Europe and of the Atlantic Community appear to us in a deceptive and uncertain light, but there will be an ever-present danger of the immense progress made in Europe towards economic unification being irrevocably

lost. The European Economic Community - known mainly in its partial aspect, the Common Market - could also turn out to be the legendary colossus with feet of clay.

It is useless and dangerous to ignore facts: the crisis precipitated early this year by the failure of the Brussels negotiations is a grave one. But we must fight on to prevent our fears from stifling our hopes. After all, we have many and excellent reasons to hope.

One of your countrymen, in a speech delivered in Pittsburg a few months ago, pointed out that when Ulysses steered his vessel between Scylla and Charybdis, he may well have had to travel only a few hundred yards; but it was precisely that short stretch

of water, gained at the cost of so much effort, that enabled him finally to reach Ithaca.

This is precisely where we stand today. The vessel of the European Community, like that of the Atlantic Community, is lashed by the fury of the waves; but it is riding the storm and remaining afloat. This alone gives us grounds for hope. So do the broad lines of American policy on Europe laid down by your President in his historic speech at Philadelphia in June 1962, which were clinched by the Trade Expansion Act and confirmed in the speeches made during the President's trip to Europe. Hope there is, too, in the activities - often untold, but always resolute and conceived in an enlightened spirit -

of many distinguished American and European statesmen who are imbued with the same faith in the ideal of unification, of a "strongly coherent Europe" - to use the phrase employed by President Kennedy in Frankfurt - and determined to devote themselves heart and soul to its fulfilment. Thus hope drives out fear, but its triumph calls for swift and vigorous political action - either through prompt implementation of the provisions of the Rome Treaties, by allowing the political seeds deliberately sown in them to attain full bloom, or by any other formula devised by human ingenuity.

What we need, therefore, are political solutions that will really help to speed up the creation of the unified political corpus

of Europe. Such a creation must be regarded as the prerequisite for a more decisive advance towards the final stage of the process of unification - the creation of the great Atlantic Community. I am convinced that, once the progress of European development resumes its true course, the disputes and controversies that have in recent years disturbed the relations of the Atlantic Community will also automatically subside.

But every political problem is first and foremost a spiritual problem. We must therefore ask ourselves whether, at the root of the recurrent crises that have hampered Western unification on both sides of the Atlantic, there may not perhaps lie a weakening of our spiritual awareness, a lack of faith in the

lofty values created by Western civilization in its magnificent flowering over the centuries.

~~After all, what does the Atlantic~~ Community amount to if we do not possess, or do not cultivate, the spirit that animates it? Obviously, to be worthy of the name of a citizen of the Atlantic Alliance, it is not enough to belong to that portion of geographic space which we have seen fit to qualify by the ~~adjective "Atlantic"~~

The Atlantic civilization - of which both the Americans and Europeans are at once the heirs and custodians - represents the richest organic synthesis yet achieved by a historic people on whom has been bequeathed the legacy of the Greeks and Romans, and who

are constantly vitalized and purified by Christianity. The historical dynamism of Western civilization has undergone a similar phenomenon to that which befell the Greek spirit which, transplanted beyond the seas far from its native soil, was cleansed and revitalized, and rendered capable of even greater and more noteworthy achievements. In our own times, Western civilization has in part been transferred to the American shores of the Atlantic where, in its development, it has achieved a marvellous synthesis of the old and the new. This it is that we defend today. But we cannot defend it as a possession if we do not first defend it as the source and standard of our actions.

The Atlantic civilization rests on a number of moral imperatives and manifests itself in a particular social and political way of life. ~~One of the main pillars of this way of life is~~ the peoples' right of self-determination. Another is the duty of the State to defend, and not to suppress, the freedom of the individual. Yet another is that everyone should be given the opportunity to engage in responsible activity and to develop the ~~talents with which God has endowed him~~. This way of life of ours is opposed by another, totally different in nature, which is bent upon destroying it. As long as this struggle endures - and it now involves the entire world - and whatever the nature and significance

of existing and future political agreements between West and East, it will remain the duty of each one of us who wishes to preserve the way of life of his fathers and to pass it on, enriched, to his children and his children's children, not only to remain constantly alert, but to revive in himself, day by day, an awareness of the ideals of the Community to which he belongs.

~~The basis of our policies on both sides~~ of the Atlantic must be sought in the spiritual, moral and intellectual forces of our peoples, in their willingness to ponder more and more deeply on the ideals underlying their common way of life and to translate them more effectively into human and social realities. ~~In making all this possible, an important~~

~~national strongholds we erect a stronghold of the same kind, but larger in size~~.

The spirit which brought about the European Community ~~(as I already said)~~ was no other than that. The president of the Commission of the European Economic Community, Professor Walter Hallstein, gave a clear interpretation of this spirit a few months ago when he stated that "the two aspects of our nature, the fact that we are bound by an internal cohesion and are open to the world and turn to the world, are inseparable from one another". It is also worth recalling the statement made by the leader of the British Labour Party, when he spoke in this Hall last spring. He said that the aim of his

party was "an Atlantic community, larger than the Atlantic".

The objects which you and I must endeavour to attain are therefore to proceed from a Little Europe to a large united Europe and then to proceed from a large united Europe to the Atlantic Community.

Free America and free Europe have the same past and are destined to advance united towards the same future. We, Europeans, do not forget, indeed cannot forget, that the European progress towards unity is being achieved under the protective shield of the Atlantic Alliance. The European historian, after having identified the extreme moment in the crisis of the European spirit, will be unable not to record and not to show

when describing the act of determination as a result of which the Atlantic Alliance was born, the beginning of the active resistance to the scepticism and weariness of the peoples of Europe. ~~The political and~~ military potential of the Alliance is easily recognizable and is generally recognized, but it is transcended by the moral and spiritual ~~potential~~.

May I be allowed to add straightaway that the Alliance cannot escape the law of motion. When it was formed and began to produce results, the situation in Europe and in the world was quite different from what it is now. Europe was then in ruins: destroyed industries, abandoned fields, houses reduced

to rubble. Today it is a scene of remarkable activity; it is once again the large and pleasant garden, so dear to the poets. In those days, in addition to the persisting anxiety due to a conflict that had just ended, there was also anxiety over the tension in the international situation, fraught with grave dangers. Today, however, in a sky which remains overcast as a result of so many years of leaden clouds, we can see a gleam through which, to quote your President, "a ray of hope is beginning to pass". It is true that it is only a ray but this ray follows a long night, made longer still by the fear that, as in Macbeth's night, it would not see the light of day.

In such a different political and historical situation it is impossible for the Atlantic Alliance not to adapt itself to the changed circumstances.

~~I feel I should make it clear that the~~ best Europeans reject as entirely absurd the idea of a neutral Europe or a "third force" Europe which assigns to itself the duty of an arbiter between the United States and Russia. Such an idea can only be conceived either by the political forces which are endeavouring to unhinge Europe from the inside, since they have not succeeded in unhinging it from the outside, or by the other political forces, in essence not very ~~different from the former, which are entirely~~

~~steeped in the myths of the past and would~~ like the pointers of the clock of history to stop at the most favourable time to the destiny of their country.

However, it cannot be said that the aspiration of Europe is unfounded or unjust, since it is at the present historical moment so revitalized and strengthened materially and spiritually that it can assume wider responsibilities within the framework ~~of the Atlantic Alliance~~.

I am convinced that inasmuch as America and Europe are capable of ensuring a stable association between themselves, such as represented by the Atlantic Community, the present controversies over the Alliance will

gradually dwindle away and Europe will be progressively invested with the responsibilities to which she is entitled by virtue of her contribution to the common cause.

The Atlantic Alliance is an institution destined to develop and grow on itself, but it is not a contingent institution. It represents the first stage of a large and single historical process which, as I recalled, comes from the past and tends towards the progressive political and economic union of the peoples of free Europe and of the free West. It is an historical process which is bound to embrace a large part of mankind, coming from different walks of life but drawing its inspiration from the

same moral forces and ideals and from the same feelings of solidarity and brotherhood. What has also been called the "grand design" of the Atlantic Community is not the result of a cold political device, but represents a natural development in the course of the whole history of Europe and the Atlantic West.

The Atlantic Community does not unite extrinsically Europe to America and America to Europe, but derives from the organic unity of both, and both are destined to go beyond their original limits. ~~From the~~ Atlantic Community Europe derives the stimulus she must have if the fertile seeds ~~that have lain dormant through her age-old~~

~~history are ever to flower, drawing her~~ inspiration from that part of herself on the Western shore of the Atlantic that could develop more freely and vigorously on a soil unencumbered by a surfeit of traditions. America, in her turn, re-establishes contact with roots that were once the source of her ~~development.~~

In the tragic conditions of two wars, America and Europe have recovered and recognized their intimate, essential oneness. United in ~~agonizing~~ painful and decisive trials, they have become aware of the dynamic and determining factors that are at the basis of their way of life. ~~This encounter has hereforth become for each partner a lively and inexhaustible source of inspiration.~~

Our prime task is to continue to work together for our mutual well-being and interest, for the well-being and interests of all the free peoples of the West and for the well-being and interests of the peoples of the THIRD WORLD, who closely follow developments in our field and use them as a guide to formulate their own policies. This is why there are no American problems in which Europeans should not take an interest, and no European problems in which Americans should not take an interest. New links must constantly be established to weld even more closely between them the opposite and always closer banks of the Atlantic in view of the final goal, ~~clearly referred to by your~~

~~President in his historical speech delivered in Philadelphia in July 1962~~, consisting precisely in the permanent association of the peoples of the two continents, in which, as President Kennedy pointed out, it is the only hope of creating a world of full legality and free choice from which wars and servitude will be banned.

We must continue to advance, with growing solidarity, towards this luminous aim, towards the safe harbour of the Atlantic Community. There seems to me to be no other choice. Europe cannot go back on the road of united development, except by going through the hard experience of the immediate post-war period. America can no longer stop on the road of her responsibilities

unless she abdicates the function she has been ascribed by history.

The new avenues which we have discovered and which we are beginning to cross, are not easy to follow. In fact, they will become even more difficult to follow in our progress. At times we shall have to stop and we will stop, but with the intention to resume our advance with new energy. It has already happened, and it will happen again, that Europe and America may not be able to agree. But they will succeed in finding suitable words and resuming the dialogue with full identity of thought and action.

The roads which lead to the summit are never easy. But they are those which can

bring us nearer to God, who intends that
man should conquer by sacrifice and by pain
the good things which He has given to them.

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Unification of Europe (1
and Atlantic Community

Ladies and Gentlemen,

~~In addressing this distinguished audience,~~ I should like first of all to discharge the pleasant duty of thanking the Council on Foreign Relations for their kind invitation which I was glad and deeply honoured to be able to accept.

My presence among you, as president of the European Parliament, coincides with a moment of international life crossed, both on the surface and in depth, by new forces that are tending to modify the balance between nations on which it had been based ~~up to now~~, that is during the period of anxiety and dangers ~~/ but also rich in high aims and intensive creative energies /~~ following the upheaval of World War II.

It is obvious that this fluid situation is reflected in particular on the relations between Europe and the United States of America.

I think I would meet your wishes in outlining in the course of this ~~short~~ talk the present state of affairs in the European Community and the prospects of development such as they appear to those who observe them, as I do, from that special vantage point which is the European Parliament.

~~As you undoubtedly know, the present~~ situation of the Community is far from rosy. I am convinced, however, that it should neither be excessively dramatized nor ~~underestimated. Nevertheless, it is quite~~

~~solidarity between all who live and work in~~ it. This, in my view, is a problem that calls for a supreme common effort on our part, and ~~that involves our common responsibility.~~

You are as aware as I am - indeed more - of the work that has been done in the postwar years, on both sides of the Atlantic, with a view to achieving the highest degree of unity between the free peoples of our two continents.

It has become the custom to regard integration ~~Organisation~~ at the European level and at the larger Atlantic level as two distinct processes. But in reality, when we probe deeper into the question, and pause to reflect on the values and ideals that underlie each of these apparently separate processes, ~~and that serve to guide their course, and on their common~~

~~coal~~ we find them merging into a single process which, as has been aptly remarked, "is not so much the result of certain political factors as mainly the outcome of a complex, but at the same time consistent, historical development". This is why I am convinced that Americans and Europeans alike must reject as equally false two theories that have been put forward: the first, that the integration of Europe would of itself involve the dissolution of the Atlantic Alliance or at least convert Europe into a "third force" that would either be neutral or act as referee between the main protagonists on the world stage - the United States and the Soviet Union; the second, that the Atlantic Alliance is purely

and simply an instrument of traditional defence policy, and the European Community the outcome of measures dictated by contingent economic and political exigencies and, in any case, of interest only within the boundaries of Europe.

The opposite is the truth. The Atlantic Alliance and European unification are ~~neither mutually exclusive nor competitive, but~~ two different aspects and moments of a single political and economic process, whose aim is to usher in a new and happier era in the lives of all the peoples of the free world. The problems of the Atlantic and European Communities should therefore be approached, compared and resolved from a global standpoint in the light of the

same broad, guiding principles. Moreover, just as the European peoples must not regard the problems of the Atlantic Community as being no affair of theirs, so the Atlantic peoples must not regard the problems of European unification as being of no concern to them. The integration of Europe is as essential to Atlantic integration as the part is to the whole. This is borne out by the fact that, up till now, every step forward, every crisis, in the process of unification on one side of the Atlantic, has been accompanied by a similar phenomenon on the other. Even recently, the crisis in European unification precipitated by the failure last January of the Brussels negotiations for the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market

was reflected in a slowing down in measures aimed at the consolidation and improvement of Atlantic solidarity.

If, therefore, the present crisis in European unification is to be overcome, efforts must also be made to overcome the crises encountered in the integration process in the Atlantic area.

What practical steps, then, should be taken? This, as I have already said, is a matter that concerns everyone of us. Let us go back for a moment to the days in which Europe, having only recently emerged from the depths into which the war had plunged it, was taking its first tentative steps towards unification. At that time, it was obvious

to the more farsighted among Europeans that unification would be impossible unless the individual countries, with a view to unity and harmonious co-existence, made a real and sustained effort to subordinate national interests to the permanent overall needs of the new European society they intended to establish in common. Throughout its history - a history fraught with struggles and divisions - Europe had shown an astonishing dynamism that had made it the moral centre of the world. However, in the situation it had inherited from two savage wars, these struggles and divisions no longer represented a source of energy and progress, but a mortal peril. It was vital that the peril should be averted. To achieve this, it was imperative

to remove the causes underlying this constant bickering and strife. One of these was the dissension that had poisoned Franco-German relations for half a century. ~~The~~ The long-standing breach was finally healed in 1952 with the creation and rapid development of the Coal and Steel Community, which at the same time enabled Germany, through the integration of the two main pillars of the economy - coal and steel - to re-enter the field of European politics.

Nevertheless, the factors making for cleavage and disruption which the European Coal and Steel Community had been able to overcome - thanks largely to the imagination and enthusiasm of its creators - were coming gradually to the forefront as the ~~traditional~~

pluralistic forces of the old Europe emerged from the shadows of defeat. The resistance offered by these ~~age-old~~ traditional forces shattered the bold and liberal project for the creation of a European Defence Community linked to a European Political Community, which, in one leap, would have given Europe, not a preliminary, barely sketched-in plan for unification, but a fuller, more complete form of economic and political integration characterized by the existence of a supreme organ of decision elected by the same European peoples but exercizing authority over one and all.

The failure to establish the European Defence Community left the statesmen responsible for Europe's destiny with no

choice but to return to the path of economic union. This appeared at the time to be a retrograde step. The "revival of Europe", decided upon at the Messina Conference in June 1955 - at the initiative of the Italian government whose Foreign Minister I then had the honour to be - had two immediate economic objectives: the establishment of the European Economic Community and of the European Atomic Energy Community. As I remarked, this was only apparently a retrograde step. The originators of the two Communities had designed them as economic instruments, but in such a way as to leave the road open, in a not distant future, for a resumption of the march towards political unification. To this end, the Treaties signed in Rome, and to which the two new Communities

owe their existence, provided for institutional machinery that would serve not only as a means to weld these Communities and the European Coal and Steel Community into one vast Community, but also as the political driving force behind the movement towards European unification. As a result, the Communities, which at the time of their creation were primarily economic in scope and content, would have had to be gradually transformed into a single, organic and more highly developed economic and political Community. I should add that, in the eyes of its authors, this economic and political Community, whose boundaries coincided with those of ~~the~~ countries "little Europe" - would then have had to

expand until it embraced the entire area of free Europe. Moreover, the vision of a Europe solidly coherent and rapidly advancing along the path towards complete unification, was intimately associated with that of the establishment of ever closer, firmer and more fruitful ties between united Europe and all the other countries of the Atlantic Community, foremost among them the United States of America.

The Messina and Rome programmes could be only partially implemented. The pluralistic forces to which I referred earlier continued to put up vigorous opposition to any effective progress in the political reconstruction of Europe. While progress towards economic unification has proceeded at a truly astonishing

rate, and has at times been regarded as little short of a miracle, the process of political unification has made no significant headway. It is, in fact, the institutional machinery - intended, as I remarked earlier, to stimulate progress towards political unification - that has fallen short of its goal.

No one working for European unification today has the slightest doubt that, in order to surmount the critical situation that has arisen, the essential thing is to concentrate attention on the political aspects of the Community, completing and improving the two basic organs of its directive machinery: the legislative and the executive.

Under the provisions of the Treaties, the European Parliament now consists of members

selected by the parliaments of each Member State. However, the Treaties regard such a system as provisional, since they entrust the same Assembly with the preparation of schemes to enable its members to be elected by direct universal suffrage in accordance with a procedure that is to be identical in all Member States.

The European Parliament was conceived as the heart that sustains the life and ensures the growth of the Community in conformity with democratic laws and customs. It is quite obvious, however, that so long as the present electoral system remains in force, the European Parliament can never exercise these functions. In order that it may become the true mouthpiece of the European

public conscience - to which the future of the ideal of unification is ultimately entrusted - nothing must be allowed to delay the introduction of direct universal suffrage. Although the European Parliament prepared a complete scheme for this purpose a long time ago, this is still waiting to be examined by the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

The fact that, five years after the Treaties came into force, we are still faced with problems whose technical solution presents no difficulty, clearly proves that the only obstacle is a political one. This is why we can, and should, insist that the real causes of the crises occurring in European development are to be found in a progressive weakening of

the will to create a Europe politically united by federal ties.

This will must be revived, stimulated and strengthened. But this can be done only if the peoples of Europe acquire the firmest conviction - such as characterized the initial stages of the process of European unification - that their Community interests should be placed at least on a par with their national interests. Until such a conviction becomes rooted in the minds of the majority of Europeans, not only will the future of a United Europe and of the Atlantic Community appear to us in a deceptive and uncertain light, but there will be an ever-present danger of the immense progress made in Europe towards economic unification being irrevocably

lost. The European Economic Community - known mainly in its partial aspect, the Common Market - could also turn out to be the legendary colossus with feet of clay.

It is useless and dangerous to ignore facts: the crisis precipitated early this year by the failure of the Brussels negotiations is a grave one. But we must fight on to prevent our fears from stifling our hopes. After all, we have many and excellent reasons to hope.

One of your countrymen, in a speech delivered in Pittsburg a few months ago, pointed out that when Ulysses steered his vessel between Scylla and Charybdis, he may well have had to travel only a few hundred yards; but it was precisely that short stretch

of water, gained at the cost of so much effort, that enabled him finally to reach Ithaca.

This is precisely where we stand today. The vessel of the European Community, like that of the Atlantic Community, is lashed by the fury of the waves; but it is riding the storm and remaining afloat. This alone gives us grounds for hope. So do the broad lines of American policy on Europe laid down by your President in his historic speech at Philadelphia in June 1962, which were clinched by the Trade Expansion Act and confirmed in the speeches made during the President's trip to Europe. Hope there is, too, in the activities - often untold, but always resolute and conceived in an enlightened spirit -

of many distinguished American and European statesmen who are imbued with the same faith in the ideal of unification, of a "strongly coherent Europe" - to use the phrase employed by President Kennedy in Frankfurt - and determined to devote themselves heart and soul to its fulfilment. Thus hope drives out fear, but its triumph calls for swift and vigorous political action - either through prompt implementation of the provisions of the Rome Treaties, by allowing the political seeds deliberately sown in them to attain full bloom, or by any other formula devised by human ingenuity.

What we need, therefore, are political solutions that will really help to speed up the creation of the unified political corpus

of Europe. Such a creation must be regarded as the prerequisite for a more decisive advance towards the final stage of the process of unification - the creation of the great Atlantic Community. I am convinced that, once the progress of European development resumes its true course, the disputes and controversies that have in recent years disturbed the relations of the Atlantic Community will also automatically subside.

But every political problem is first and foremost a spiritual problem. We must therefore ask ourselves whether, at the root of the recurrent crises that have hampered Western unification on both sides of the Atlantic, there may not perhaps lie a weakening of our spiritual awareness, a lack of faith in the

lofty values created by Western civilization in its magnificent flowering over the centuries.

~~After all, what does the Atlantic~~ Community amount to if we do not possess, or do not cultivate, the spirit that animates it? Obviously, to be worthy of the name of a citizen of the Atlantic Alliance, it is not enough to belong to that portion of geographic space which we have seen fit to qualify by the ~~adjective "Atlantic".~~

The Atlantic civilization - of which both the Americans and Europeans are at once the heirs and custodians - represents the richest organic synthesis yet achieved by a historic people on whom has been bequeathed the legacy of the Greeks and Romans, and who

are constantly vitalized and purified by Christianity. The historical dynamism of Western civilization has undergone a similar phenomenon to that which befell the Greek spirit which, transplanted beyond the seas far from its native soil, was cleansed and revitalized, and rendered capable of even greater and more noteworthy achievements. In our own times, Western civilization has in part been transferred to the American shores of the Atlantic where, in its development, it has achieved a marvellous synthesis of the old and the new. This it is that we defend today. But we cannot defend it as a possession if we do not first defend it as the source and standard of our actions.

The Atlantic civilization rests on a number of moral imperatives and manifests itself in a particular social and political way of life. ~~One of the main pillars of this way of life is~~ the peoples' right of self-determination. Another is the duty of the State to defend, and not to suppress, the freedom of the individual. Yet another is that everyone should be given the opportunity to engage in responsible activity and to develop the ~~talents with which God has endowed him~~. This way of life of ours is opposed by another, totally different in nature, which is bent upon destroying it. As long as this struggle endures - and it now involves the entire world - and whatever the nature and significance

of existing and future political agreements between West and East, it will remain the duty of each one of us who wishes to preserve the way of life of his fathers and to pass it on, enriched, to his children and his children's children, not only to remain constantly alert, but to revive in himself, day by day, an awareness of the ideals of the Community to which he belongs.

The basis of our policies on both sides of the Atlantic must be sought in the spiritual, moral and intellectual forces of our peoples, in their willingness to ponder more and more deeply on the ideals underlying their common way of life and to translate them more effectively into human and social realities. In making all this possible, an important,

~~national strongholds we erected a stronghold of the same kind, but larger in size.~~

The spirit which brought about the European Community ~~was I think, valid~~ was no other than that. The president of the Commission of the European Economic Community, Professor Walter Hallstein, gave a clear interpretation of this spirit a few months ago when he stated that "the two aspects of our nature, the fact that we are bound by an internal cohesion and are open to the world and turn to the world, are inseparable from one another". It is also worth recalling the statement made by the leader of the British Labour Party, when he spoke ~~in this Hall~~ here last spring. He said that the aim of his

party was "an Atlantic community, larger than the Atlantic".

The objects which you and we must endeavour to attain are therefore to proceed from a Little Europe to a large united Europe and then to proceed from a large united Europe to the Atlantic Community.

Free America and free Europe have the same past and are destined to advance united towards the same future. We, Europeans, do not forget, indeed cannot forget, that the European progress towards unity is being achieved under the protective shield of the Atlantic Alliance. The European historian, after having identified the extreme moment in the crisis of the European spirit, will be unable not to record and not to show

when describing the act of determination as a result of which the Atlantic Alliance was born, the beginning of the active resistance to the scepticism and weariness of the peoples of Europe. ~~The political and~~ military potential of the Alliance is easily recognizable and is generally recognized, but it is transcended by the moral and spiritual ~~potential.~~

May I be allowed to add straightaway that the Alliance cannot escape the law of action. When it was formed and began to produce results, the situation in Europe and in the world was quite different from what it is now. Europe was then in ruins: destroyed industries, abandoned fields, houses reduced

to rubble. Today it is a scene of remarkable activity; it is once again the large and pleasant garden, so dear to the poets. In those days, in addition to the persisting anxiety due to a conflict that had just ended, there was also anxiety over the tension in the international situation, fraught with grave dangers. Today, however, in a sky which remains overcast as a result of so many years of leaden clouds, we can see a gleam through which, to quote your President, "a ray of hope is beginning to pass". It is true that it is only a ray but this ray follows a long night, made longer still by the fear that, as in Macbeth's night, it would not see the light of day.

In such a different political and historical situation it is impossible for the Atlantic Alliance not to adapt itself to the changed circumstances.

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