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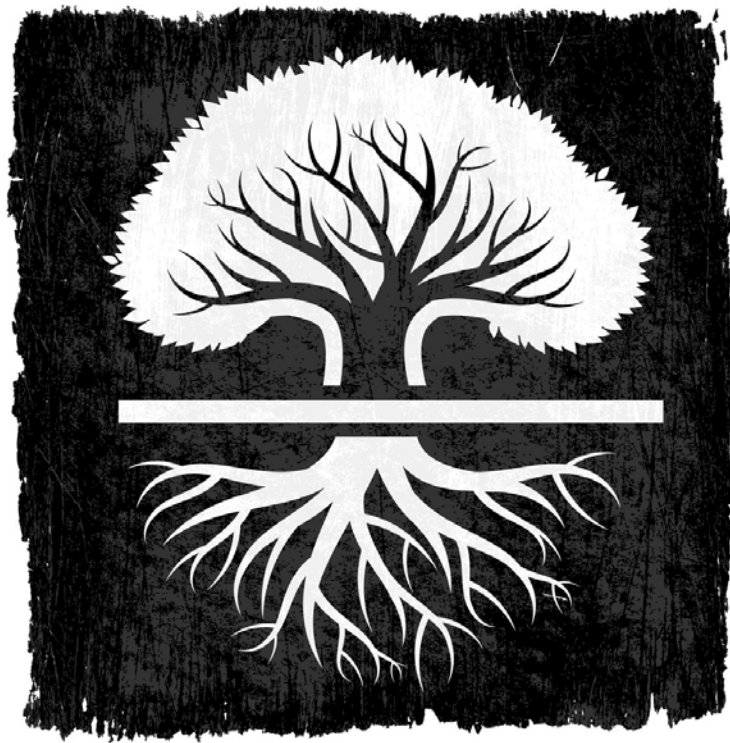


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Schuman's Europe

His frame of reference

Margriet Krijtenburg

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For the citizens of Europe

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Preface

How could an initiative *sui generis* as the European Union come about? Was it just a matter of the right people at the right place at the right time? After finishing my degree in European Studies at the University of Amsterdam I concluded that the answer was indeed that a happy coincidence of people, place and historical circumstances had brought into being this special project of European unification.

It was because of my eight year stay in India later on (1995 - 2003) and my fascination with Gandhi as Father of the Indian unification that I decided to have a closer look at the man who was called the ‘Father of Europe’¹ and who was one of the main founding fathers of the European unification, Robert Schuman. This began when I started working at the Academy of European Studies and Communication Management of The University of The Hague and had joined the lectureship on European Public Management. Together with lector Ben Hoetjes, the management team, several other colleagues and students from the Academy of European Studies I organized a ‘Europe Day’ with speakers and discussion workshops focused on three personalities who had advocated continental and universal unity based on human dignity: Gandhi, Schuman and John Paul II. These three men all demonstrated that an individual can change the course of history. This Europe Day was my introduction to Robert Schuman and generated this thesis you have before you. I gained a new and fascinating insight into this European unification project thanks to a conscientious and critical study of the intent and personality of this Father of Europe.

This work on Schuman and his preparation work for and crucial input in the Schuman Declaration could never have come

1. Schuman was unanimously declared ‘Father of Europe’ in European Parliament on 19 March 1957.

about without the inspirational discussions with and valuable comments of my supervisor Paul Cliteur, Professor of Jurisprudence at Leiden University. He encouraged and challenged me to illuminate Robert Schuman's way of thinking. His keen interest in the topic made writing the thesis even more pleasurable. The input of Frans Alting von Geusau, Professor of International Law at the University of Tilburg, was also a great contribution. Our talks were enlightening and his extensive knowledge of European integration has left a clear imprint on this thesis.

The encouraging, research oriented, friendly atmosphere and the facilities provided by Leiden University Campus The Hague have definitely influenced the way in which this work has come about. Belonging to the first group of PhD candidates of the Dual-PhD Programme, Campus The Hague, I was warmly welcomed by its director Adriaan in 't Groen and by Richard 't Hart. With interest they followed all my proceedings and gave valuable comments. I also want to thank Inge 't Hart of this Institute for checking my English and Pam de Groot for helping out with the layout. I cherish the friendships that arose with my fellow PhD students. We shared our findings, progress and possible setbacks.

Thanks to the archives amongst which the archives of *Maison de Robert Schuman* in Scy-Chazelles, I was able to find out a lot more about Schuman. The help of François Thull, Anne Flucklinger, Sebastien Horzinski, and others, all experts on Schuman, working at *Maison de Robert Schuman* has been extremely valuable. The interviews with the people of Scy-Chazelles who personally knew Schuman were a precious source of information as well. The conversations with Schuman-researcher and expert David Heilbron Price in Brussels provided equally enlightening insights.

The Institute and persons that made all this possible for me and to which and whom I am very thankful is the University of The Hague, its former lector Ben Hoetjes and previous director Pim Breebaart who encouraged me to heed the call to write a thesis on the origins of the European Union. This idea was supported by Ineke van der Meule, director PhD candidates and lectureships. I was given the time to write. The trips that I was facilitated to make to Scy-Chazelles to visit the House of Robert Schuman so as to examine his papers in the archives will always be remembered and so will the presentation I was asked to give, in French, in Schuman's house in October 2010. I am also very grateful for the approval and positive support of Berry Minkman, the director of the Academy European Studies and Communication Management, where I teach. He too allowed me one day off to dedicate myself to writing the thesis instead of teaching.

And of course, without my husband, René Guldenmund, and his enormous support and knowledge of the history of the EU, and my family, friends, colleagues and experts on European issues I would never have enjoyed writing the thesis as much as I have done. The main source of inspiration has however always been the driving force of Robert Schuman himself and the unexpected perspectives on European unification it brought forth.

*We are all instruments, however imperfect, of a Providence who uses them to accomplish grand designs which surpass us. This certainty obliges us to a great deal of modesty but also confers on us a serenity that our own personal experiences would not justify if we consider them from a purely human point of view.*²

Robert Schuman

*Such a spirit is thus needed, which means that we need to be aware of our specifically European common patrimony and we need to have the will to safeguard and develop it.*³

Robert Schuman

2. Robert Schuman wrote these lines in a letter (1942) to Robert Rochefort, colleague and biographer, See: François Roth, *Robert Schuman* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), 562.

3. Robert Schuman, "L'Europe est une Communauté Spirituelle et culturelle," In *L'Annuaire Européen I / The European Yearbook I* (1955), 19.



Robert Schuman (1886 – 1963)⁴

4. Archives de la *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles.

Introduction

Schuman launched the first peaceful revolution in Europe after the Second World War with the Schuman Declaration in 1950. He procured the first steps of effective solidarity among nations that were needed to move towards the desired European unification. He was even called “the leader for our European conscience and the man who will always be the one who showed us the way from which we should never part.”⁵

The Schuman Declaration changed Europe profoundly, and has guaranteed peace and security among the member states of the European Union for more than sixty years. Needless to say, Schuman was not the only founding father of the European Union and without Monnet, Adenauer, De Gasperi and others the unification would not have come about. But, as this thesis will show, Schuman, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France at the time, prepared the ground for a European community with a supranational structure. He also took the responsibility upon himself to launch the Declaration despite strong opposition. The consequences of this action are still strongly felt today, but his thoughts, his preparatory work and his crucial input in the Declaration are less well known.

Monnet is commonly seen as the real architect of the Schuman Plan. Handbooks on the history of Europe suggest the Plan was called after Schuman only because he happened to be the person who accepted and launched the Declaration as French Minister of Foreign Affairs. In his well-known work on European integration *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951* Alan Milward stated,

5. Paul de Groote, in *Ter nagedachtenis aan Robert Schuman*, discourses held on 16 September during an exceptional meeting of the European Parliament in remembrance of Robert Schuman, honorary president of the European Parliament, 1963, 20.

“The Schuman Plan was invented to safeguard the Monnet Plan”.⁶ Tony Judt commented, “Monnet proposed to France’s Foreign Minister what became known to history as the Schuman Plan”.⁷

However, this thesis will provide new insights into the foundation of European unification as it will argue that Schuman should be considered the principal architect of the Schuman Declaration because of his crucial preparatory work and input. This means that his thoughts and timeless guidelines for successful European integration acquire another dimension and deserve serious consideration as a frame of reference for European unification policies. Furthermore, attributing Schuman his rightful role involves placing the Schuman Declaration, which at first sight seems to be a document concerning purely economic matters, in its full and proper context and focus on the fundamental principles, the *raison d’être* of European unification.⁸

In order to properly understand Schuman’s crucial input in the Declaration and to have a better knowledge of his vision on European unification it is vital to have a clear picture of Schuman himself: his personality, background, intellectual context and political circumstances. For this reason this thesis contains a large biographical element.

6. Alan S. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, (London: Methuen & Co.Ltd, 1984), 395.

7. Tony Judt, *Postwar, A History of Europe since 1945*, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005), 156.

8. This thesis has a multidisciplinary approach and goes beyond the fields of politics, economics, cultural philosophy, theology, law and even European Studies, making it challenging to determine to which field the topic belongs. This is an intellectual biography of Robert Schuman and focuses on Schuman’s thoughts on European unification. The fact that it is concerned with all these fields in general and none in particular also implies that I am not an expert in all of those fields. I invite experts to make comments in which the outcome of this research is taken as a starting point for further study in their specializations with a specific focus on Europe. Then the outcome of this research will provide a ‘Schuman frame of reference’ for the policies of the European Union and its member states.

Very little literature in English is available about Schuman, with the exception of Alan P. Fimister's *Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe*. The five French Schuman biographers give surprisingly similar impressions of Schuman's personality but each of them portrays Schuman from a different point of view. Christian Pennera gives a comprehensive overview of Schuman's youth and his first five years as a politician in the French National Assembly. François Roth describes Schuman as a man from, and deeply connected with, Alsace-Lorraine, a border region between France, Luxembourg and Germany. René Lejeune focuses on the role the Catholic faith played in all areas of Schuman's life. Raymond Poidevin portrays Schuman as a man of state and Victor Rochefort puts Schuman primarily in a historical context. This thesis unites all these biographical perspectives and combines them with new information from the recently opened Archives of *Maison de Robert Schuman*. This thesis also makes use of other materials from the *Départements de la Moselle*⁹, and the library of the European Commission in Brussels.

Into this broad context Schuman's own words, as published in his book *Pour l'Europe*, are placed. In this work he set forth his essential thoughts, writings, observations and records the key elements of his speeches and conferences on European unification during his entire political career.¹⁰

The first chapter will focus on Schuman as a man from the contested Franco-German border region and on Schuman as a man of

9. The Archives of Maison de Robert Schuman (opened in 2007) are in Scy-Chazelles, the village and house close to Metz where Schuman spent most of his life and where he passed away. The archives of the *Départements de la Moselle* are in Metz.

10. Robert Schuman, *Pour l'Europe* (Geneva: Les Éditions Nagel, 2005), 18. Robert Schuman, *For Europe*, (Geneva: Les Éditions Nagel, 2010) 10-11. Raymond Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 125.

faith, two aspects that contribute to the interpretation that he was a highly suitable person to work towards European unification, and that he left a profound mark on the Schuman Declaration once he obtained the French Ministerial post of Foreign Affairs. The first chapter will also provide insight into the personal reasons for why his essential contribution to the Schuman Plan is often ignored.

The second chapter focuses on Schuman's thoughts on Europe and the world before the Schuman Declaration (1950). Schuman's thoughts will be put in the context of several contemporary writers, philosophers and of Pope Pius XII, who had similar ideals. Their ideas are included not only to assess the similarities and differences with those of Schuman, but also to see in what way Schuman's thoughts were unique and to give an idea of the thinking on European integration that surrounded him and in which his own ideas developed. This chapter shows not only that the time was ripe for European integration, but also that the way in which this should take place had not yet reached the level of government. It makes clear as well that Schuman's ideas fit in well in this world of thought on European integration and that his convictions could find their echo on a governmental level in what would become the Schuman Declaration.

The third chapter will start off with observations made in renowned handbooks on European history from 1945 onwards that mention Monnet as the main architect of the Schuman Declaration and Schuman's limited role as the man who merely launched the Schuman Plan. These assumptions on Schuman's negligible role in the Schuman Declaration will have already been contradicted by some of the facts provided in the first two chapters and will be so even more in chapter three when it focuses on Schuman's political career and circumstances and their connection with the history of and impact on the Schuman Declaration. The latter contributes equally to the supposition that

Schuman was the pre-eminent person to put his ideas on European unification into effect in the Schuman Declaration. This third chapter will also refer to parts of Monnet's *Memoires* that deal with the history around the Schuman Declaration. The chapter will further elaborate on Schuman's Europe, his leading thoughts and deduce and consider Schuman's guidelines or principles for European integration which are: the principle of effective solidarity, the principle of supranationality, the principle that a unified Europe needs a moral order and the principle that Europe had its roots in its common cultural and spiritual heritage. These principles or guidelines are a red thread through all his policies and thoughts and therefore also through his concepts of man, of European citizenship, of the foundation of unification, of democracy in general and of Europe as master of its own destiny.

Schuman's driving force was to bring about Franco-German reconciliation and the integration of Germany within a European framework to solve the 'German question' and make war impossible among European states. This driving force was similarly a product of his firm desire to be an instrument of Providence. Regarding European unification this meant that Schuman wanted to achieve a political union at the service of the citizen through economic cooperation and integration that was consistent with the moral order proper to Christianity¹¹ and that would encourage Christian brotherhood. This

11. The term 'Christianity' is used to refer to the world wide community of all Christians until the start of the Reformation. Catholicism and Protestantism share the first fifteen centuries of history under this terminology of Christianity. Christianity was until then equal to Catholicism. For studies that focus on the different kinds of Christian denominations, it is essential to make the distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism and the different kinds of Protestantism, and between Orthodox and Roman Catholicism. This research, however, is not concerned with those distinctions, as they are not relevant to Schuman's thoughts and his frame of reference. He stressed the European heritage including the social doctrine of the Catholic Church that sheds a moral light on social, political, economic and other issues that can be applied to everyone disregarding his or her

also implied that the European unification he envisioned did not limit itself to the continent of Europe, but went beyond:

More than ever continents and populations are dependent on each other regarding production as well as the trade in goods, the exchange of scientific research and the indispensable trade in manpower and the means of production. Political economy has to become a global one.¹²

The consequence of this interdependence is that it is impossible to remain indifferent to the fortunate or unfortunate lot of a people. For a European with the capacity to think it is no longer possible to rejoice spitefully over his neighbour's misfortune; everyone is united for better or for worse in a common destiny.¹³

Schuman's region, faith and personality, and the intellectual climate and political circumstances of the time contributed highly to his vision on European unification. His thoughts on supranationality and effective solidarity were the foundation of the Schuman Declaration, because of which he can be considered its principal architect and because of which his frame of reference merits serious attention.

belief. This social doctrine implies a morality that mirrors itself in Christ and his doctrine. I, therefore, prefer the term Christianity to Catholicity as the latter might indicate a separation between Catholics and Protestants which is not relevant for the present thesis. See Martin Rhonheimer, *Christentum und säkularer Staat*, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2012), 19. See also note 180 of this thesis.

12. Schuman, *For Europe*, 31. The original French version of *Pour l'Europe* will be provided as well, as they include language subtleties that translations cannot fully express. "Les continents et les peuples dépendent plus que jamais les uns des autres, tant pour la production des biens que pour leur débit, tant pour l'échange des résultats de la recherche scientifique que pour celui de main-d'œuvre indispensable et des moyens de production. L'économie politique devient inévitablement une économie mondiale." Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 41.

13. Schuman, *For Europe*, 31-32. "Cette interdépendance a pour conséquence que le sort heureux ou malheureux d'un peuple ne peut laisser les autres indifférents. Pour un Européen qui réfléchit, il n'est plus possible de se réjouir avec une malice machiavélique de l'infortune du voisin ; tous sont unis pour le meilleur et pour le pire dans une commune destinée." Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 41.

CHAPTER ONE

Robert Schuman: The Man

Robert Schuman (1886–1963), the ‘Father of Europe’, became a world-famous French politician because of the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950, which gave birth to the European Union of today. Together with Jean Monnet (1888–1979), Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967) and Alcide de Gasperi (1881–1954) he uniquely shaped the European unification process. It was and is unique in history because it entailed a partial surrender of national sovereignty to a common European institution, something that had not happened before in the European history of nations.

Schuman was a man of Catholic faith from the contested border region of Lorraine. He turned out to be the right man at the right place at the right time after the Second World War to launch the Declaration that led to the European unification we know today. This chapter will explore Schuman’s personal, regional and spiritual background in order to show that those circumstances made him an especially suitable candidate to work towards European unification. This will further help to shed light on his impact on history and his crucial role in the creation of the Schuman Declaration.

1.1 A Man of Contested Franco-German Border Region

The bitter lessons of history have taught me as one who has lived on a border to distrust hasty improvisations and over-ambitious projects. But, I also learned that if an objective, a well thought over opinion based on the reality of facts and on man’s higher interest, leads us to new or even revolutionary initiatives, it is important for us to stick to them and to

*persevere even if they go against established customs, age-old antagonism and ancient routines.*¹⁴

Robert Schuman

The quote above gives already an indication of the kind of man Schuman was and of the possible influence on his life of having lived in a turbulent border region. It also indicates that he is not afraid to go after a well thought through objective that can lead to revolutionary initiatives, although these go against the grain, if this does not go against the reality of facts and man's higher interest.

This subchapter starts off with a closer look at Schuman's life in Luxembourg and in the turbulent Franco-German border region to demonstrate that this most likely contributed to him being in favour of European integration and to him playing a crucial role in the architecture of the Schuman Declaration.

Schuman was born with the name Jean-Baptiste Nicholas Robert Schuman in Clausen, a suburb of the city of Luxembourg on 29 June 1886. His father, Jean-Pierre Schuman (1837–1900), was from Lorraine and French by birth. Lorraine, however, became German territory after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71 and his father was forced to change his nationality from French to German. He was and remained, however, primarily a citizen of Lorraine. Schuman's mother, Eugénie Duren (1864–1911), was from Luxembourg. She changed her nationality to German after her marriage to Jean-Pierre Schuman.

14. Schuman, *For Europe*, 12. "Les dures leçons de l'histoire ont appris à l'homme de la frontière que je suis à se méfier des improvisations hâtives, des projets trop ambitieux, mais elles m'ont appris également que lorsqu'un jugement objectif, mûrement réfléchi, basé sur la réalité des faits et l'intérêt supérieur des hommes, nous conduit à des initiatives nouvelles, voire révolutionnaires, il importe - même si elles heurtent les coutumes établies, les antagonismes séculaires et les routines anciennes- de nous y tenir fermement et de persévérer." Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 19. Schuman's observation needs to be placed in its context and interpreted from his Christian perspective.

Robert Schuman was thus born a German citizen. He was an only child. He grew up in a cultural environment dominated by Luxembourg. Luxembourg experienced strong influence from both Germany and France, and because of this Schuman became familiar with the mingling of different national mentalities with a common European cultural heritage. He was educated trilingually. He learned to speak Luxembourgish, French and German:

[Schuman] lives in an environment where the Roman and Germanic culture are distinguished from each other, fight each other, ignore each other, but where they also encounter each other, come together and enrich each other. He is one of those who know to unite them and to take the best of each.¹⁵

His familiarity with different cultures and languages turned out to be an important asset to his future career and made that he himself experienced what can be called a European integration on a miniature scale. After secondary school in the city of Luxembourg, he decided to study law in Germany. He obtained his doctorate *summa cum laude* in German civil law in Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, on 26 February 1910. He took his final qualifying exam for starting his own lawyer's office in the spring of 1912. He settled as a lawyer in Metz, the capital of Lorraine, where he soon became very successful. Luxembourg, Germany and the region of Alsace-Lorraine, which was returned to France after the First World War, thus played an important part in Schuman's education. He became familiar with the interests and problems of these countries and learned to appreciate their differences and similarities.

15. My translation from the original French text. From here on indicated as (mt). François Roth, *Robert Schuman: du Lorrain des frontières au père de L'Europe*, (Paris: Fayard, 2008), 10 "Il vit dans un espace où culture romane et culture germanique se distinguent, se combattent, s'ignorent, mais parfois aussi se rencontrent, s'associent et se fécondent. Il est de ceux qui savent les unir et en tirer le meilleur."

A significant part of his family lived in Lorraine, a region to which not only his father but also he himself felt very much attached. Lorraine played a fundamental role in all stages of his life. For example, he wished to do his *Arbitur* (the entrance exam that was needed before entering a German university) at the *Kaiserliches Gymnasium* in Metz and not in another German town.¹⁶ Another example is the fact that he settled as a lawyer in Metz after finishing his studies.

After the First World War, when Alsace and Lorraine returned to France and its people obtained the French nationality again, Schuman's attachment to Lorraine was made official as it were when he was chosen by the people of Lorraine as their representative in the French National Assembly for the district of Thionville. This required him to become familiar with French civil law and deepen his knowledge of the interests of these regions and of the central administration. He was ordered to align the interests of Alsace-Lorraine with those of the government. This was not an easy task, as the regions did not want to lose the social rights they had acquired during the German occupancy nor the religious instruction at school, which since the law of 1905 concerning the separation of State and Church was no longer permitted in the rest of France. Schuman, however, knew how to resolve the dilemma. In 1924 he came up with the 'Lex Schuman' that contented both parties. The 'Lex Schuman' was the compilation of various laws and revisions of existing laws on many different subjects. Schuman called upon the Concordat of

16. Rougé and Rougé, *Robert Schuman*, (Mesnil Saint-Loup: Ed. de livre ouvert, 1987), 16. Schuman said: (mt) "It's in my little Lorraine where my forefathers lived and worked for centuries where my interests are." ("C'est ma petite Lorraine où mes ancêtres ont vécu et travaillé au long des siècles. C'est là que sont mes intérêts.").

France with the Vatican of 1801 in order to retain the religious instruction in public schools.¹⁷

[The Lex Schuman] was called ‘the greatest act of legal unification attempted to then and, moreover, accomplished with the approval of the populations concerned.’ The key principles were later applied in the Convention of Human Rights and the European Community.¹⁸

Schuman never really parted from Lorraine. He bought a house in Scy-Chazelles, a village five kilometres from Metz, where he spent the latter half of his life and where he was buried in the little church opposite his house.¹⁹

It is clear that Schuman’s attachment to Lorraine had a strong influence on his concepts of regional and national identity, as he called for a protection of both during the process of European unification, as we will see when studying his thoughts about the latter in chapter three. The ‘Lex Schuman’ similarly indicates his willingness to strive towards the alignment of regional and national interests when necessary.

A closer look at the history of the region of Lorraine will help to appreciate and clarify Schuman’s input, audacity and conviction to launch the Schuman Declaration.

Lorraine is a territory that contains, as it were, most of Western European history of the past eleven centuries in a nutshell. It was, and still is, a much desired border region. Because of this, it experienced and suffered an intense history of both prosperity and war. Schuman was very much aware of this fact. The following gives an impression of the history of Lorraine so as to give some insight into its turbulent

17. Raymond Poidevin, *Robert Schuman, homme d’état 1886 - 1963*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1986), 79, 102.

18. David Heilbron Price, “Human Rights and the new definition of Europe”, *Schuman Project* www.schuman.info, Bron Communications 1999-2008.

19. Roth, 154.

past and into what its people experienced and to elucidate Schuman's eagerness to come to a solution of this seemingly neverending problem of conflict.

Lorraine is a region in the north-east of France that is exceptional not only for its beautiful natural environment and other tourist attractions, but especially because it is a border region between France, Luxembourg, Belgium and Germany and therefore unique in its rich and intense history. It has been a conflict area from the time it came into being after the Treaty of Verdun (843) until the Schuman Declaration of 1950. The Treaty of Verdun divided the Frankish territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which came into being after Charlemagne's crowning as Emperor by Pope Leo III in 800, into three parts among Charlemagne's three grandsons. The Eastern part went to Charles II the Bald, the Western part to Louis the German and the Mid Frankish territory, from the North Sea to Rome, to Lothar I. Lothar I became the new Emperor. His Mid Frankish territory was soon named the land of Lotharinga, after him. But his son, Lothar II died without an heir in 869 and sovereignty over the area was repeatedly contested. Family of the rulers of the Mid, Eastern and the Western Frankish territory started to claim sovereignty and parts of the territory until it was finally conquered in 925 by the German king Henry I (876–936), who created the duchy of Lotharinga. His son, Otto I, entrusted the duchy to his brother, Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who separated the duchy of Lotharinga into Upper and Lower Lorraine. It would be only Upper Lorraine that kept its name and became the region of Alsace-Lorraine we know today. The duchy was the object of constant strife and frequent wars because of its wealth, its natural resources of coal and iron ore and the importance of its bishoprics.

French domination goes back to the seventeenth century, when control of Lorraine became vital in the struggles between the French kings and the Habsburgs, who ruled the Holy Roman Empire since the fifteenth century.²⁰ The French had already taken the bishoprics Metz, Toul and Verdun in 1552 when fighting Charles V, the Emperor of the Habsburgs at that time. They only occupied Lorraine in its totality a century later, in 1641 during the Thirty Years War, but they had not conquered it for long. The French had to vacate the region after the Peace of Westphalia²¹ in 1648. France, however, did not give up its wish to conquer the region. It invaded Lorraine again and stayed for thirty years. It only retreated from Lorraine after the Nine Years' War it had started, and lost, in The Netherlands. That war ended with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. This treaty required France to leave Lorraine. It was only in 1737, after the War of Polish Succession, that the possibility for France to once again obtain Lorraine became feasible. Then it was part of an agreement between France, the Habsburgs and the Lorraine House of Vaudémont that Lorraine would belong to France after the region had been the property of Stanislaw Leszynski, the former king of Poland and father-in-law to king Louis XV of France. Leszynski, who had been supported by France in the War of Polish Succession so as to succeed on the Polish throne, had

20. The Habsburgs were preceded by the German kings from the first German king, Henry I, onwards.

21. See: Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 was a "general settlement ending the Thirty Years War. It marked the end of the Holy Roman Empire as an effective institution and inaugurated the modern European state system. (The Holy Roman Empire still continued but strongly weakened till 1806). The chief participants in the negotiations were the allies Sweden and France; their opponents, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire; and the various parts of the Empire together with the newly independent Netherlands. Earlier endeavours to bring about a general peace had been unsuccessful." See also: Pierre Beaudry, "The Treaty of Westphalia", The Schiller Institute, Washington DC 2003. "In the Peace of Westphalia, Mazarin's (French Cardinal) and Colbert's (his "protégé") common-good principle of the "Advantage of the other" triumphed over the imperial designs of both France's Louis XIV himself, and the Venetian-controlled Habsburg Empire."

lost out to a candidate backed by Russia and Austria. He now received Lorraine with the understanding that it would fall to the French crown after his death. Leszynski passed away in 1766 and that same year Lorraine was annexed by France and reorganized as a province by the French government. Lorraine thus experienced the effects of the French Revolution (1789), Napoleon's military dictatorship (1799–1804) and Empire (1804–1812)²² and his concordat with the Holy See (1801)²³.

It should be mentioned that Napoleon's concordat with the Holy See would be denounced by the French government in 1905, with the enactment of its law of separation of church and state, but this did not affect the region of Alsace-Lorraine as it belonged to Germany at the time. This explains why there was still religious instruction in this region, which had always remained faithful to Rome, even during the period of the Reformation²⁴, after the First World War while it was prohibited in the rest of France.

Lorraine was in French possession again from Leszynski's death in 1766 onwards until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, when the northern parts of Lorraine surrounding Metz, along with Alsace, were conquered by Bismarck and his army. Bismarck's

22. See also: *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia*, Inc., Vol. VII, (Chicago: Helen Hemingway Benton Publisher, 1974), 189, 190.

23. "A concordat is a pact, with the force of international law, concluded between the ecclesiastical authority and the secular authority on matters of mutual concern; most especially a pact between the pope, as head of the Roman Catholic Church, and a temporal head of state for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in the territory of the latter. Matters often dealt with in concordats include: the rights and liberties of the church; the creation and suppression of dioceses and parishes; the appointment of bishops, pastors and military chaplains, sometimes with provision for their support; ecclesiastical immunities (e.g. exemption from military service); church properties; questions relating to marriage; and religious education. The Concordat of 1801 was an agreement between Napoleonic France and the papacy defining the status of the Roman Catholic Church in France and ending the breach caused by the church reforms enacted during the French Revolution." *Ibid.* Vol. III, 65.

24. Roth, 10.

victory meant the creation of a new German Empire. The conquered regions were governed as the *Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen* under a governor who was directly appointed by the German Emperor, Wilhelm I, without any parliamentary representation. It was during this period that Schuman's father had to change nationality from French to German. Alsace-Lorraine belonged to Germany until the end of the First World War when Wilhelm II abdicated and the region declared itself independent, only to be annexed by France a few days later. At that moment Schuman himself changed his nationality from German to French. Policies forbidding the use of German and requiring the use of French were introduced. Many German-speaking people left the region.

An illustrative example of the mingling of French and German occupation in Lorraine is the canonization of Jeanne d'Arc by Pope Benedict XV in 1920, two years after the region had returned to France.²⁵ The saint (1412–1431) was from Domremy, a small village in Lorraine which at that time belonged to the Habsburg's Empire. She is known, however, as one of the great saints of France as she, belonging to the Habsburg's Empire, fought for France against the English invaders. Schuman and his mother had gone to her beatification in Rome in 1909.²⁶

During the Second World War Lorraine was occupied again by the Germans from 1940–1944. It became once more a war-torn area.²⁷ Schuman searched for a solution and encouraged a reconciliation policy. It turned out to be precisely this conflict area that Schuman

25. Schuman belonged to the official French delegation. He had contributed to the re-establishment of the diplomatic relationship between the French parliament and the Vatican. See: Christian Pennera, *Robert Schuman: la jeunesse et les débuts politiques d'un grand européen de 1886 à 1924*. (Sarreguemines: Pierron, 1985), 193; Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 67, 99.

26. Roth, 41.

27. The largest American war cemetery in France is located in Lorraine.

envisioned as the cradle of European unification for peace and security, only a few years later.

In short, people fought a great deal over the region of Lorraine for historic reasons, rivalry and geographic location; as a border region Lorraine suffered from more inimical attacks. Besides, Lorraine was, as mentioned before, greatly desired for its important bishoprics Metz, Toul and Verdun and also, especially since the period of industrialization in the nineteenth century, for its richness in raw materials such as coal and iron ore. Those natural resources were urgently needed for the production of steel and for the war industry. Lorraine's desire to be autonomous and independent was a constant wish of many of its inhabitants, but had hardly ever turned into a reality.

The constant rivalry between France and Germany over the region meant a constant tension, threat of war, or actual war for Lorraine itself. Schuman anxiously searched for a solution to this seemingly neverending problem and had for that reason made a thorough study of the history of Alsace-Lorraine. He realized that the motive for war had often been the desire to possess Lorraine's raw materials for the steel and war industry. After the Second World War France was the ally that occupied the German region of the Saar and Ruhr adjacent to Alsace-Lorraine. This implied more tension between France and Germany. Schuman acknowledged that this tension should be ended in order to obtain a 'permanent' peace and that for this reason the French-German coal and steel problem needed to be solved. He envisioned its solution in a policy of reconciliation and cooperation followed by a process of European unification, as we will see in the following chapters, and began visiting the Saar and Ruhr

region from 1948 onwards.²⁸ The fact that Schuman had the capability and opportunity to put his plan into effect and that he was familiar with and appreciated both the French and the German culture were other important assets to incarnate his vision.

As previously mentioned, the history of Lorraine condenses as it were the history of Europe's most powerful reigns: those of the German kings followed by the Habsburg's Empire and of the French kings since the Treaty of Verdun. This peculiarity and the important role of this region in the history of European unification might partly explain why Schuman strove towards European unification, and how he envisioned this unification:

[Robert Schuman] was marked and modelled by his Luxembourgian origin, the spirit of Lorraine and of profound Catholicism. Thanks to his double, German and French, culture, something exceptional among the French politicians, he was able to approach the German problem in an original way. Loyal to both countries, he always refused to erect the nation into an absolute. This explains his tenacity in wanting to do away with national conflicts, to put the first beacons for French-German reconciliation, a process that would necessarily take a long time.²⁹

28. Roth, 352, 353. Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 209, 210. This observation was confirmed by David Heilbron Price, researcher and expert on Schuman, during an interview in Brussels, 6 May 2011.

29. (mt) Roth, 563. "Il était marqué par ses origines luxembourgeoises, l'esprit lotharingien et profondément catholique qui l'avait modelé. Sa double culture, allemande et française, exceptionnelle dans le personnel politique français, lui a permis une approche originale du problème allemand. Loyal à l'égard de ses deux patries successives, il a toujours refusé d'ériger la nation en absolu, d'où sa volonté tenace de dépasser les conflits nationaux, de poser les premiers jalons de la réconciliation franco-allemande, processus obligatoirement long."

1.2 A Man of Faith

Robert Schuman was a man of Catholic faith³⁰ and this imbued his entire being and therefore also his way of thinking about European unification. His faith, including belief in forgiveness and starting anew, explains to a large extent his ability to constantly strive towards a policy of reconciliation despite severe opposition and clarifies his driving force to come to a European unification that would guarantee peace and security for the European citizen and each nation. The Roman Catholic faith played a major role in Schuman's life and meant his driving force in all his proceedings. In fact his faith made that Schuman felt that he was called to work towards European unification. This translated itself into his reconciliation policy to be followed by its practical output in the Schuman Declaration of 1950. The focus will therefore be on the role of Catholic faith in Schuman's life. It will show till what extent it formed him as a person and as a professional and what it meant for his thoughts on Europe.

The Catholicity of his environment, but especially of the region of Lorraine permeated Schuman's formation and education, and made him familiar with the theories and practices of forgiveness, reconciliation as well as the universality of the Catholic faith: "The Church became the child's and adult's real spiritual home and continued to be so for his entire life."³¹ His mother's strong Catholic faith had a lifelong impact on Robert from early childhood onwards. Schuman was known for being a practicing Catholic who as an adult

30. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 16 -26; René Lejeune, *Robert Schuman, Père de l'Europe* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 37, 38, 51-58, 211; Alan P. Fimister, *Robert Schuman: Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), 224 -227; Pennera, 175 – 214; *Robert Schuman 1886-1963. Et les débuts de l'Europe*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2009), 30-38. Archives *Maison de Robert Schuman*, RS 11-14, Archives Départementales de la Moselle, 19J688.

31. (mt). Victor Conzemius, *Robert Schuman, Christ und Staatsmann*, (Hamburg: Wittig, 1985), 13. "Die Kirche wurde zur eigentlichen geistigen Heimat des Knaben und des Heranwachsenden; sie sollte es ein Leben lang bleiben."

went for daily Mass all through his life³² and who took to heart the Church's teachings. During his university studies (1904–1910) he became a (lifelong) member of the Catholic Society *Unitas*.³³ This society, which had Thomas Aquinas as its patron saint, was founded by students of theology. It imparted Catholic doctrinal formation to all of its members. Its motto was 'unity in necessary things; liberty when there is doubt; charity in all things'³⁴. This motto seems to characterize the European thought Schuman would promote later on as we will see when dealing with the foundations of European integration.

Schuman studied law in Bonn, Munich and Berlin. In Bonn he followed courses on the theories of state that were taught by Von Hertling³⁵, a professor who did not make a secret of his Catholic faith, but used it openly in his lectures on philosophy of law, state and society. Although Schuman appreciated these lectures, he decided to continue his studies in Munich and Berlin so as to be able to follow courses focused not only on man and society, but also on economics and finance. As mentioned in the previous section, Schuman obtained his doctorate *summa cum laude* in German civil law in Strasbourg in 1910.

32. Ibid., 26, 40; and Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 18.

33. See also: Pennera, 33; Conzemius, 21; Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 16.

34. (mt). "In necesariis unitas, in dubio libertas, in omnibus caritas." See also: www.robert-schuman.com, *Le jeune homme engagé*.

35. Georg von Hertling (1843–1919), statesman and philosopher, exercised considerable influence on Catholic social philosophy from his university chairs at Bonn and then Munich. He was Head of the *Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im katholischen Deutschland* from the beginning of its foundation (1876) till his death on 4 January 1919. He served in the Reichstag (federal parliament) as a deputy of the Catholic Centre Party (1875–90 and 1896–1912) and was its parliamentary leader from 1909 to 1912. From 1912 till 1917 he was the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bavaria. He was Chancellor of the German Empire from 1917 – 1918. See also: *Encyclopaedia Britannica. Micropaedia*, Inc., Vol. V (Chicago: Helen Hemingway Benton Publisher, 1974) 11-12. The *Görres-Gesellschaft* was named after Johann Joseph von Görres, a historian and publisher of the first half of the nineteenth century, who dedicated most of his works to the study of the relationship between Church and State.

That same year (1910) he became a (lifelong) member of the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, a union that wanted Catholicism to have its place in politics and in the scientific world.³⁶ It was founded in 1876 by a group of scholars and publishers under Von Hertling's leadership to foster research while taking the Christian tradition and Catholic faith into account. Schuman worked on a study of international law based on Christian principles for this society.³⁷ He wanted to clarify and safeguard the rights of individuals and communities in the construction of peace between nations in agreement with the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) of Leo XIII, in which the social question and the need for justice was strongly emphasized.

This society might well have been a reaction against the *Kulturkampf* as initiated by Bismarck, the first German Chancellor, immediately after the Franco-Prussian war. The widespread belief that the German unification movement was a victory of the Protestant state over Catholic interests led to a reaction from the Catholic side and to a profound renewal of the Catholic Church in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century. A new liturgical movement came into being through the interaction between the Abbey of Maria Laach, where Schuman used to go, and Catholic intellectuals. The movement was organized by Theodor Abele (1879–1965), theologian and philosopher, and Hermann Platz (1880–1945), humanist and

36. Pennera, 37; Conzemius, 31; Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 29.

37. Schuman went as a joint leader of the German delegation to the conference of the *Union for the Study of international Law according to Christian Principles*, at the Leuven University in Belgium in October 1912. The conference was presided by Belgian lawyer Baron Deschamps, who later drafted the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and in 1920 suggested the creation of an International Criminal Court. Schuman, as a permanent representative of the Union, later reported on a workplan to the Law section of the learned *Görres-Gesellschaft*. See: www.schuman.info, *Human Rights and the new definition of Europe*. See also: Pennera, 39; Angeles Muñoz, "L'engagement européen de Robert Schuman" in: *Robert Schuman et Pères de l'Europe*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), 41.

philosopher of culture. They counted Schuman among their acquaintances.³⁸

Schuman lost his father when he was 14 years old and his mother when he was 25 in 1911. Her death made a great impact on him and made him question which goal to pursue in life, whether it was the priesthood or a layman's career in law. That same year a friend from Strasbourg, Henri Eschbach, made an observation that made a lifelong impression on Schuman. He commented that the saints of the future, will be 'saints in suits'³⁹. Eschbach encouraged him to go for the lay-apostolate. According to him Schuman should help to change the world from within and make it a better place to live, as this would suit him perfectly. "I cannot imagine a better apostle than you [...] you should remain a lay person because you will then succeed better in doing good, which is your sole preoccupation."⁴⁰ This observation touched Schuman profoundly. He decided to take his Catholic faith even more seriously, as a professional too, and so heed his call to sanctity in the middle of the world. Familiar with the teachings of the Church and thus with the encyclicals⁴¹ of the Popes, he took to heart the words expressed by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879) "if men be of sound mind and take their stand on true and solid principles, there will result a vast amount of benefits for the public and the private good."⁴² The idea of the layman's call to holiness in the middle of the world

38. George E. Griener, "Herman Schell and the reform of the Catholic Church in Germany," *Theological Studies* 54 (1993) 1-3. See also: Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 32.

39. (mt) Robert Rochefort, *Robert Schuman*, (Paris: Cerf, 1968), 44. 'saints en veston'.

40. Eschbach in: Pennera, 31; Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 16; Fimister, , 148. See also: Archives départementales de la Moselle 34 J1. Henri Eschbach: "Je ne puis imaginer meilleur apôtre que toi; tu resteras laïque parce que tu réussiras mieux faire le bien, ce qui est ton unique préoccupation."

41. An encyclical letter of the Roman Catholic Church is an important document written by the pope on issues concerning faith, morality, or both.

42. Leo XIII, encyclical letter *Aeterni Patris*, Rome 1879, n. 2.

was also expressed in Leo XIII's encyclical *Divinum illud* (1897) with the words:

[E]very Christian ought to shine with the splendour of virtue so as to be pleasing to so great and so beneficent a guest (the Holy Spirit); and first of all with chastity and holiness, for chaste and holy things befit the temple. Hence the words of the Apostle: "Know you not that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"⁴³

Consequently, Schuman decided to pursue his career as a lawyer in Metz, Lorraine - at that time (1912) part of Germany. He soon became a highly appreciated lawyer because of his strong defence of justice. Schuman also became well known in Catholic circles in which he spoke about the importance of education and formation for the lay apostolate. He stressed the need to take care of the education of abandoned youth.⁴⁴ Schuman became a member of the *Caritasverbandes* of Lorraine and of the *Bureau de bienfaisance*. The newspaper *Le Lorrain* commented favourably on his generosity towards the needy and on his profound thoughts on education.⁴⁵

Bishop Benzler of Metz entrusted to him as a layman the responsibility for the youth organizations in Metz.⁴⁶ Schuman thus stood at the head of the Diocesan Federation of Youth Groups (*Fédération diocésaine des Groupements de Jeunesse; FDGJ*). He got to know the leaders of these youth groups, counting a total of 4,000

43. Leo XIII, encyclical letter *Divinum illud*, Rome 1897, n. 10.

44. In *Journal de 60^e Congrès Général des Catholiques d'Allemagne*, 19 August 1913, Archives départementales de la Moselle I9J660, Metz.

45. Lejeune, 51. "M. Schuman, depuis si peu de temps à Metz, y est déjà connu avantageusement. La part qu'il prend à toutes les manifestations catholiques ainsi que son dévouement sans bornes aux oeuvres de bienfaisance ont fait de lui l'un des hommes les plus aimés et déjà un chef respecté et écouté. Ce fut encore le cas aujourd'hui: son discours écouté avec beaucoup d'intérêt était d'une profondeur de pensée et d'une élévation de sentiments qui font honneur au jeune orateur." See also: Conzemius, 28; Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 32.

46. Schuman got to know Benzler at the *Katholikentag* in Strasbourg in 1905 when the latter spoke about the importance of the mission of the lay people within the Church. He did so right after the announcement made in France about the laicist regime. See: Pennera, 40.

young members from Lorraine, engaged in the local life of the Church.

In August 1913 Schuman was the second secretary of the *Katholikentag* in Metz.⁴⁷ The *Katholikentag* was celebrated every two years and brought together tens of thousands of Catholics of all ages heading associations or groups organized around their local bishops from all over Germany. The social doctrine of the Catholic Church was emphasized. Schuman gave a speech in which he stressed the need for the intellectual formation of the people so as to fight the immense egoism that dominated society and to prevent the poor people from falling into despair and radicalism. He called for a thorough education from childhood onwards and emphasized a Christian's responsibility to live a Christian life and take care of his religious formation through reading clubs or other kinds of intellectual circles. He mentioned the need to adopt necessary reforms, but not those that were the product of simple ideologies. He regarded this formation and the need to help others to acquire the necessary information as a task of all people present as all were called to be apostles.⁴⁸ All this kind of activities, however, stopped with the outbreak of the First World War.

Schuman's decision to follow his vocation as a layperson deeply influenced all areas of his life. It precipitated not only Schuman's first steps in public life but also a time of recollections in Maria Laach.⁴⁹ It was in Maria Laach where Schuman got to know, shared ideas and became friends with well-known intellectuals of the

47. See also: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 33.

48. See: Schuman Speech in Supplement of weekly journal *La Croix de Lorraine*. A report of the assembly of the *Union Populaire Catholique Lorraine* (Catholic People's Union from Lorraine) and Schuman's speech at the *Katholikentag*, 19 August 1913. See also: Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 57.

49. Bishop Benzler had been the Abbot of Maria Laach before becoming the Bishop of Metz. A recollection is a period of prayer and meditation.

day such as Jacques Maritain and Romano Guardini with whom he exchanged ideas and shared a common faith in Catholicism.⁵⁰ He participated as well, as mentioned before, in the Catholic circles organized by Theodor Abele and Hermann Platz. Many years later, as President of the European Parliament, he wrote that it was in Maria Laach that he began to realise that everything that provides understanding, unity and fraternity comes from the same source. In this regard his visits to Maria Laach were a cornerstone of the awakening Europe.⁵¹

Bishop Benzler suggested Schuman to study Thomism thoroughly. Thomas Aquinas was a philosopher and theologian strongly recommended by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of 1879 for providing deep philosophical insights on which “a right interpretation of the other sciences in great part depends.”⁵² Schuman’s biographer René Lejeune states that Schuman “never ceased to [study Thomas Aquinas] until the end of his life [...] he mastered Thomism to the point where he could debate in Latin with specialists.”⁵³

Political historians George Sabine and Thomas Thorson provide a general idea of Aquinas’s philosophy on nature and society, two of Schuman’s main topics of interest. In this philosophy, the emphasis is laid on a universal synthesis in which all elements come together and in which reason and faith serve as complementary guides:

50. Charles van Leeuwen, “Een pelgrim voor Europa,” 2005. Rochefort mentions that he, Rochefort, Schuman’s ‘Chef de Cabinet’, and Guardini were invited for dinner during ‘la Semaine des intellectuels catholiques’ by Robert Schuman, then Prime-Minister, in Paris in April 1948. Rochefort, *Dans le Clair-obscur du monde*, (Paris, Nouvelle librairie de France, 1996), p. 94.

51. Conzemius, 28.

52. Leo XIII, encyclical letter *Aeterni Patris*, Rome 1879, n. 1.

53. Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 55. The influence of Thomism on Schuman was studied by Alan P. Fimister. He obtained his PhD in the political Thomism of Robert Schuman at the University of Aberdeen in 2007.

It was of the essence of Thomas's philosophy that it essayed a universal synthesis, an all-embracing system, the keynote of which was harmony and conciliation [...] The whole of human knowledge forms a single piece. Broadest in extent, but least highly generalized are the particular sciences each with its special subject-matter; above these is philosophy, a rational discipline which seeks to formulate the universal principles of all the sciences; above reason and depending upon divine revelation is Christian theology, the consummation of the whole system. But though revelation is above reason, it is in no way contrary to reason; theology completes the system of which science and philosophy form the beginning, but never destroys its continuity. Faith is the fulfilment of reason. Together they build the temple of knowledge but nowhere do they conflict or work at cross purposes.⁵⁴

Aquinas saw a hierarchy in nature with God at the top. The purpose of each creature is to become what it is meant to be under the internal urge of its nature. This implies the creature's subordination to an end. Man is unique in that next to a body he also has a rational and spiritual soul. The institutions and the laws by which man's life is directed are founded on this fundamental aspect of man.

The picture which Thomas drew of nature conformed exactly to his plan of knowledge. The universe forms a hierarchy reaching from God at its summit down to the lowest being. Every being acts under the internal urge of its own nature, seeking the good or form of perfection natural to its kind, and finding its place in the ascending order according to its degree of perfection. The highest in all cases rules over and makes use of the lower, as God rules over the world or the soul over the body. No matter how lowly it may be, no being is wholly lacking in value, for it has its station, its duties and its rights, through which it contributes to the perfection of the whole. The essence of the scheme is purpose, subordination to an end. In such a structure human nature has a unique place among created beings, since man possesses not only a bodily nature but also a rational and spiritual soul by virtue of which he is akin to God. He alone of all beings is at once body and soul,

54. George H. Sabine and Thomas L. Thorson, *A history of political theory*, 4th edition, (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1973), 236, 237.

and on this fundamental fact rest the institutions and the laws by which his life is directed.⁵⁵

Through his study of Thomism Schuman consolidated his own philosophy of nature, man and morality and their synthesis. He highly appreciated Aquinas's dialectic instrument, a method for a thorough analysis of reality that is able to distinguish contrastive elements and to subsequently bring them together through the dialectic of conciliation and reconciliation.⁵⁶ This way of thinking perfectly suited Schuman's constant striving for peace and harmony amongst peoples and nations. The influence of Thomism was evident in Schuman's earlier research on issues of international law for the *Görres-Gesellschaft* before the First World War. After the war this influence showed itself even more clearly in Schuman's efforts to come to a conciliatory legislation between Alsace-Lorraine and the central government. His reconciliation policy regarding Germany after the Second World War as both Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs can be considered an outstanding example of Aquinas's dialectic of reconciliation.

Schuman, who right after the First World War⁵⁷ had become a member of the local council of Metz, was elected by the people of Lorraine with a large majority to be their representative of the *Union Républicaine de Lorraine (URL)*⁵⁸ in the French Parliament. The URL was a Catholic party to whose programme Schuman had also

55. Ibid.

56. See: Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 55.

57. During the First World War Schuman worked as a civil servant in Boulay registering conquered materials. The war had a great impact on him as he saw family of his from Belgium, France and Germany fighting each other. Although he tried to be impartial, he inwardly took side against the Germans. Yet he never ceased to look for peace. See: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 35.

58. The URL was a combination of three Catholic parties that had fallen apart. See: Conzemius, 34.

contributed.⁵⁹ Although Schuman himself did not want to be a politician, he let himself be convinced by Father Collin of Metz to accept this new task in life as a representative of the Department of la Moselle, Metz and Thionville. Father Collin wanted Schuman to accept, knowing that he was a man of solid faith who would not be blinded by personal ambitions. “Lorraine needs you to preserve its soul” was the convincing statement that made Schuman accept. The fact that Schuman himself did not aspire to be a representative, is clearly reflected in the following letter to his cousin Albert Duren:

It’s not the ambition that leads me. [...] How much would I have preferred to dedicate myself to my profession, to the religious and social works, to my family! But there are obligations you cannot shirk back from. We didn’t have a big choice of parliamentary candidates for this legislature that will decide over our political future.⁶⁰

Although Schuman did not aspire to become a politician, he did feel the urge to fight unjust practices. Being familiar with Aquinas’s theories, he also applied Pope Leo XIII’s practical advice that “[t]he State should watch over these societies of citizens [trade unions] banded together in accordance with their rights, but it should not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization, for things move and live by the spirit inspiring them, and may be killed by the rough grasp of a hand from without.”⁶¹ As a politician Schuman did a great deal for the recognition of Christian trade unions. He stated that Catholics should have a right to form their trade union and added

59. Angeles Muñoz, “L’engagement européen de Robert Schuman” in: *Robert Schuman et les Pères de l’Europe*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), 42.

60. (mt) Schuman, letter to his cousin Albert Duren, 10 August 1920. See: Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 66. “Ce n’est pas l’ambition qui me guide [...]. Combien aurais-je préféré me consacrer à ma profession, aux œuvres religieuses et sociales, à ma famille! Mais il y a des devoirs auxquels on ne peut se dérober. Nous n’avions pas grand-choix de candidats parlementaires pour cette législature qui décidera de notre avenir politique.”

61. Leo XIII, encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum*, Rome 1891, n. 55.

that Catholicism did not only imply a religious faith but also a social doctrine.⁶² In this way he took to heart the teachings of Leo XIII.

A decade later Pope Pius XI, whose encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of 1931 elaborated on the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* – *On the Condition of Workers* on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, would stress the impact of his predecessor's encyclical with the following words:

[H]is Encyclical [*Rerum Novarum*] [...] had this special distinction that at a time when it was most opportune and actually necessary to do so, it laid down for all mankind the surest rules to solve aright that difficult problem of human relations called 'the social question'.

[He] declared and proclaimed "the rights and duties within which the rich and the proletariat - those who furnish material things and those who furnish work - ought to be restricted in relation to each other," and what the Church, heads of States and the people themselves directly concerned ought to do.⁶³

Schuman's concern over justice and his faith turned out to be driving forces during his entire life as they gave him the spiritual input that was needed to make breakthroughs such as the Schuman Declaration possible as we will see in chapter three. By putting his faith into (political) practice, he felt himself to be a true lay-apostle.⁶⁴

The years of the interwar period (1919–1939) were decisive for his political education. He remained in parliament, as he was re-elected by the people of Lorraine until the end of the Third Republic in 1939.⁶⁵ His motto in politics was and would always be to serve and not to be served. The 'Lex Schuman', which halted the introduction of

62. Schuman quoted in Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 24, 166.

63. Pius XI, encyclical letter *Quadragesimo Anno*, Rome 1931, nn. 2 and 11.

64. See also: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 13; Pennera, 179. Pennera also quotes in this regard politician Georges Bidault's saying that serving the country and fellow-men can be considered a tangible expression of practical apostolate.

65. See: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 41–52.

the full range of republican legislation in the district of Thionville, had not been an easy feat, as explained in the previous section. His faith turned out to play an important role in the alignment of interests between the central administration and Lorraine. Robert Rochefort quotes Schuman in his biography of Schuman, saying:

Beware those who charm you to sleep. Beware those who would lull you into a false sense of security. Beware the purveyors of empty reassurances on these measures. They seek to introduce by stages and bit by bit that which the soul of the people of Lorraine rejects. The final end is clear. They seek to extinguish the religious life in the country and in the people. For the love of our children, we would prevent what will follow. It is not from a spirit of contradiction that we take the position we do today, but because we cannot betray the soul of our people.⁶⁶

During the interwar period Schuman gave a number of speeches to the Congress of Catholic Lawyers on constitutional subjects. Those speeches clearly reflect Schuman's concern about the lack of morality in the French state and its citizens. As Alan Fimister mentions in his book *Robert Schuman: Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe*:

Schuman believed that constitutional instability was sapping the vitality of France, and that even the imperfect institutions with which they were endowed were hampered by a moral crisis in France caused by the war. The collapse of public and private morality in France was "a hideous gangrene" on the "body social." This had caused the "crisis in parliamentary government, the impotence of our laws to prevent the pillage of savings and shameful profiteering, the confusion of the powers and the incessant trespass of private interest upon the common good, all of which proceeds in the last analysis from one principal cause: the appalling unchaining of egotisms cynically flaunted or prudently masked but benefitting from the protection of powerful hidden interests. Man's fallibility and weakness demand the state and its coercive power. But the very best constitutional texts do not guarantee the healthy

66. Rochefort, *Robert Schuman*, (Paris: Cerf, 1968), 70.

working of society without morals. Deeply concerned at incursions of the legislature upon the juridical power, Schuman was determined that the powers should be separated and justice should be swift. A new constitutional touch-stone is required.⁶⁷

Fimister continues explicating Schuman's strong connection with the Catholic Church when he writes that Schuman agreed with the Church's position that it were essential for a government that the positive law be consistent with natural law:

Schuman's political choices at the end of the 1930s showed that he adhered closely to the Church's position on the form of civil government. Any form which was capable of yielding positive law compatible with natural law was acceptable in itself. The question of what is, all other things being equal, the best form of government is a question capable of being answered, but the magisterium disdains to answer it, leaving it to the private judgement of the laity. Schuman's own judgement led him to Christian Democracy but he was not willing to sacrifice Christianity for the sake of democracy nor did he think it was necessarily the highest temporal good either. Human rights and the rule of law were more important than regular elections, albeit that the latter were usually the best way of preserving the former.⁶⁸

Schuman's stress on human rights and rule of law was also reflected in his professional attitude, accuracy and feeling for justice in the world of finance. He was already regarded as one of the top experts in national and international finance in the 1930s. He helped to provide a loan to sustain Austria against Nazism, which he considered to be an anti-moral and dangerous ideology.⁶⁹

Schuman's wish to pertain to the political party that were most consistent with his thoughts made him switch political parties in 1931.

67. Schuman quoted in: Alan P. Fimister, *Robert Schuman: Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), 159. See also: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 92. Robert Schuman, "L'irresponsabilité des hommes politiques" in: *Revue Catholique des institutions et du droit*, (Lyon, 1935), 6-19.

68. Fimister, 160.

69. "Schuman biography: chronology", *The Schuman project*, Brussels 2004. See also: www.schuman.info

He left the URL and became a member of the *Parti Démocrate Populaire (PDP)*,⁷⁰ the Christian national democratic People's Party more in line with the peace-building policies he had in mind. Schuman spoke outside the Parliament on various occasions about the Church's need for freedom to exercise her role as educator.⁷¹ He also pleaded for the abolishment of the intolerant prohibition of the assembling of congregations or in general of Catholics having religious meetings in public places.⁷² Schuman's apostolic zeal was clear and unimpeded by the environment of laicism that surrounded him.⁷³

Schuman's faith was deepened by his pious life, Thomism and activities in Catholic circles and equally encouraged to manifest itself through concrete deeds. The latter expressed itself for instance already before the First World War in his research for the *Görres-Gesellschaft* that concerned a peace project based on international law and was grounded on Christian principles. His faith furthermore manifested itself after the First World War in the 'Lex Schuman' that combined the interests of the central government with the particular social and religious interests of Alsace-Lorraine. Finally Schuman's belief showed itself as well in his emphasis on the social doctrine of the Church and therewith on justice, morality, human rights and rule of law and in his perseverance to attain the goals related to those aspects. Schuman after all was convinced of him being an instrument of Providence and therewith of his need to give heed to his call to sanctity as a lay person in the middle of the world. For him this meant

70. See: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 84–86. The PDP was founded in 1924 (and survived until 1940). See also: Pennera, 178.

71. Robert Schuman, "Liberté de l'Église," (Rouen, July, 1938). Archives *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. Pennera, 186; Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 96. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 101–105. Schuman gave a speech on Freedom of the Church during the 'Social Week,' which was celebrated in Rouen and expressed the fundamental role of the Church as educator.

72. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 49.

73. Pennera, 277–283.

politically speaking striving towards reconciliation with Germany, to solving the ‘German question’ and to safeguarding continental peace through working towards European unification.

1.3 A Man of Straight Personality

*When one has an idea and one knows that it is just and true, one has to realise it whatever it may cost until the end.*⁷⁴

Robert Schuman

The quote above illustrates one of Schuman’s most distinguishing traits as a person and as a politician: his tenacity and thoroughness when it comes to working towards a just and true ideal. In Schuman’s case this ideal was European unification which would make war between the archenemies France and Germany impossible and safeguard peace and security on the European continent. His personality was important not only because of having the characteristic of perseverance, but also of those of others such as humility, piety, intelligence and sincerity. These characteristics made him easy to communicate and negotiate with, as will be made clear through the quotes of journalists, colleagues and acquaintances. Schuman’s straight personality inspired confidence and made others believe in his ability to strive towards upright and well thought through goals to achieve and therefore also towards the aim of European unification.

Apart from giving an impression of Schuman’s personality, this subchapter will shed more light on his ideal of reconciliation between France and Germany and of European unification. The section will include statements on his personality made by Schuman’s contemporaries who were, like him, concerned with European affairs.

74. (mt) “Le Père de l’Europe, parole de Mr. R. Schuman,” *Le Figaro*, 31 December, 1960. “Quand on a une idée et qu’on sait qu’elle est juste et vrai, il faut la réaliser coûte que coûte jusqu’au bout.” See also: note 14.

An impression of inhabitants of the village Scy-Chazelles will close this section commenting on his personality.

1.3.1 Personality

Simplicity and conscience

*Soup, two fried eggs, French beans and cheese, such a modest meal took our great Minister of Finance, while the others that surrounded him absorbed symbolic dishes in such a place such as: beef tongue and lamb's brains. And, without the waitress having to ask him, Mr. Schuman adds conscientiously the bills for the bread to his expenses.*⁷⁵

*Among the politicians of the IVth Republic, there is no one nicer than Mr. Schuman. Already during the last few years of the IIIrd Republic (when he was vice President of the Chamber) he was different from the rest of the parliamentary staff because of the simplicity of his manners and the sobriety of his words. He was in nothing similar to an ordinary politician, desiring fame and always on the lookout for a portfolio. One can say, as I believe, that when he occupied a ministerial post, this had happened without him searching for it, with the feeling of fulfilling a duty.*⁷⁶

75.(mt) "Simplicité et conscience," *Le Pays*, 18 July, 1947. "Potage, deux oeufs sur le plat, haricots verts et fromage, tel futile sobre repas de notre grand argentier, tandis qu'autour de lui d'autres convivent absorbaient des mets symboliques dans un tel lieu: langue de boeuf et cervelle de mouton. Et, sans que la serveuse eût besoin de se lui réclamer, M. Schuman ajoute consciencieusement des tickets de pain au montant son addition. Si tous nos ministres lui ressemblaient! Murmura un vieux journaliste."

76. (mt) Pierre Bernus, "La situation difficile de M. Robert Schuman," *Journal de Genève*, 26 May, 1941. "Parmi les hommes politiques de la IV^e République, il n'en est guère de plus sympathique que M. Schuman. Déjà dans les dernières années de la III^e République (il fut à cette époque vice-président de la Chambre), il se distinguait dans la masse du personnel parlementaire, par la simplicité de ses manières et la sobriété de ses paroles. Il n'a rien du politician courant, avide de réclame et toujours à l'affût d'un portefeuille. On peut dire, je crois, que quand il a occupé un poste ministériel, cela a été sans le chercher, avec le sentiment de remplir un devoir." See also: "Aussenminister Dr. Robert Schuman: Deutsch-französische Verständigung" *Der Sonntag im Bild*, February 1950. "...von seinen Freunden geehrt, von seinen Gegnern geachtet, weil er vielleicht der einzige Politiker war, dem die politische Betätigung nicht Erfüllung persönlicher und ehrgeiziger Pläne oder Mittel zum Zweck des Geldverdienens oder Möglichkeit und Gelegenheit zur Vermehrung irgendwelcher Hausmacht bedeutet, sondern in aller Ehrlichkeit und Wirklichkeit Dienst an seinem Volke und an seiner Heimat."

Schuman firmly believed that man, although imperfect, is an instrument of Providence.⁷⁷ He was certain that Providence makes use of man to accomplish great ideals that are beyond man's capacities.⁷⁸

Robert Schuman lived and acted from a deep Christian faith. This meant that he lived in accordance with principles such as justice, honesty, perseverance, courage, modesty, self-effacement, sobriety and humility, all linked up with truth in charity and charity in truth. This might partially explain his courage in launching a great undertaking like the European unification, as well as his perseverance to carry it through whatever effort it might cost. The following testimonies show furthermore that his Christian integrity was reflected clearly in his professional and personal life.

His Latin culture and his attachment to Rome, mother of the churches, belong to his innermost being.⁷⁹

Few men in our Parliament are so much esteemed as Robert Schuman. Even those that do not agree with his ideas or even oppose them, respect him for his nobility of character, his working capacity and the power of his faith.⁸⁰

77. His intense Christian life and the service to his country and to the European unification made the Catholic Church start his process of beatification, which will take, as always, several years before being finished and ratified. Precisely because of the debate on the Christian roots of the EU during the possible introduction of a European Constitution, the importance of Schuman's vision on the EU became even more necessary. Schuman was born in a Catholic family and always showed a religious restlessness. In his youth he thought about becoming a priest, took part in Catholic associations, and lived a solid Christian life based on Scripture and the Eucharist. He never got married.

78. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 57. "Nous sommes tous des instruments, bien imparfaits, d'une Providence qui s'en sert dans l'accomplissement des grands desseins qui nous dépassent." See quote at the beginning of the thesis.

79.(mt) Roth, 10. "Sa culture latine et son attachement à Rome, mère des Églises, appartiennent à son être le plus profond."

80.(mt) "Un Européen: Robert Schuman," *Le Figaro*, Les Livres et la Politique, 1 February, 1955. "Peu d'hommes dans notre Parlement jouissent d'autant d'estime que Robert Schuman. Ceux-là même qui ne partagent pas ses idées ou qui

Robert Schuman, who formed part of all governments since the liberation, appears to be ever more, since his arrival at the Quai d'Orsay, the incarnation of this modest, reasonable, prudent and at the same time European France, that is changing its old fashioned great power-politics for a politics of dedication to really constructive tasks.⁸¹

When comparing him to Aristide Briand⁸² he was very much a man of common sense, concise, and without Briand's inspiring charisma by which people were carried away, but he was also without Briand's illusions; proper to him were his professionalism and prosaic realism next to the industriousness proper to his forefathers who were farm-holders from Lorraine.⁸³

The power of his faith, his nobility of character, sobriety, industriousness, modesty, prudence and professionalism are illustrated in the quotes above. The following quote seems to portray Schuman's personality in one description:

les combattent, éprouvent de respect pour la noblesse de son caractère, sa puissance de travail et l'ardeur de sa foi."

81.(mt) *France-Belgique Informations, Pays-Bas-Luxembourg*, Paris, 15 March 1949. Archives, *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. "Robert Schuman, qui a fait partie de tous les gouvernements qui se sont succédés depuis la libération, apparaît de plus en plus, - depuis son arrive au Quai d'Orsay, - comme une incarnation de cette France modérée, raisonnable, prudente et tout à fait européenne qui se détourne de la politique périmée de grande puissance, pour se consacrer à des tâches vraiment constructives."

82. Aristide Briand (1862–1932), Prime Minister of France and later Minister of Foreign Affairs, was famous for his politics to achieve international peace. His thoughts on international politics may well have been a source of inspiration for his future fellow Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Schuman. Briand's main objective was the elimination of war. His method to achieve this goal was to attack the heart of the problem rather than its symptoms. He knew how to approach people and was famous for his oratorical skills and persuasiveness. Briand's thoughts were appreciated by Schuman for striving towards political cooperation among European states so as to safeguard peace on the continent, See Poidevin, *homme d'état*, 53, 84, 117; Roth, 186. There is, however, no written evidence that Briand's thoughts on politics had any influence on Schuman. See Roth, 202. Briand's influence is even denied by Muñoz, 48.

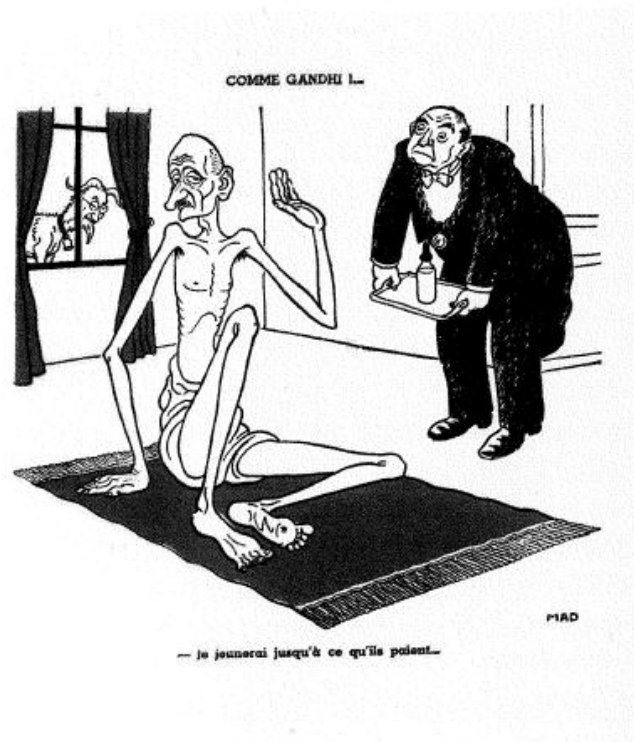
83.(mt) Kindler, "Robert Schuman," "Nüchtern, sächlich, phrasenlos und ohne den begeisternden und mitreisenden Schwung Briands, aber auch ohne dessen Illusionen, mit der Zägligkeit und dem prosaischen Wirklichkeitssinn und Arbeitseifer seiner lothringischen Bauernvorfahren."

All those who have met Mr. Schuman during his stay in Antwerp, have realised how attractive his personality was and how much his personal attitude and familiar movements coincided with the way he acted during public events. Everything in him revealed the man that acts with a delicate conscience towards his duties, to whatever task he undertakes be it modest or important. His clear, precise language without embellishment, that he pronounces slowly because he wants it to be consistent with his thoughts, is that of a constructor [...] The movements of his long and skinny, but muscular arms reflect his words. Through his glasses his blue eyes shine with a little bit of malice that gives a strange sweetness. No unrest, no arrogance on his face, but a very clean will of an honest man that is unable not to be straightforward, to be unfaithful or to betray.

Mr. Schuman is not a politician. He is a great server of his country and of the generous ideas that all those who want fraternity and peace long for these days.⁸⁴

Schuman came to serve the country, to forget about self and to focus on the ideal of brotherhood and peace. Other testimonies refer to his sense of humour, for instance when commenting on the cartoons people made of him. Those cartoons always referred to his baldness, his deep faith or his sobriety.

84. (mt) "M.Schuman nous parle du mouvement Social-Chrétien en Europe," *La Métropole*, 21 January, 1954. "tous ceux qui pendant son séjour à Anvers, ont approché M. Schuman, ont réalisé combien, était attachante sa personne et combien elle répondait, dans son comportement privé et ses gestes familiers au caractère de ses activités publiques. Tout en lui révèle l'homme qui, à quelque tâche modeste ou supérieure qu'il s'adonne, agit avec une conscience scrupuleuse de ses devoirs. Son langage clair, précis, sans floritures, qu'il veut lent parce qu'il le veut adéquate à sa pensée, est celui d'un constructeur [...] Les gestes de ses longs bras maigres mais musclés sont à l'image de ses mots. Au travers de ses lunettes, ses prunelles bleues pétillent avec une pointe de malice qui en relève l'étrange douceur. Rien d'inquiet, ni d'arrogant dans son regard mais une volonté très nette d'honnête homme qu'on sent incapable de biaiser, de renier ou de trahir [...] M. Schuman n'est pas un politicien. C'est un grand serviteur de son pays et des idées généreuses auxquelles se rattachent aujourd'hui tous ceux qui aspirent à la fraternité des peuples et à la paix."



From: *Robert Schuman, 1886 – 1963 et les débuts de l'Europe*

The fact that Schuman himself was not bothered about this is made clear by his remark to a train conductor who did not recognize Schuman as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and as such allowed to take a first class seat for free. He did not believe Schuman to be the Minister because Schuman took not a first but a second-class trip home. Schuman's reaction to his surprised face was:

“No, no” says Schuman friendly and takes his wide-brimmed felt hat off, “look, I am really the Minister, you must have seen some of the cartoons of me?”⁸⁵

Schuman's character suited a man who lives in accordance with his faith. His conduct was a logical result precisely of living his faith in a

85.(mt) “Robert Schuman, der Einsame vom Quai d'Orsay,” *Die Weltwoche*, 21 November, 1952. “Nein, nein”, sagte Schuman freundlich und nahm seinen breitrandigen schwarzen Filzhut vom Kopf, “sehen Sie, ich bin wirklich der Minister – Sie haben doch sicher schon Karikaturen von mir gesehen?”

natural way as is also reflected in the quotes above. Regarding his Catholicism, Schuman himself stressed the fact that Catholicism is not only a faith, but also a social doctrine⁸⁶ in which man with his transcendent essence is at the core. A clear example of how he took this to heart is his defence of human rights; specifically when he fought for the right to confessional trade unions, as explained before, when that right was threatened right after the First World War.

There are striking similarities in all testimonies of Schuman's personality, of which only several have been quoted. The great majority of them stress how his deeply Christian attitude in life permeated his entire being as a man in his personal life and as a politician.

André Philip (1902–1970), one of Schuman's colleagues, for example, was impressed by Schuman's sincere faith and the way it informed all his actions. He observed that Schuman's personality was led by his Catholic faith, expressed in the modest but clear way in which he acted and reacted and in his motto that he had only come to serve. He was, according to Philip, always respectful towards man and true to the inner vocation that gave sense to his life:

What first struck me about him was how his interior life shone forth; he was, it seemed to me, a dedicated man without personal desires, without ambition, of a total sincerity and intellectual honesty, who only sought to serve where he felt the call to serve. By tradition he was conservative, hostile to innovations, by temperament he was peaceful, shy and hesitant. Often he hedged, delayed his decision, tried to finesse with the call he felt in the depth of his conscience. Then, when there was nothing else to do and he was sure of what his interior voice was demanding of him, he would brusquely take the most courageous initiatives and push them to their logical conclusion, unmoved by critics, attacks or threats.⁸⁷

86. See: Roth, 199.

87.(mt) André Philip in René Lejeune, *Père de l'Europe*, (Paris: Fayard, 2000), Preface. André Philip was a Professor in Politics, Commissioner of the French Committee of National Liberation and later of General De Gaulle's

Schuman's biographer Poidevin writes that Schuman was a defender of western Christian civilization his entire life. With his deep faith he devoted himself entirely to the common good as a man who never forgot the essential values of Christian Humanism.⁸⁸

Schuman's friend, Henri Brugmans, President of the College of Europe in Bruges, made a similar statement during a speech he gave in honour of Schuman's Charlemagne Award in 1958, stressing that Schuman's faith also deeply influenced his political outlook:

This politician is not only a man of State, but also a man who pulls his strength from the fullness and depth of a universal spiritual life, because there, even the word 'Europe' becomes too tight. Rooted in his home country he is a European from Lorraine. But he is still more: a friend of humanity, a member of this humanity, a man in short.⁸⁹

provisional government in London and Algiers, socialist Deputy of the Rhône and Minister of Finance and of National Economy. He was a Protestant and knew Schuman well. "J'ai connu Robert Schuman pendant une quinzaine d'années au Parlement, au gouvernement, puis au Mouvement européen. Ce qui m'a d'abord frappé en lui, c'était le rayonnement de sa vie intérieure. On était devant un homme consacré, sans désires personnels, sans ambition, d'une totale sincérité et humilité intellectuelle qui ne cherchait qu'à servir, là et au moment où il se sentait appelé. Par tradition, il était conservateur, hostile aux innovations; par tempérament, il était pacifique, timide et hésitant. Souvent il a louvoyé, retardé la décision, essayé de ruser avec l'appel qui se faisait entendre au fond de sa conscience; puis quand il n'y avait plus rien à faire, qu'il était sûr de ce qu'exigeait de lui sa voix intérieure, il prenait brusquement les initiatives les plus hardes et les poussait jusqu'au bout, insensible aux critiques, aux attaques, aux menaces." "Dans l'atmosphère enfiévrée des débats parlementaires, il était rafraîchissant de rencontrer un homme toujours prêt à engager le dialogue, cherchant à persuader, tenant compte des objections, toujours avec le même calme et une entière courtoisie. Pour atteindre son but, même le plus important, il n'a jamais employé un moyen vulgaire, exagéré le poids d'un argument, ni élevé la voix. Mais par-dessus tout, il restera dans la mémoire de ceux qui l'ont connu comme le type du vrai démocrate, imaginatif et créateur, combatif dans sa douceur, toujours respectueux de l'homme, fidèle à une vocation intime qui donnait le sens à la vie."

88.(mt) Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 423. "D'un bout à l'autre de sa vie, il a su se montrer le défenseur d'un certain type de civilisation chrétienne occidentale. Profondément croyant entièrement dévoué au bien public, cet homme n'a jamais oublié les valeurs essentielles de l'humanisme chrétien..."

89.(mt) Henri Brugmans, speech in *Du Pater Europae aux Pères de l'Europe, 1950-2010*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale Spa, 2010), 28 "Ce politique n'est pas seulement un homme d'État, mais il est aussi un homme qui tire ses forces de la plénitude et de la profondeur d'une vie spirituelle universelle - car là, même le mot 'Europe' devient trop étroit. Enraciné dans sa patrie, il est un Européen de Lorraine.

Two other observations made by Brugmans refer to Schuman's behaviour as a man of state. They illustrate aspects of his personality such as modesty, prudence, friendliness, sharp insight and capacity to understand and unite:

I met him on several occasions. I met him in big assemblies where he held his modest and prudent speeches and because of that so resolute and convincing, consistent with his personality. People shouted so many times in our days that modern man will listen when a wise and dynamic idealist takes quietly the floor. That's why a great calm has always reigned among the multitude when Schuman spoke.

I met him as well in small gatherings and the moment the discussion threatened to disintegrate, people turned towards him: "Mister President, what do you think about this?" They could then always be sure that a clear and intelligent answer would follow that would give credit to each of them. Because the real democrat likes to listen to and understand the others.⁹⁰

Adenauer described Schuman as "a wise and good man, a statesman, a great Frenchman and a great European. I am happy that I can call him a friend."⁹¹ In a letter to Schuman after a visit of De Gaulle to Germany, Adenauer said that he considers Schuman to have played a crucial part in cultivating a friendship between France and Germany. He saw Schuman as the man who laid down the foundation for the Coal and Steel Community and expressed his gratitude as well

Mais il est plus encore: un ami de l'humanité, un membre de cette humanité - un homme en somme."

90.(mt) Ibid., 52. "Je l'ai rencontré à plusieurs occasions. Dans les grandes assemblées où il tint des discours, si modeste et prudent, et pourtant si résolu et convaincant, à l'image de sa personne. On a tant crié à notre époque que l'homme moderne tend l'oreille lorsqu'un idéaliste sage et dynamique prend tranquillement la parole. C'est pourquoi un grand calme a toujours régné parmi la multitude lorsque Schuman parlait." "Je l'ai aussi rencontré dans de petites réunions et lorsqu'à l'occasion, la discussion menaçait de s'éparpiller, on se tournait vers lui : "M. le Président, qu'en pensez-vous?" On était alors toujours assuré que viendrait une réponse claire et intelligente qui tenterait de rendre justice à chacun. Car le véritable démocrate trouve son plaisir à écouter et à comprendre les autres. "

91. Adenauer's words in: Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, Preface.

as his hope to see him again.⁹² Although Adenauer's comments do not refer specifically to Schuman's personality, they do echo his appreciation of Schuman's courage to have made the reconciliation between France and Germany and the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) possible. They also reflect his sympathy and friendship for Schuman.

David Heilbron Price, expert in Schuman's lifetime, philosophy and thoughts on Europe, comments on Schuman:

What he did not learn from the suffering of his family in wars, he knew from his own consuming interest in history, economics and his openness to people. The politics of the coal and steel industry, its commerce, its technology, its trade union problems, capitalism and communism were Schuman's bread and butter as a deputy. Schuman brought something else to this problem [of solving the cause of Franco-German war] that eludes most modern analyses. It was his erudite learning and interest in philosophy and theology and the causes of war. Without that the European Union would not have succeeded in its goal to eliminate war in western Europe.⁹³

The above makes clear that according to Price, Schuman was motivated to make war in Western Europe impossible and anxiously searched for the way to achieve a practical and durable peace with a philosophical and theological foundation.

All the aspects mentioned of Schuman's personality contribute to the assumption that Schuman was a man who was especially suitable to work towards European integration. His tenacious

92. (mt) Adenauer, letter to Schuman, 1962. Archives, *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. "Pendant la visite de général De Gaulle, la semaine dernière, j'ai souvent pensé à vous. C'est en effet à vous que l'on doit l'amitié qui unit maintenant nos deux pays; par votre initiative du pool Charbon-Acier vous en avez posé la pierre angulaire. Je pense toujours à notre tâche commune avec reconnaissance. Il me tient à cœur, plus précisément dans les circonstances présents, de vous en exprimer toute ma gratitude. Ce serait une grande joie pour moi s'il nous était donné encore une fois de nous revoir. De tout cœur, votre Konrad Adenauer."

93. David Heilbron Price, *Robert Schuman and the making of Europe* (manuscript), 14.

personality meant that he did not give up on the ideal of European unification until its realization in a concrete way.

1.3.2 Commemorated

*His vision was wide and far-reaching; he was a creator of the future.*⁹⁴

*Antoine Pinay*⁹⁵

This part will present reflections on Schuman as a politician made by two colleagues of respectively the European Parliament and Euratom Commission at the Memorial service of Schuman, honorary president of the European Parliament, in 1963.

Gaetano Martino,⁹⁶ President of the European Parliament, highlighted Schuman's insight into Europe's future and his drive to come to a unification of Europe fostered by his firm belief and faith. He did so in his speech in memory of Robert Schuman in 1963, the year Schuman died.⁹⁷ Martino emphasized that Schuman's idea of the founding of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was mainly political. By paving the way economically, the great political aim of the unification of Europe could be attained. He mentioned the importance of this initiative and aim; without Schuman's vision and initiative to launch the ECSC, the European Economic Community (EEC) would never have come about. Martino reflected on Schuman's moral courage, recalling that

94. See: Jean-Marie Pelt, *Robert Schuman, Father of Europe*, Publisher Serge Domini, Robert Schuman Foundation.

95. Antoine Pinay (1891–1994), conservative politician, French Prime-Minister in 1952.

96. Gaetano Martino (1900–1967), Italian politician and President of the European Parliament from 1962 until 1964.

97. Gaetano Martino in *Ter nagedachtenis aan Robert Schuman*, discourses held on 16 September 1963 during an exceptional meeting of the European Parliament in remembrance of Robert Schuman, honorary president of the European Parliament, 1963. The book was published by the European Parliament.

the Schuman Plan had been a *saut dans l'inconnu*⁹⁸ (a leap in the dark) yet as a result Schuman had opened the way in a dark forest, providing guidelines for new and elevated politics in which negotiations were no longer determined by maintaining traditional balance, but by a growing cooperation between European nations sharing a common ideal.

According to Martino, Schuman based his views on three principles. The first principle was the necessity of an economic union in Europe in order to achieve an integrated political European Union. In the Schuman Plan of 9 May 1950 Schuman stated that the cooperation in the fields of steel and coal provided the immediate foundation for economic development as a first step to European unification. Furthermore, the realization of an economic community would become the source of a broader community of nations that had been separated from each other for a long time.

The second Schuman principle Martino mentioned is that the cooperation of the first six European nations should be the centre point of a broader association of nations. Schuman wanted an organized Europe that was alive and ever more capable to attract other nations and extend its borders.

The third principle was the need to progressively transfer national democracies to the international field and to safeguard supranationality in the European Community. These political principles originated from Schuman's wish to eliminate the causes of war and to protect peace in Europe. He acknowledged the power of hatred and precisely for that reason he recommended perseverance and caution during the process of unification. He advised to look ahead and at the same time to be watchful so that a "Europe of the spirit" would be the result rather than merely an economic union.

98. Henry Brugmans, *L'idée Européenne*, (Bruges: De Tempel, 1970), 162.

Martino continued by commenting that Schuman was a firm believer whose life and work were imbued with his Catholic faith, which also explained his perseverance and self-assurance. Schuman's inner strength came from his faith. This observation was echoed by Paul de Groote, member of the Euratom Commission. He regarded Robert Schuman as "a leader for the European conscience and as the man who will always be the one who showed us the way from which we should never part."⁹⁹

Both Martino and De Groote acknowledged Schuman's faith as the driving force behind both his private person and the public effort of the European unification process. In fact, it was his faith that made Schuman reject the notion that these two realms of private and public were separable. De Groote even regarded Schuman's way of thinking as the line a European conscience should follow. Both confirmed that Schuman was a man of great ideals who devoted himself to the unification of Europe, proposing the step-by-step method of economic integration so as to come to an increasingly close political unification and thus provide and maintain peace and security in Europe.

1.3.3 Inhabitants of Scy-Chazelles

An impression of Schuman's personality given by those who knew him in his own habitat, is added here to show that Schuman's private and public life mirrored each other.¹⁰⁰ They did so in the sense that both were driven by and directed towards the accomplishment of his ideal of correspondence to his personal vocation, both in daily life at

99. Paul de Groote, in *Ter nagedachtenis aan Robert Schuman*, 20. See also quote in Introduction.

100. In August 2009 I visited the village of Scy-Chazelles, close to Metz, where Schuman spent most of his life. I spoke to many people and asked them about the kind of person Schuman was. One of them was Émile Scheffer.

home and in daily life at work. He thus manifested a tangible unity or integrity of life.

Émile Scheffer (1913) an acquaintance of Schuman, commented on Schuman: “He was such a nice, warm and simple man. He always went from here by bus or on foot when he had to go to Metz. And if he had to go to Paris, he travelled second class by train. He mingled with us when he was in the village, but he always had little time as he was a very hard-working man. He was very pious. He went for daily mass.” He summarized his impression of Schuman with: “*Il était un homme de Dieu*” (He was a man of God). The other people in Scy-Chazelles made similar comments such as “he was very sober and very intelligent,” “he was full of virtues,” “he was very pious” and, of course, they all were very proud of “their” Robert Schuman. The *Maison de Robert Schuman*, which is Schuman’s home turned into a museum, is enriched with a well-documented audio-visual exposition on European unification. His house has been restored to its original state, as it was when he passed away in September 1963. Its sobriety is conspicuous and the autographs and large amount of books on Thomism and Catholic religion, history, Europe and geography clearly reflect Schuman’s main interests. The original documents, letters, and decorations in the archives reflect the depth and intensity of his life. Schuman’s life must have been of an exemplary Christian stature, as it has led to the start of the process of his beatification on 29 May 2004.¹⁰¹

101. “Robert Schuman nearing beatification”, *Zenit*, 16 May, 2003. Éric Roussel, “Les paradoxes de la relation Jean Monnet – Robert Schuman” in: *Robert Schuman et les Pères de l’Europe*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), 92. Rettman, Andrew, “‘EU Saint’ waiting for a miracle”, *EUObserver* 9 May 2011, <http://euobserver.com/9/32291/?rk=1>.

1.4 Summary

Schuman was a man of his region and a man of faith. He was a man of his region thanks to his parental background. His father's strong connection to Lorraine made Schuman also strongly connected to Lorraine. Lorraine was a contested border region of crucial importance for both Germany and France, two archenemies soon after the Treaty of Verdun (843). Schuman was a man of a region that had remained Roman Catholic through the centuries and that had many important bishoprics. The region was very much wanted for its coal and steel, important raw material for the war-industry. Schuman had personally experienced two wars and the switch from German to French nationality when Alsace-Lorraine returned from Germany to France after the First World War (1918).

An important asset of his youth was that he had learned French and German next to Luxembourgish and that he was familiar with the three cultures. All these experiences left their mark on the way Schuman thought about European unification. They fostered his understanding of the Luxembourgian, German and French culture and of the interests of all three countries. This also facilitated his attitude of reconciliation and thereby his openness towards a European unification process in which common interests would be taken care of.

Schuman was a man who lived his Catholic faith. He grew up in a Catholic environment and joined Catholic associations such as the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, which tried to influence the scientific world with Catholic doctrine and morals. He was a man who headed the Catholic youth group in Metz and stressed the importance of Catholic formation. He was a man who considered being called to the priesthood, but decided to remain a layman so as to fulfil his call to sanctity in the middle of the world and for that reason to pursue a

career as a politician. He was a man who took the teachings of the Popes to heart and put them into practice. He knew the works of Thomas Aquinas and read those of other saints. He was known for being a man of high standing morals.

His personality was one that fitted a person who lives his faith and profession with integrity. He was a person characterized by virtues like honesty, justice, thoroughness of professional work, perseverance, humility, courage, sobriety and piety. He went for daily Mass and felt himself to be an instrument in the hands of God.

All these aspects of Schuman's life and personality contribute to the assumption that Schuman was a pre-eminent candidate to work towards European unification and that he prepared the ground for the birth and form of the Schuman Declaration.

CHAPTER TWO

Schuman and Contemporary Thinkers on Europe

This chapter will introduce Schuman's thoughts on European unification and will attempt to determine the uniqueness of these thoughts. The chapter will therefore include a brief discussion of contemporary thinkers who thought about European unification in order to provide a comparison with Schuman's thoughts and give a more articulate version of his ideas. Key concepts will be European spiritual and cultural heritage with a focus on the human person and Christian morality and, when applicable, on supranationality.

The intellectual climate that surrounded Schuman those days is barely reflected in his writings. His library in Scy-Chazelles confirms the supposition made by his biographer François Roth, that he was not much interested in fashionable contemporary books or intellectual theories. He owned scarcely any books by contemporary novelists such as Camus or Sartre. On the other hand he owned a great deal of history, Greek and Roman culture and religion such as the entire *Summa Theologiae* by Thomas Aquinas and the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Whenever Schuman expressed himself and his interests more profoundly, he did so with discretion and only in the Catholic Institute, among Catholic intellectuals,¹⁰² at conferences with

102. Referring to Schuman's private circumstances can be observed, despite the lack of written evidence, that he surely had valuable and inspirational gatherings on also the topic of European unification with his friends and acquaintances of the Catholic society *Unitas*, of the Catholic intellectual circles of Theodor Abele and Hermann Platz and of the *Görres-Gesellschaft*. The fact that Schuman worked for the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, as is mentioned in chapter one, already before the First World War on an international peace-project based on Christian principles indicates his interest in extending peace beyond national borders. It also makes plausible not only that he and the people of the *Görres-Gesellschaft* had a common interest in finding a way to preserve the peace in Europe, but also that they exchanged ideas on the matter.

Catholic students and other youngsters.¹⁰³ Of the latter some examples have already been given in the first chapter.

The intellectuals selected and studied in this chapter are those who exposed their ideas and theories in the thirties of the twentieth century and soon after the Second World War. Their focus was, as mentioned before, on the European spiritual and cultural heritage or aspects thereof, and for some of them also on supranationality. Their main thoughts will be discussed after Schuman's ideas have been briefly presented and subsequently briefly contrasted with the thoughts of a few contemporary and current thinkers. This will indicate the revival of the discussion on European unification and show Schuman's way of thinking in a current context.

2.1 Schuman: Thoughts on European Unification

The European spirit signifies being conscious of belonging to a cultural family and to have a willingness to serve that community in the spirit of total mutuality, without any hidden motives of hegemony or the selfish exploitation of others. The 19th century saw feudal ideas being opposed and, with the rise of a national spirit, nationalities asserting themselves. Our century, that has witnessed the catastrophes resulting in the unending clash of nationalities and nationalisms, must attempt and succeed in reconciling nations in a supranational association. This would safeguard the diversities and aspirations of each nation while coordinating them in the same manner as the regions are coordinated within the unity of the nation.

Robert Schuman, Strasbourg, 16 May 1949¹⁰⁴

103. See: Roth, 326.

104. Robert Schuman, Speech at the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 16 May 1949. See also: David Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?* (Brussels: Bron Communications, 2003) 47. See also: News and Research on Europe highlighting Robert Schuman's political, economic, philosophical contribution from the independent [Schuman Project](#), directed by David H Price.

Schuman regarded the unification of Europe¹⁰⁵ as a necessity not only because of the threats of Communism, the East-West conflict, and a possible third world war because of or led by Germany once it had recovered. He saw it as a necessary condition for the survival of Europe. The continent needed to become strong and healthy again so as to avoid disasters such as the many wars, especially the world wars, it had experienced in the past. Franco-German reconciliation was not enough. In order to achieve successful unification this reconciliation should be accompanied by effective solidarity and a moral order based on Christianity, products of the European spiritual and cultural heritage. These aspects will be discussed into more detail in chapter 3.6.

The reconciliation rather than retaliation policy Schuman insisted on was a turning point in European history. Taking into account the preceding centuries of constant strife between the powers now known as France and Germany, this policy can truly be qualified a unique policy. This time there would not be a dominating nation in command of the nation that lost, but cooperation between states.

Robert Schuman was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Fourth Republic of France from 1948 until 1953. Despite strong opposition

105. The idea of European unification is not new and has been propagated through the centuries. Schuman himself referred to its history when he said the following on 16 May 1949 in Strasbourg when the Council of Europe was signed for: *"We are carrying out a great experiment, the fulfilment of the same recurrent dream that for ten centuries has revisited the peoples of Europe: creating between them an organization putting an end to war and guaranteeing an eternal peace. The Roman church of the Middle Ages failed finally in its attempts that were inspired by humane and human preoccupations. Another idea, that of a world empire constituted under the auspices of German emperors was less disinterested; it already relied on the unacceptable pretensions of a 'Führertum' (domination by dictatorship) whose 'charms' we have all experienced. [...] Audacious minds, such as Dante, Erasmus, Abbé de St-Pierre, Rousseau, Kant and Proudhon, had created in the abstract the framework for systems that were both ingenious and generous. The title of one of these systems became the synonym of all that is impractical: Utopia, itself a work of genius, written by Thomas More, the Chancellor of Henry VIII, King of England."*

from the Gaullists and Communists, he could count on the support of the majority of politicians for his policy of reconciliation with Germany. It was a policy that was contrary to that of his predecessor De Gaulle, right after the Second World War in 1945–46.¹⁰⁶ De Gaulle wanted to weaken Germany and to dismantle its productive resources.¹⁰⁷

Schuman's policy of reconciliation, although possibly also influenced by the fact that he himself was in a certain sense both German and French due to historical circumstances, originated from his Christian faith, as he himself explained in *Pour l'Europe*. He wrote that it was Christianity that taught us that all people were equal in their essence¹⁰⁸ and that the general law of love and mercy, which could be considered the foundation of our social relations in the Christian world, turned each person into one another's brother. It was

106. See also: Helen Drake, "The Gaulle's complicated legacy", *European voice.com*, 17 June 2010. De Gaulle considered the idea of reconciliation and pooling sovereignty with Germany "an accident of history". He wanted an independent France leading the way in Europe.

107. Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: Le Salut 1944–1946*, (Paris: Plon, 1959). See also: Fimister, 272.

108. On this point of equality his statement is comparable to that of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), French political thinker and historian who admired the American form of government. Tocqueville said that in America, the Union's subjects are not states, but individuals. When it wants to levy a tax, it does not turn to the government of Massachusetts, but to each inhabitant of Massachusetts." Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe*, (London: Allen Lane, 2000), 8. Famous is also Tocqueville's remark that he found in the United States an "ostensible respect for Christian morality and virtue." He also applauded that "The religion which declares that all are equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law." "De Tocqueville on the Christian influence for Equality" in: *Liberty Letters*, www.newsmax.com. Tocqueville believes in the supernatural foundation of morals in religion and considers Christianity to be at the base of (American) democracy. He sees morality, religion and order as aspects in harmony with man's freedom and equality before the law. Paul Cliteur argues that Tocqueville's ideas might be interpreted these days as the need for a binding element or for common values, such as faith in democracy, in human rights or in the rule of law and that for that reason Tocqueville's words would not go against a utilitarian or secular foundation for morals. See: Paul Cliteur, "A secular reading of De Tocqueville" in: Raf Greenens and Annelien de Dijn, eds., *Reading Tocqueville: From Oracle to Actor*, (Basingstroke: Palmgrave, Macmillan, 2007), 112–132.

this law and its practical consequences that changed the world completely, Schuman wrote.¹⁰⁹

Schuman's strategy for unification was one of cautious small steps.¹¹⁰ He compared it with the process of crossing a shallow river: putting one foot carefully on one stone and making sure it is firm before taking the next step. He was particularly insistent on restraining the desire to hurry towards the final goal. People would not be able to cope with a hurried process that, in fact, needed a careful preparation of the mind:

We are still at the start of things. We would do well to bridle our impatience. If not, we are likely to make the doubters more distrustful and what is more serious, endanger not only the experiment but also the whole idea of a united Europe.¹¹¹

According to Schuman each step of unification needs to be guided by the 'European spirit'. This is by "the consciousness of belonging to a cultural family and the willingness to serve that community in the spirit of total mutuality, without hidden motives or the selfish exploitation of others".¹¹² For this to happen, the sense of belonging to a common European cultural and spiritual family, which entails brotherhood and respect for man's personal freedom, needs to be fostered constantly. Such a spirit will encourage the willingness to share personal interests with those of others and the practice of solidarity. This in turn will foster the openness necessary for a unification of interests. On the level of states it will thus facilitate the compromising of national interests that go against common European interests. However, allowing for human nature, the integration also implies that no common European policies should be adopted hastily.

109. See also: Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 57–58.

110. Roth, 566. Jean Monnet preferred a faster kind of integration. See: Roussel, 91.

111. Schuman, Speech at the Council of Europe.

112. See quote at the beginning of this section (2.1).

The people (and states), even though they do share the 'European spirit', still need to grow accustomed to the integration process. This is because at first glance integration seems to take away part of their ownership, even though it is said to be for their own good and prosperity.

Schuman's approach is comparable to feeding milk to a baby so that it might grow and later be able to eat solid meat. Eventually the European would mature and be able to deal with mankind on the basis of his own identity, the 'European spirit'. Schuman was therefore not in favour of a rapid unification on every plane as this would neglect the necessary preparation of the people. It might mean the premature end of the entire unification project. This is why he did not, on purpose, have a detailed plan or a timetable with deadlines to be achieved. He did, however, have a plan for fostering European unification and encouraged cooperation across borders in politics, economics and military affairs. In all these things, this founding father of the EU continually focused on the 'European spirit' to facilitate precisely this preparation of the people and therewith the process of European unification as will be indicated in chapter three.

Before studying Schuman's thoughts in detail, I will very briefly refer to several contemporaneous and current thoughts on the future of Europe and contrast them to Schuman's. This will help to further establish the value of Schuman's frame of reference. It will clarify the perhaps surprising topicality of his mostly unknown and underexposed thoughts which for that reason, and for being the thoughts of a main founding father of the European unification, become even more interesting to study. Schuman's thoughts were in his days vehemently opposed by the Nationalists and Gaullists who wanted to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation at any cost. Famous

became De Gaulle's wish to strive towards a 'Europe of the states', '*l'Europe des patries*' that protected the sovereignty of each individual state. The Gaullists and Nationalists were therefore against Schuman's policy of reconciliation and European unification and did all they could to resist these policies, but were not able to do so.¹¹³ The Communists were equally opposed to Schuman's politics. They strove in vain for the implementation of their Communist ideology.¹¹⁴

Current thinking on how Europe should proceed also provide several frames of references and interpretations. Thierry Baudet (1983), Dutch historian and jurist, is in favour of the nation state and opposes the need to surrender sovereignty due to European unification.¹¹⁵ Considering the current state of affairs of the European Union, Baudet's view and Schuman's are not quite as far apart as they seem to be. Schuman would likely grieve over the EU's current state even though he would not fail to applaud the many good things unification has brought about in many respects. Schuman warned against a fast pace of integration which could harm the human psyche of the majority of citizens not directly involved in the process, as the human mind cannot handle fast changes well, especially those having a great impact on man's daily life. He also warned against it because it

113. A famous opponent of Charles de Gaulle (1880 -1970) was François Mitterand (1916 – 1995), who would be President of France from 1981-1995. He, like Schuman, applauded the reconciliation policy and the process of European unification. His exclamation "le nationalisme, c'est la guerre" during his last speech towards the European Parliament in Stasbourg in 1995 became legendary. He put this though in the context of the Second World War when he had escaped from a German prison and noticed how French and Germans saw each other from their different nationalist perspective. Mitterand warns for a possible return of war among nations if the future is not well guarded by the people who steer the EU. See: www.dailymotion.com

114. Chapter three (3.2.1; 3.2.2; 3.2.3) will show that Schuman's policy of reconciliation was heavily attacked by the Communists, Nationalists and Gaullists who did not want a partnership with Germany and were against the kind of European unification Schuman had in mind.

115. Thierry Baudet, "Juist Europese eenwording leidt tot oorlog", in: NRC Handelsblad, 23 June 2012, 4.

could destroy the entire unification process. In that sense his thoughts are similar to Baudet's. Schuman saw the European unification as a process that would take several generations to reach its full shape.¹¹⁶ He similarly stressed the importance of safeguarding the national identities and interests of the states, but only as long as they did not harm the common European interests that in their turn needed to take universal interests into consideration.¹¹⁷ Schuman and Baudet therefore share their ideal of protecting the nation state. Baudet, however, does not focus on the need to surrender national sovereignty only if necessary to common European interests as Schuman did. He regards the loss of national sovereignty due to common European interests as such a danger to the rule of law. For Baudet the single nation state should limit itself to intergovernmental agreements, decide itself on international cooperation and protect its rule of law. It should make its own decisions in the fields of economics, political and social order. Baudet is in favour of what he calls 'sovereign cosmopolitanism.' He considers the idea of a supranational structure to avoid war among the states to be without foundation. He argues that regional conflicts could still occur, as they did in the past when Europe was united in empires. According to Baudet, supra-nationality empties the rule of law and makes the state passive and powerless.

The other attack on the European unification Baudet launches refers to the danger of loss of national culture because of the way multiculturalism was embraced in the past. The immigrants who were welcomed because they were needed for economic reasons were not asked to become familiar with and adopt the national culture. They

116. See also chapter 3.4.2.

117. The general accusation that Schuman's idea of unification would have an adverse effect on nations was answered by Schuman by stating that because the historic realities of the nationalities would be safeguarded they would grow precisely because of joining and taking care of common European interests when this were necessary through the step-by-step method.

contributed in this way to today's lack of national culture. Baudet is not against different cultures, but stresses the need for what he calls 'multicultural nationalism'; the need for immigrants to adapt themselves to the national culture.¹¹⁸

Thinking along Schuman's line of thought, one could say that Baudet and Schuman differ 'only'—but fundamentally—in the premise of their thinking. Baudet rejects supra-nationality so as to protect the nation state and its freedom to act, and on no permission to live a culture different from the state in which one lives, but to adapt to the culture of the latter. Schuman is in favour of supra-nationality only when necessary for common European interests while protecting the national interests as much as possible. Schuman regards respect for different cultures necessary unless they obstruct the rule of law and go against the European and national culture which they in their turn should respect.

Roger Scruton (1944), British conservative philosopher and writer, supports Baudet's view.¹¹⁹ He agrees with Baudet when the latter says that the project of European integration is based on the conviction that the nation and the desire of national independence had been the main causes of the wars that afflicted Europe. This conviction had according to Scruton a process of one-dimensional integration with a dictatorial structure that ever more absorbed national sovereignty as its consequence. The result would be a supranational government.

He then affirms that he is not against imperialism as such, but that certain forms of imperialism can be considered positive and others negative. He regards those that protect local loyalties and

118. See also: Baudet, *De aanval op de natie-staat*, (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker /Prometheus, 2012), 9-19.

119. Roger Scruton, "We hebben die natiestaten nodig" in: *NRC Handelsblad*, 2 July 2012, 15.

traditions through civilization and law as positive. Those types of imperialism that try to ban local customs and competitive loyalties through a central power without law Scruton considers to be negative. He recognizes elements of both kinds of imperialism in the European Union, but sees above all the defect of never having asked the citizens of Europe to accept the European unification project. He thinks this is because the political elite of Europe is afraid that the people will stick to their national feelings and traditions and vote in favour of those. Scruton also believes that this is the reason why expressing national feelings and the desire for a national identity has been demonized. According to Scruton national loyalty has nothing to do with racism or fascism, but with an attachment to the territory and its community. He warns against the impossibility of sacrifice for a common Europe-related cause, on which the political elite counts, if there is no social cohesion. He wonders how there could be social cohesion if there are no borders that divide 'us' from 'the others'.

Schuman would likely have responded to Scruton by saying that the *raison d'être* of the European unification was not the need to break the power of the nations so as to avoid wars, but the fact that all European countries share a common European heritage and belong to the same European cultural family. The process of integration should not be of a dictatorial kind and only in those areas that were absolutely necessary, precisely to protect the national identities as much as possible in the process of unification. The danger of 'bad' (in the sense of egocentric) nationalism at the cost of others would therefore be non-existent and 'sound' nationalism would be fostered as each state would benefit from protecting common European interests in its own national way. The European unification as Schuman had it in mind has therefore nothing to do with imperialism, nor with fighting nationalism, but with attaining a strong and integrated Europe in

which the nations benefit from common European interests that include and foster their own national interests. Famous is Schuman's expression that Europe won't be built overnight; its process of unification will take centuries.

Hans Wiegel (1941), former leader of the Dutch Liberal Party VVD, stresses, like Baudet and Scruton, the importance of the state and the loyalty of politicians to be first and foremost loyal to their own country.¹²⁰ Schuman would agree unless this loyalty implied an indulgence in navel-gazing that went against the common European interests and in the short or long run also against the national interests of that particular state.

Another and a very different way of thinking about Europe, which is partially opposed to Schuman's, is that of the federalists who focus exclusively on the common market. They support integration in the field of economics accompanied by political integration so as to safeguard the market.¹²¹ The pace of integration as the federalists envision it would have been much too fast for Schuman. More importantly, Schuman would likely have objected to the federalist failure to focus on the main reason of European unification, which is not the economy nor integration for its own sake, but the human person and the common European heritage with the consequent solidarity through specific deeds.¹²² This implies taking into account the human psyche which cannot cope with too much change and that abhors the fact that its own state imposes (sometimes) unnecessary European rules on him, against which he can hardly object successfully. The euro is an example of both a hasty introduction of a market oriented policy people were not yet ready for and of an

120. Hans Wiegel, "Eigen land eerst, en dan pas Brussel" in: NRC Handelsblad, 2 July 2012, 15.

121. Television debate with EP-members in Dudok, 2 June 2012.

122. See also chapter 3.4.3

incorrect way of introducing a new European economic measure as it lacked a suitable common economic preparation among the states backed by a supranational entity behind it to safeguard and steer its proper functioning.

Some may argue that Schuman's ideas are naïve and idealistic and they may have a point. However, one must take into account the moment of time when something had to be done and ideals like reconciliation and unification had to be put into practice so as to prevent doom scenarios and give hope to the European citizen that had just suffered two world wars in one generation and only desired peace and security. And although Schuman's thoughts belong to the timeframe of the first sixty years of the last century, many of his thoughts on Europe remain topical as they explain to some extent why we face the problems we currently face. This knowledge helps to look for ways to solve many of today's problems while taking into account the ever more complex society we live in.¹²³

As mentioned before this thesis deals only with those intellectuals whose ideas harmonize with Schuman's thoughts, so as to elucidate more sharply Schuman's frame of reference, which for being the principal architect of the European Union deserves serious attention.

2.2 Schuman and contemporary thinkers on Europe

Let us think of the human being, not in an abstract and general way, but in the most concrete possible, the most personal fashion. Let us think of this certain old man we have known for years in the country - this old farmer with his wrinkled face, his keen eyes which have beheld so many harvests and so many earthly horizons, his long habits of patience and suffering,

123. Another kind of accusation was that Schuman wanted a 'Vatican Europe'. Schuman himself protested against this accusation. See chapter 2.2.7.

*courage, poverty and noble labour, a man perhaps like those parents of a great living American statesman whose photographs appeared some months ago in a particularly moving copy of a weekly magazine. Or let us think of this certain boy or this girl who are our relatives or our friends, whose everyday life we well know, and whose loved appearance, whose soft or husky voice is enough to rejoice our hearts [...] We perceive intuitively, in an indescribable not inescapable flash, that nothing in the world is more precious than one single human being.*¹²⁴

Jacques Maritain

The contemporary scholars and writers that are selected all searched for a European solution to the constant threat of war since the First World War, and especially so after the Second World War. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, they are selected because they all share with Schuman their focus on the European spiritual and cultural heritage in which the human person and Christian morality play a crucial role. They often also share an emphasis on the need for a supranational structure. The brief discussion of their ideas will help to sharpen our understanding of Schuman's vision on Europe.

This particular selection was made to place Schuman's thoughts on Europe in a contemporary intellectual context and to make a comparative analysis between Schuman and these intellectuals. All of them have in common the search for ways to achieve a peaceful society, and the emphasis on the reconstruction of Europe so as to prevent another war on the continent. It turns out that their eagerness to create a new, safe and peaceful Europe produced sharp insights and a strong willingness to locate and solve the problem of unrest, fear and threat. The stress is on supranationality and on European spiritual and cultural heritage as key elements for European unification. Of course there were also intellectuals and statesmen such

124. Jacques Maritain, "The immortality of Man," in *The Crisis of Modern Times, perspectives from The Review of Politics 1939–1962*, ed. A. James McAdams, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 83–98.

as De Gaulle and Bidault¹²⁵ who thought about European unification in intergovernmental and not supranational terms or even completely opposed it. Their thoughts are not mentioned in this thesis because its purpose is to distinguish and illuminate specifically Schuman's thoughts rather than give a full overview of the intellectual history of the concept of European unification. They not only sharpen the understanding of his ideas that are mainly known through his speeches and through his personal background, personality and circumstances but also lay a foundation for a better understanding of his thoughts.

Schuman was familiar with the work of, and personally acquainted with, some of the intellectuals, such as Jacques Maritain,¹²⁶ Romano Guardini, Henri Brugmans¹²⁷ and Pope and scholar Pius XII. As Schuman was a man who did not live in an ivory tower it is likely he was familiar with the other intellectuals whose thoughts and works will be discussed: Denis de Rougemont, Christopher Dawson, Karl Jaspers, Julien Benda and Thomas Stearns Eliot. Several of the works of these scholars date from the interwar period while other documents, essays and books here referred to were written during and after the Second World War.¹²⁸

A short introduction to the lives of these intellectuals will help to place their thoughts both in their personal context and in a broader perspective.

125. De Gaulle, *Le Salut*. See also: notes 310, 319.

126. See Roth, 326.

127. See also: *Hommage au Président Robert Schuman*, Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne 1964, 15–17.

128. As indicated in the beginning of this chapter Schuman's library shows that Schuman did not have books that went against his personal frame of mind. Also for this reason have been selected well-known intellectuals that concord with his personal frame of mind.

2.2.1 Julien Benda

Julien Benda (1867–1956)¹²⁹ was a Jewish French critic and novelist. He was one of Schuman's contemporaries who contemplated the possibility of European unification based on universal principles.¹³⁰

Benda, before he expressed his thoughts about the kind of Europe he envisioned, enjoyed a wealthy, glamorous lifestyle until he was thirty years of age. Triggered by the Dreyfus affair of 1897 in which intellectual truth was severely tested, he then decided to start his career as a writer.¹³¹ Benda himself was neither in favour nor against the Dreyfusards as he acknowledged a lack of intellectual truth on both sides, but he praised those who were 'rationalists' and regarded their emphasis on intellectual truth as vital to civilization.

At the age of sixty, Benda became famous with his book *La Trahison des clercs* (The Betrayal of the Clerks)¹³² of 1927. This became a lasting international call for the questioning of 'intellectual truth'. He accused the intellectuals of his days of permitting themselves to be influenced by political ideologies and a bourgeois lifestyle instead of sticking to intellectual tradition and leading a pure life of the mind. He reproached them for neglecting their vocation as

129. (Biographical) data from: Julien Benda, "De eenheid van het weten," in *Rekenschap van Europa*, (Amsterdam: Vrij Nederland, 1947), 15–40. See also: *Encyclopedia of World biography*, Farmington Hills (Michigan).

130. The content of the universal principles needs to be placed in the context of the first half of the twentieth century. Its echo was found in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948. (Navarro Vals, Conference on human dignity, Moergestel, 2009).

131. The Dreyfus case of 1897 concerns a Jewish army captain accused of treason by the French parliament. Dreyfus is said to have given secret military information to the Germans. Dreyfus claimed he was innocent, but, mainly because he is a Jew, he remained the primary suspect. It became a major case, politically speaking, because of the possibility of accusation due to discrimination. It took nine years before Dreyfus's innocence was formally recognized.

132. Julien Benda, *The treason of the intellectuals*, trans. Richard Aldington, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

guardians of the truth.¹³³ Instead, Benda embraced the rationalism that characterized the French republican educational system.

Besides writing books and articles, Benda also wrote critiques on the works and ideas of for instance Jacques Maritain¹³⁴ and Henri Bergson, when they attacked his rationalism for being one-sided.

Benda was in favour of not only rationalism, but also of a morality that was based on universal values or principles. He further promoted an idealist, anti-subjective rationalist attitude in life. All this is reflected in his ideas about Europe which he expressed in his pamphlet *Discours à la Nation Européenne* (An Address to the European Nation) of 1933. Benda emphasized the importance of supranational polity building firmly embedded in a moral framework, as explained by Jan-Werner Müller:

The pamphlet amounted to a complete manual for supranational¹³⁵ polity-building, addressed primarily to French republican teachers and intellectuals. Benda started out with the argument that Europe had to be viewed, above all, as a moral idea and, even more so, as a moral problem.

European unification could not simply be treated as an economic or even just a political project. Economic realities

133. Zbigniew Janowski, in: *Encyclopedia of the essay* (Chicago, IL: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2006), 162.

134. Jacques Maritain, *Notebooks*, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 70–71. “4 May 1911. Returned *L’Ordination* to Bourgeois [Péguy] with this note: “My dear Bourgeois, enclosed herewith *L’Ordination* of M. Benda. Please spare me henceforth the little blasphemies of this jester. Cordially, J.M.”(Péguy said later that I had withdrawn my subscription to the *Cahiers*. Not at all; it was a question only of Benda and of this book.).”

135. ‘supranational’ because according to Benda one should think beyond borders, but Benda himself stresses at the same time the need of supernatural politics ‘politique surnaturelle’ in the sense that this supranationality should be embedded in a moral framework. “L’Europe ne se fera que si elle adopte un certain système de valeurs morales”. He directs himself to an audience that focuses on a Europe that is not afraid of an intellectual and moral ‘revolution’ and not to an audience that aspires to a mere political, economic or juridical ‘revolution’. “Je ne m’adresse pas à tous. Parmi ces hommes, les uns cherchent ce que l’Europe, pour gagner l’existence, devra faire dans l’ordre politique, d’autres dans l’ordre économique, d’autres dans l’ordre juridique. Je n’ai point qualité pour retenir leur audience. D’autres pensent à la révolution qu’elle devra accomplir dans l’ordre intellectuel et moral. C’est à ceux-là que je parle.” *Discours à la Nation Européenne* (Paris: Les Éditions Gallimard, 1992)

always had to be placed in a larger moral and spiritual framework.¹³⁶

Political events increasingly affected Benda's high intellectualism. He criticized the weakness of democracy, attacked the French right and the menace of fascism. After the fall of France in 1940, he fled to Carcassonne; the Nazis confiscated all his books and papers in Paris. He wrote a clandestine pamphlet for the Resistance and smuggled several works out of France for publication abroad. After the war he opposed De Gaulle on account of the latter's nationalistic approach.

Schuman shared with Benda the emphasis on morality in the rebuilding of Europe. Like Benda, Schuman also believed European unification needed to be placed in a larger moral and spiritual framework, one that goes beyond the economic and political. He too fought against the nationalistic approach. Benda's emphasis on the intellect beyond politics also finds an echo in Schuman's thinking, although Schuman warned this emphasis should not turn into an obsession. After all, politics is about serving the citizen. Schuman considered man as consisting of more than just reason and believed that the spiritual dimension of man, as contained in the European spiritual and cultural heritage, needed to be taken into account as well.

2.2.2 Christopher Dawson

*Every culture is like a plant. It must have its roots in the earth, and for sunlight it needs to be open to the spiritual. At the present moment we are busy cutting its roots and shutting out all light from above.*¹³⁷

136. Jan-Werner Müller, "Julien Benda's Anti-Passionate Europe," *European Journal of Political theory* 5, no. 2, (2006). The translation of Benda's "politique surnaturelle" into Werner's 'supranatural policy' should be changed into 'supernatural policy'.

137. Quoted in Gerald J. Russello, "Christopher Dawson, Christ in history," *Crisis* 14, no. 4 (1996), 30.

Christopher Henry Dawson (1889–1970)¹³⁸ was a renowned British historian and intellectual. His thoughts on Europe are in several regards similar to Schuman's.

Dawson's interest in Catholicism and European history help to explain why he thought similarly to Schuman. Dawson was Anglo-Catholic, but converted to Catholicism at the age of 25. He studied economics, then history and sociology at Trinity College in Oxford. Both Catholicism and his studies left clear marks on his work. He wrote several books on European history and the important role of religion. He always studied the whole of European culture and therefore European history from a panoramic point of view in order to achieve a proper understanding. Dawson firmly believed that the medieval Catholic Church had been essential for the rise of European civilization, as it was through the Church that Catholic faith permeated all realms of life.¹³⁹ He was also convinced about the fact that one person could change history completely: "history is at once aristocratic and revolutionary. It allows the whole world situation to be suddenly transformed by the action of a single individual."¹⁴⁰ Dawson was appreciated as an innovative scholar and admired by intellectuals such as J.R.R. Tolkien and Russell Kirk. He also had as such a strong influence on T. S. Eliot.

Dawson taught at Harvard University. He was known for his open-mindedness and his ability to combine and integrate opposite ideas. It was this quality that facilitated his understanding of the

138. (Biographical) data from "Christopher Dawson", *Gifford Lectures*, West Conshohocken (Pennsylvania). See also: Caroline T. Marshall, "Modern Pioneers: Christopher Dawson, champion of Christian culture," *Christian History Magazine* 72, (2001); and Russello, 28–30.

139. See also: Araceli Duque, "The Vision of Christopher Dawson." Catholic Education Resource Center, July 2004.

140. See Russello, 28–30.

universality of the Catholic Church, followed by his conversion to the Catholic faith. This quality of unifying opposite ideas also showed he shared Schuman's Thomist conciliatory and reconciliatory attitude.

The European solution after the disastrous effects of the world wars was, according to Dawson, to be found in the focus on the European common spiritual tradition and not by merely re-organizing Europe into a federation of states. A common moral vision, based on Christianity, is essential according to Dawson. He writes the following in his book *Understanding Europe*:

The European problem cannot be solved merely by a drastic process of economic and political reorganization which would create a federal unity - the United States of Europe [...] Europe owes its unique character to the fact that it is and has always been a society of nations, each intensely conscious of its own social personality and its own political institutions and laws, but all united by a common spiritual tradition, a common intellectual culture and common moral values [...] It is only by the recovery of these common traditions and values and in the strengthening of them that Europe can be saved.¹⁴¹

According to Dawson, without religion at the base of culture, man's tragedy was a fact, a statement comparable to Guardini's, as we will see in section 2.3.6.

In his book *The Making of Europe* (1932)¹⁴² Dawson gave a full account of how Europe got into the disastrous situation it was in at the time. He defined the problem, explained its origins and suggested it could be solved through a return to the forgotten world of spiritual reality. He stressed the importance of religion, in Europe's case of Christianity, as the soul of culture and parallel to Schuman's thoughts of integrating the European cultural heritage in the European

141. Christopher Dawson, *Understanding Europe*, (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1953), 223.

142. Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe*, (London: Sheed & Ward, 1932).

integration process, Dawson focused on the need to integrate the spiritual world with the world of reason and science.

The keynote of Dawson's thought as found in *The Making of Europe* was: religion is the soul of a culture, and a society that has lost its spiritual roots is a dying society, however prosperous it may appear externally. The fate of our civilization was endangered not only by the fading of the vision of faith that originally formed it, namely Christianity, but also by the failure to integrate the world of reason and science with the world of the soul, which has lost the power to express itself through culture. In Dawson's view this was the tragedy of modern man.¹⁴³

Dawson also argued that "the world religions have been the keystones of the world cultures, so that when they are removed the arch falls and the building is destroyed."¹⁴⁴

Dawson thus affirmed that no culture could truly thrive if it was cut off from its religious roots. He was convinced that Christianity needed to be and remain the binding element for Europe. This is expressed explicitly in this book *The Making of Europe*. Like Schuman and many others, he was already envisioning a new united Europe, but he perceived the profound problem of all Western States of the separation of culture from its religious base. He saw the lack of religion in the educational systems and the aim to do completely away with religion in education. He also noticed the lack of unity of thought in the world of investigation and the stress on specialization with the risk of seeing the tree and missing the forest.¹⁴⁵

There is a strong similarity in thought between Schuman and Dawson on the vital need for spirituality at the base of European culture and the integration of the world of education and science into

143. Emanuel L. Paparella, "Christopher Dawson and The Making of Europe," *Metanexus*, (2008).

144. Christopher Dawson, *Progress and Religion: an historical inquiry*, (London: Sheed & Ward, 1929, 140). See also: Paparella, "Christopher Dawson."

145. Paparella, "Christopher Dawson."

the world of spirituality and culture is evident. The transformative power of the Christian faith greatly interested both of them. For Schuman this meant the need to imbue political European unification and economic cooperation with the spiritual heritage of Europe in which Christianity played an essential role.

2.2.3 Denis de Rougemont

Denis de Rougemont (1906–1985)¹⁴⁶ was a Swiss writer and philosopher. His drive to come to a united Europe resembles Schuman's closely. One important difference is that De Rougemont advocated a federal structure as soon as possible.

De Rougemont studied Humanities at the University of Neuchatel. He moved to Paris in 1930, where he wrote and edited various publications, associating with the personalist groupings¹⁴⁷ and the non-conformists of the 1930s, who rejected ideologies such as Nazism and Communism, but were also against modern individualism and nationalism. De Rougemont was exiled from Switzerland and moved to the United States where he was involved in Resistance activities during the Second World War, in spite of official Swiss neutrality. He there published *La part du diable* (1942), in which he criticized totalitarianism and the materialism of modern society. After

146. (Biographical) data from: Denis de Rougemont, "Het vaderland der herinnering" in *Rekenschap van Europa*, (Amsterdam: Vrij Nederland, 1947), 101-123; *The Crisis of Modern Times, perspectives from The Review of Politics 1939 - 1962*, Ed. A. James McAdams, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 67–83; and *Denis de Rougemont: 1906 / 1985*, (Geneva: University of Geneva, 9 February 2007).

147. See also: 'Personalism' in *Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy*, Stanford (California): "In its various strains, personalism always underscores the centrality of the person as the primary locus of investigation for philosophical, theological, and humanistic studies. It is an approach or system of thought which regards or tends to regard the person as the ultimate explanatory, epistemological, ontological, and axiological principle of all reality, although these areas of thought are not stressed equally by all personalists and there is tension between idealist, phenomenological, existentialist, and Thomist versions of personalism."

the war he wrote his *Lettres sur la bombe atomique* (1946), in which he condemned the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and expressed the need to surpass the sovereignty of the nation state in the field of nuclear technology. That same year recorded his first thoughts on a united Europe. A year later he returned to Europe and attended the First Congress of European Federalists. He soon became one of the leading figures of the Union of European Federalists (UEF).

He founded the *Centre Européen de la Culture* in Geneva in 1950, which was also a product of the European Movement and of the Congress of The Hague, referred to in the previous chapter. In 1963 he founded the *Institut Universitaire d'Etudes Européennes (IUEE)* (Graduate Institute of European Studies) attached to the University of Geneva, which he led for a long time.

In 1947 De Rougemont attended the well-known Federalist Conference on the origins of federalism in Montreux, Switzerland. The key issue De Rougemont addressed in his speech there was the spiritual origin of federalism. He stressed the importance of a correct concept of man, as all politics is built on a concept of man and the need to contribute to a certain kind of humanity.¹⁴⁸ He explained that man is not meant to be an isolated individual without responsibility who is thus easily led to anarchy, nor an object of the state, which would lead to totalitarianism. He stressed that man is a responsible human being. Man is a person who is responsible regarding his own unique vocation as well as regarding the community he lives in. Man is both free and engaged, autonomous and solidary with others. It is this idea of man that federalism is built on, according to De Rougemont. He adds to this that this 'man' he describes should not be

148. Denis de Rougemont, "L'attitude fédéraliste", Montreux Congress, 27–31 August 1947, Archives historiques des Communautés européennes, Florence, Villa Il Poggiolo. Dépôts, DEP. Mouvement européen, ME. "toute politique implique une certaine idée de l'homme, et contribue à promouvoir un certain type d'humanité, qu'on le veuille ou non qu'on le sache ou non."

considered a kind of person ‘in between’, that is between the individual without responsibility and the political soldier without freedom. This ‘man’ is the only real man and the others are but conceptual variations of what man really is.¹⁴⁹

De Rougemont made clear that it is on this concept of man that federalist work and its methods should be built and developed. For an idea of the way in which Europe needed to be reconstructed De Rougemont referred first of all to Karl Jaspers, a German philosopher, whose main ideas will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3.5. Basically, Jaspers believed Europe would have to choose between Balkanisation and Helvetization. De Rougemont explained the concept of Balkanisation as the disintegration of Europe into nationalisms and national rivalries, while the concept of Helvetization refers to the federal integration of states, surrendering absolute sovereignty and accepting a common constitution.¹⁵⁰

He began to refer to the United States of Europe with Switzerland and its federalist system as an example and rejected the argument that Switzerland is too small a country to have an exemplary function for the whole of Europe. He compared it with an experiment and result acquired in a laboratory, which is necessarily attained on a

149. Ibid., “l’homme est un être doublement responsable: vis-à-vis de sa vocation propre et unique, d’une part, et d’autre part vis-à-vis de la communauté au sein de laquelle sa vocation s’exerce. [...] L’homme est donc à la fois libre et engagé, à la fois autonome et solitaire. [...] Enfin, à l’homme comme personne, à la fois libre et engagé, et vivant dans la tension entre l’autonomie et la solidarité, correspond le régime fédéraliste. [...] Il ne faut pas penser que la personne soit un moyen terme ou un juste milieu entre l’individu sans responsabilité et le soldat politique sans liberté. Car la personne, c’est l’homme réel, et les deux autres ne sont que des déviations morbides, des démissions de l’humanité complète.”

150. Ibid., “Je suppose que Jaspers entendait par balkanisation la désintégration de l’Europe en nationalismes rivaux, et par helvétisation au contraire, l’intégration fédérale des nations, renonçant au dogme de leur souveraineté absolue, et acceptant sous une forme ou sous une autre, une constitution commune.” See also: Denis de Rougemont, “L’Europe en jeu: unie ou colonisée”, (Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière, 1948), 125–141.

smaller scale than its applications.¹⁵¹ He dismissed the suggestion that it would be too fast for Europe to accept a federalist system, saying that in 1846 no Swiss could have thought of ever having a federalist system with a common constitution, but it had one by 1848.¹⁵² It was a civil war that forced the Swiss to adopt a common constitution and form a confederation. Only in this way could they return to the peaceful way they had lived together before the civil war. De Rougemont stressed that a state such as Switzerland that respects the peaceful union of two religions, four languages, 22 republics and a large number of ‘races’, thus displays anti-racism and anti-nationalism.¹⁵³

De Rougemont strongly criticized the scepticism and even the hostility of public opinion regarding plans for European federalization. He objected to those who considered the federalist idea utopian wishful thinking. By doing so they gave preference to the existing status quo with the inevitable danger of war, according to De Rougemont. He ridiculed the fact that what is called the utopian ideal seems to be the exclusive patrimony of those who fight for peace and union while those that recommend war and prepare the future accordingly are taken seriously. The idea of a customs union, of political calm or of a federation was considered premature, but where

151. De Rougemont, “L’attitude fédéraliste,” “Une expérience de laboratoire est nécessairement plus réduite de dimensions que ses applications, mais pourtant celles-ci n’existeraient pas sans celle-là.”

152. Ibid., “Ce qui étonne tous les historiens de notre Confédération, c’est justement l’extrême rapidité avec laquelle la Constitution de 1848 fut proposée, écrite, adoptée et mise en pratique. En 1846, elle était encore une utopie. Trois ans plus tard, elle fonctionnait si bien que l’on eût dit qu’elle allait de soi.”

153. Ibid., “Par la force des choses, l’union paisible de deux religions, de quatre langues, de 22 républiques, et de je ne sais combien de “races” en un État qui les respecte, cette union prend l’allure à la fois d’un antiracisme déclaré et d’un anti-nationalisme.”

re-armament and preparations for a war between nations or political parties were concerned, haste had to be made.¹⁵⁴

Many parallels can be drawn between Schuman's thoughts and those of De Rougemont, especially regarding the importance of the concept of the human person and the need to work together as nations. Though their respective understanding of both 'man' and 'method of cooperation' might have been slightly different, the underlying idea is very similar. Man should occupy a key position within the European process of integration. Like De Rougemont, Schuman was not afraid of encouraging the partial surrender of sovereignty of national states. One difference between the two is that Schuman never spoke of the United States of Europe, as De Rougemont did. Schuman gave a lot of importance to the national identity of each state on its own within the European integration process while De Rougemont stressed the need to do away with any kind of nationalism. According to Schuman unification had to be achieved through step-by-step integration with respect for national identities as long as they did not violate the European common good, as is explained in section 2.1. Schuman wanted a European unification that was the result of common European interests of member states while De Rougemont focused on fast federalization on every plane, disregarding national identities in the process. De Rougemont does also not stress explicitly the importance of the European cultural and spiritual heritage.

154. De Rougemont, "L'Europe en jeu," 85-87. "De même, l'adjectif utopiste est exclusivement réservé à ceux qui luttent pour la paix et l'union. On ne traite jamais d'utopiste un homme qui préconise la guerre, la juge prochaine, et veut tout disposer, dès maintenant, dans cette vue de l'avenir. [...] Enfin un plan d'union douanière, de trêve politique, ou de fédération, sera toujours qualifié de prématuré. [...] Mais pour peu qu'il s'agisse de réarmer et de se préparer à la guerre entre nations ou entre partis, le temps presse, le moment est venu, peut-être même est-il trop tard! Dans tous les cas, l'urgence est telle que discuter serait faire le jeu de l'ennemi, et que demander à voir serait trahir."

2.2.4 Henri Brugmans

*Rare are the people that received the gift to pay a sustainable tribute to history. The President Robert Schuman belongs to this small group of privileged children of humanity.*¹⁵⁵

Henri Brugmans

Henri Brugmans (1906–1997) was a widely known Dutch advocate of European integration after the World War II and a friend of Schuman's. Like Schuman, Brugmans was also occupied with a European unification and the way it should come about. Even during the war whilst held in a concentration camp he and other intellectuals were outlining a new political and social order for after the war.¹⁵⁶

Brugmans held several offices in European institutions, for instance the office of President of the Union of European Federalists (1946–1956). He and De Rougemont shared the ideal of federalism during those years. In 1949 he also became the first Head of the College of Europe in Bruges. This was the first centre of which European Studies formed the core. Brugmans held this post until 1972. In 1951, two years after the start of the College of Europe, he received a Charlemagne Award for his European unifying efforts.

At the congress on the origins of federalism in Montreux in 1947, Brugmans, as President of the UEF, stressed the need for Europeans to be confident and to practice solidarity. He emphasized the need to see the 'German question' as a problem that needs a European solution. His idea is that it is not so much a 'German question' as it is a 'European question'. He urged the countries in this

155. Henri Brugmans, "Eloge du Professeur Henri Brugmans" in *Du Pater Europae aux Pères de l'Europe*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010), 48. "Rares sont les hommes à qui il est donné d'apporter un tribut durable à l'histoire. Le Président Robert Schuman fait partie de ce petit groupe d'enfants privilégiés de l'humanité."

156. Walter Lipgens and Wilfried Loth, *Documents on the History of European Integration, The Struggle for European Union by Political Parties and Pressure Groups in Western European Countries 1945–1950*, Volume 3, European University Institute, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1988), 359.

regard to be conscious of the European common vocation to work towards unity and to reconcile and cooperate in the fields of coal and steel as these provided the suitable means for fruitful collaboration.

What is needed is to establish the first nucleus of autonomous European administration of coal and heavy industry, administrations which would restore in the economic sphere the geological and geographical unity of the coal-producing and industrial basin of Western Europe, which would then be able to function effectively, freed at last from national trammels. These organizations would be controlled by all the interests concerned, and, for this very reason, would no longer be in danger of serving potential aggressors. [...] Once there is the prospect of material revival and European co-operation, the decentralization of the country ceases to look like anti-national and reactionary dismemberment. Once the Ruhr becomes part of One Europe, in exactly the same way as Lorraine, Luxembourg, the coalfields of Belgium and North-Eastern France, Liege and the Limburg the spectre of “Balkanization” disappears, and the life of the locality, the parish, the province can develop freely, in a large, united “living space.”[...] What has been called the re-education of Germany [...] is the responsibility of the whole European and human community.¹⁵⁷

Brugmans thus encouraged European countries to work together in the fields of coal and steel and in this sense anticipated the European Coal and Steel Community.

Brugmans pointed out this was a troubled period of transition: “Three years after the death of Hitler we see around us nothing but mistrust, uncertainty and fanaticism. We live under a Great Fear regime.” He mentioned the importance of the Marshall Plan and its motto for Europe to “First get together; then we will see,”¹⁵⁸ a demand

157. Henri Brugmans, “Fundamentals of European federalism,” speech delivered at the Conference of the European Union of Federalists, at Montreux in August 1947, brought up-to-date for publication. (London: British Section of European Union of Federalists, 1948), 3–19. See also: www.ena.lu

158. Ibid.

that he considered of common sense and healthy for Europeans, who desperately needed the American aid for the rebuilding of Europe. Brugmans focused on the necessity for complete European unification characterized by a confidence in the Europeans themselves and their common vocation.¹⁵⁹ The situation of political disunity thus had to change, was his conclusion.

An extensive number of Brugmans' remarks will be quoted to illustrate these convictions. The first ones refer to the lack of unity Europe experiences right after the Second World War. Brugmans points at the dangerous attitude of those who wish to go back to the past only to protect their own interests and privileges. He stresses the urgent need for unity and focuses on the fact that Europe needs to cure itself, as there is no state that will be able to do it for Europe. Only in this way will Europe be capable of contributing to a new world-order. Through European unity Europe will deserve the American support and at the same time protect itself from too strong an American influence.

He further focuses on the need to strive towards re-unification with the Eastern and Central European countries and to foster the relationship with those countries, whilst not disregarding the Soviet Union. Brugmans then stresses the need for the introduction of a political federal structure. The latter would not only affect Europe but the entire world-order. The federal structure he speaks about would bring about a new social order in which the emphasis is on the individual's personal development and on solidarity and freedom.

Brugmans' quotes demonstrate a strong resemblance to Schuman's thoughts and reflect at the same time the contemporary situation: "We find ourselves in our present unhappy condition not

159. Ibid., "our European 'patriotism' means above all: confidence in ourselves, solidarity, consciousness of our common vocation."

because we are bankrupt or in a state of fundamental economic exhaustion but only because of political disunity.”¹⁶⁰ He stressed the fact that this is mainly due to inner division:

The most serious of all is the threat of treason, or at least of surrender, within our fortress itself. This danger comes from those “Europeans” who set their faces against any reform of the structure of society, who dream of a return to the past, who are “anti-Communists” not because they believe in freedom - but because they desire privilege; and who, beaten on the field of national politics, count on the United States to bring back the old discredited system.

Europe’s fate is in her own hands. It is at once weakness and wishful thinking to imagine that any outside power, however friendly, however generous, can save our continent. Europe is sick; Europe alone can cure herself. Thus only can she hope to make a complete and helpful contribution to the new world-order to which we all look forward.

That is why we believe so passionately in European independence, that is to say: in Europe’s own mission. But, for our struggle to succeed, we must unite as quickly as possible. To deserve help from America and at the same time to safeguard ourselves against eventual American interference in our affairs, there is only one weapon - unity. We must forge that weapon, and forge it with the least possible delay.¹⁶¹

At the Montreux congress he also mentioned the great setback caused by the Soviet Union when it prohibited countries of Eastern Europe from participating in the Marshall Plan and thus from combining efforts with Western Europe. Brugmans continued by stressing that unity remains Europe’s last chance. He also commented on an additional effect that European unity would have, saying:

160. Ibid.

161. Brugmans, Archives historiques de l’Union européenne, Florence, Villa Il Poggiolo. Dépôts, DEP. Mouvement européen, ME 406. A year later at the Congress of Europe in The Hague, Brugmans stated as President of the Bureau of the Union of European Federalists (UEF) in his opening address that European unity on a supranational basis is a prerequisite for all efforts towards international understanding.

“continental consolidation on our part would encourage other parts of the world to unite.”¹⁶² He then referred to the need to continue the relationship with Eastern Europe and to strive towards the unification of Western and Eastern Europe:

Are we going to allow the bridges to be blown between ourselves and our brothers of Eastern Europe? Are we to capitulate before the accomplished fact? Certainly not. On the contrary, more than ever we denounce every tendency towards splitting the world between the two Super Powers (which, as a matter of strict fact, total between them only about 14 per cent of the world's population). More than ever are we convinced that war today is not only criminal but useless. More than ever do we feel ourselves one with the peoples of Eastern Europe. [...] Though the vicissitudes of international politics may separate us for the time being, European federalism does not accept this division as a fait accompli.¹⁶³

Brugmans further argued that Russian Communism would never fit in western European society, though he was quick to add this did not imply a lack of respect towards the Soviet Union:

We believe that Russian Communism, with all it connotes of one-sided propaganda and censorship, police politics, fanaticism and spiritual inquisition, will never provide a form of society which will permanently satisfy the peoples of Europe whether of the East or the West. We all possess - and intend to preserve - a critical and free-thinking temperament, and if it were no longer possible to say “No” in our own countries - “No” to the legislative bodies, to the Government, to academic art or official science - then Prague, Vienna, Zurich, Paris and London would be cities of the dead.

Brugmans emphasized the need to reflect on the profound statement made to the American people by George Washington at the end of his presidency:

Treat all nations with good faith and justice [...] Permanent, inveterate hatred of certain peoples and a passionate attachment for others must be ruled out. The nation which

162. Brugmans, “Fundamentals of federalism,” Montreux 1947.

163. Ibid.

abandons itself to lasting hatred or unswerving affection for another nation, in some measure makes itself a slave.¹⁶⁴

The federalist thought Brugmans proclaimed also involved the rest of the world: “by the very fact of pursuing a European policy we are already pursuing a policy of world order. It would be absurd to try to organize Europe in a watertight compartment.”¹⁶⁵ Next to the European common good the universal common good also needs to be taken into account, as it will affect and be affected by the European common good. A logical consequence of this idea is that federalist thought needs to permeate the economy, from agriculture to international transportation. This will invariably have an impact on the social structure.

The social aspect of federalism was that next to a new political system it also aspires to a new social order in which the individual is respected as a human being and his personal development encouraged:

What does federalism offer in this field? Two elements indissolubly linked: organic solidarity and liberty - in other words, development of the human personality. Only viewed thus can liberty cease to mean exploitation, and solidarity avoid turning into totalitarian dictatorship. [...] To our minds the worker is not free if he is the slave of mechanization or of profit, if the undertaking in which he works is not at the same time his undertaking; if he cannot be certain that what he produces will add to the well-being of the community as a whole. [...] We reject the divine right of employers and technicians, when they claim to be organizing economic life, to exploit man by using him as human raw material.¹⁶⁶

Brugmans saw federalism as the solution to not only the ‘German question’, but also as the solution for Europe and even the world as such. Federalism would bring about man’s desired freedom and the abolishment of borders and divisions.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid.

Federalism, then, on every plane - federalism, creator of organic and visible solidarity, European and World federalism, the only means of resolving the contradictions of a period in which all men are jointly and severally responsible for the activities of their fellow men. Federalism, federalism again, and always more and more federalism, so that we may live in freedom, and frontiers and divisions may at last be swept away.¹⁶⁷

Brugmans called European federalism “a common and personal vocation which we have not the right to deny [...] for the rest, the future is not in our hands - it is in the hands of God.”¹⁶⁸

There are many striking similarities between Schuman’s and Brugmans’ thoughts. Both have similar thoughts on the ‘German question’; that it is in fact a European question and that it can best be solved by cooperation in the fields of coal and steel. On this topic Schuman said the following:

It remains for me to raise a special problem for the French and for the peoples of Alsace and Lorraine in particular. That is the place that will be reserved for Germany in the European organization. Nobody can imagine excluding Germany from it. On the contrary, I think that when it comes to the German problem there is only one solution: the European solution.¹⁶⁹

Schuman agreed with Brugmans’s statement that Europe alone could cure itself and had its fate in its own hands. There was no other entity that could solve its problem of disunity. Unity was the only solution to the problem and the American financial aid would contribute to achieving this. But Brugmans differed from Schuman in that he wanted federalism in every area. Schuman advocated the step-by-step procedure (see 2.1) and was more cautious about the protection of

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

169. Schuman, Speech at the Council of Europe.

national identities of states, as previously mentioned in the section on De Rougemont.

Schuman was hesitant about the idea of a Federation of European States as conceived by De Rougemont and Brugmans. Such a federation might unnecessarily, and counterproductively, ‘kill’ national sovereignty on essential points.¹⁷⁰ But Schuman did also underline the need for cohesion in all areas: in economic, political and military affairs. He envisioned a close cooperation that would lead to a common perspective of shared interests and responsibilities and not a strictly national point of view. But he also stressed the importance of this national point of view; that national interests should not be neglected, but incorporated in a reciprocal interdependence. Consider Schuman’s famous statements:

Europe won’t be built overnight, neither without obstacles on its way. Its construction will follow the way of the spirit. Nothing that lasts happens easily. Europe is already on its way. And beyond the existing institutions, the European idea, its spirit of solidarity as a community have taken root.¹⁷¹

The common basis of our civilization is essential, according to Schuman. This common basis gradually creates a bond strong enough to break all obstacles:¹⁷²

170. Schuman, *Pour l’Europe*, 111–112. “L’idée même d’un gouvernement fédéral et celle d’un parlement fédéral impliqueraient, me semble-t-il, un pouvoir de décision majoritaire, liant les États fédérés. J’estime que ce serait brûler les étapes, s’engager prématurément et imprudemment dans la voie d’un dessaisissement de la souveraineté nationale sur des points d’importance essentiels.” See also: section 2.1.

171. Robert Schuman quoted in Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 171: “L’Europe ne se fera en un jour, ni sans heurts. Son édification suivra le cheminement des esprits. Rien de durable ne s’accomplit dans la facilité. Déjà l’Europe est en marche. Et par-delà les institutions existantes, l’idée européenne, l’esprit de solidarité communautaire ont pris racine.” See also: Schuman, *Pour l’Europe*, 20. See also: section 2.1.

172. See also: Schuman, *Pour l’Europe*, 20. “Cette idée “Europe” révélera à tous les bases communes de notre civilisation; elle créera peu à peu un lien semblable à celui dont naguère se sont forgées les patries. Elle sera la force contre laquelle se briseront tous les obstacles.”

The idea is not to merge States to create a Super State. Our European States are a historical reality. From a psychological point of view it would be impossible to do away with them. Their diversity is a good thing and we do not intend to level them down or equalize them. [...] To our mind, European policy is certainly not in contradiction with the patriotic ideal. It encourages the particular nature and characteristics of each of its states and fosters the sound love for one's own country which is a love that does not go in detriment of other countries. It wants to attain a unity in the fullness of its diversity.¹⁷³

Schuman thus shared many ideas with Brugmans. As mentioned before Schuman also believed that Europe alone could cure itself and that it could do so through unification. Both Schuman and Brugmans emphasized the need for reconciliation and regarded the 'German question' as a 'European question' that could be solved by cooperation in the field of coal and steel. Both stressed the pivotal role of the human person in society and in the European integration process.

Both Schuman and Brugmans supported the idea of European integration and the use of supranational entities to support common interests. The difference between the two resides in the fact that Schuman suggested a different method and a different model of European integration. Schuman wanted the step-by-step method and not all as soon as possible as Brugmans suggested. Schuman wished to safeguard the national identities in the process of unification and not federalization on every plane as Brugmans proposed.

173. Schuman, *For Europe*, 16, 21. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 26, 30: "Cependant il ne s'agit pas de fusionner les États associés, de créer un super-État. Nos États européens sont une réalité historique; il serait psychologiquement impossible de les faire disparaître. Leur diversité est même très heureuse, et nous ne voulons ni les niveler ni les égaliser. Leur politique européenne, dans notre esprit, n'est absolument pas contradictoire avec l'idéal patriotique de chacun de nous."

2.2.5 Karl Jaspers

Karl Theodor Jaspers (1883–1969)¹⁷⁴ and Schuman received the Erasmus Prize together in 1959. Both were rewarded for their contribution to European culture and European unification.

Jaspers was a well-known German psychiatrist and philosopher. He taught psychology at Heidelberg University. At the age of 40 Jaspers turned from psychology to philosophy and became a renowned philosopher. When the National Socialists came into power in 1933, Jaspers was forced to leave the University because he had a Jewish wife. In 1938 he was no longer allowed to publish. He continued his studies though at home. It was only when the Americans liberated Heidelberg, in 1945, that Jaspers no longer needed to fear a concentration camp. He started to write and deliver speeches on Europe and about its way to go in the future. Three years later he moved to Basel in Switzerland where he was a prominent philosopher until his death in 1969.

Core issues in Jaspers' philosophy were the need for individual freedom, the meaning of being and the transcendence of the human being, and the interconnection of these three issues. According to Jaspers, the individual is confronted with the borders of reality and its meaning. He will therefore need to make a choice between sinking into despair and resignation and taking a leap of faith towards what Jaspers calls 'transcendence'. It is this leap of faith which makes an individual experience his own limitless freedom and thereby his authentic existence and being. Jaspers saw 'transcendence' as an ultimate absolute or non-objectivity (or no-thing-ness), but he did not

174. (Biographical) data from: Karl Jaspers, "Verantwoordelijkheid en opdracht" in *Rekenschap van Europa*, (Amsterdam: Vrij Nederland, 1947), 199–229; and *Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy*, Stanford (California).

associate this transcendence with any religious doctrine. Jaspers emphasizes that it is the individual who decides:

First, man is autonomous in the face of all the authorities of the world: the individual, reared by authority, at the end of the process of his maturation decides in his immediacy and responsibility before Transcendence what is unconditionally true. Second, man is a datum of Transcendence: to obey Transcendence in that unconditional decision leads man to his own Being.¹⁷⁵

He recognized and wrote about the threat to human freedom from modern science, economics and politics. According to him positivistic philosophy could not be considered philosophy as it excludes transcendence.

Jaspers, as the other intellectuals mentioned in this chapter, vehemently opposed the totalitarian system of government. He too warned against the increasing move towards technology, and to a regime that regarded humans as mere instruments of science or ideological goals:

Totalitarianism is neither Communism nor fascism nor National Socialism, but it has appeared in all of these forms. It is the universal, terrible threat of the future of mankind in a mass order. It is a phenomenon of our age, detached from all the politics governed by principles of a historic national existence of constitutional legality. Wherever it comes to power, domestic politics give way to intrigues and acts of force, and foreign policy, the conduct of relations with other states, is shrouded in a semblance of talk and negotiation, but without being tied by any rules of the game, to any community of human interests. [...] We are fighting totalitarianism on behalf of freedom. The enemy is neither Communism in itself, nor Russia in herself [...] The fight is a struggle for freedom within the free countries. [...] We may hope that it will be waged with clear vision and acute intelligence in the concrete situations. It is in this task that our forces meet or split or grow

175. Karl Jaspers, "On my philosophy" (1941) in: *Existentialism from Dostoyevsky to Sartre*, ed. Walter Kaufman, (New York: New American Library, 1975).

confused on the plain basic issue of our spiritual fate, and of its consequences in political reality.¹⁷⁶

Jaspers was in favour of a form of government that guaranteed individual freedom and had only limited involvement. According to him such a regime needed to be rooted in authentic tradition and be guided by an intellectual elite.¹⁷⁷ For him Europe is ‘the bible and the antiquity’, and these two should play a fundamental role in the governing of Europe.¹⁷⁸ His observations clearly echo those of Schuman with his focus on the European spiritual and cultural heritage.

Regarding the possible shapes that Europe could take, Jaspers believed that: “The alternative for Europe is Balkanization or Helvetization.” Balkanization, as explained by De Rougemont, refers to disintegration and national rivalries or a mixture of conflicts and hostilities; this would be contrary to Schuman’s thinking. Helvetization refers to building a political identity that overcomes the diversity of national origins and languages, as Switzerland did.¹⁷⁹

Jaspers’s ideas on the necessity of transcendence in order to experience limitless freedom and authentic existence could be considered as a philosophic version of the concept of the human person Schuman believed in and saw as fundamental for the entire European unification process. Schuman’s definition of the concept of ‘individual’ is one that is proper to Catholic faith, which is a human being with a personal vocation to sanctity. Both Schuman and Jaspers believed that the European project should be built on and revolve

176. Karl Jaspers, “The Fight Against Totalitarianisms,” *Athenaeum Reading Room*, 1963.

177. Ibid.

178. See also note 197.

179. See also: “European Values & Identity,” Task Force for European values and identity of the European Ideas Network, Századvég Foundation, Austrian Institute for European Security Policy, Constantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy, Free Europe Centre, SPK-Europe.

around the concept of man and his transcendence and not on scientific, economic or political ideals that disregard his pivotal role. Jaspers thought about European spiritual and cultural heritage and about integration but did not express specific ideas in his writings about European unification as Schuman did.

2.2.6 Romano Guardini

*Europe will be Christian or it will cease to be.*¹⁸⁰

Romano Guardini

Romano Guardini (1885–1968) was a prominent figure in Catholic intellectual life and an acquaintance of Schuman.¹⁸¹ Their thoughts coincide to a large extent regarding the importance of Christianity for Europe. Guardini was an Italian by birth, but lived from his first year onwards in Germany due to his father being a diplomat. Being an Italian living and growing up in Germany made him consider the concept of being a European citizen and also meant he never disregarded either his Italian origin or his German formation. He studied theology, became a priest and taught philosophy of religion and Catholic Worldview at the University of Berlin until he was forced to resign for having openly criticized the Nazis in his essay *The Saviour* in 1939. He criticized them for mythologizing the person of

180. Romano Guardini, “De heilbode in de mythe, openbaring en politiek,” in *Peilingen van het Christelijk denken, verzamelde studies 1925–1963*, trans. Piet van Antwerpen et al., (The Hague: Lannoo, 1965), 541. See also: Romano Guardini, *Die Sinne und die religiöse Erkenntnis*, (Würzburg 1958). The word ‘Christian’ needs to be put in the context of Guardini’s constant search for the typical Christian element. Out of Guardini’s works (such as the ones that focus on his vision on worldview and on Europe as will be dealt with in this chapter) can be concluded that the Christian element implies respect of man’s freedom, also freedom of religion, and consists of man’s longing to become the person he is meant to be by God. It similarly encourages man to contribute to a society that concords with the universal principles embedded in natural law as reflected in those days in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and to not give in to the search for power. A secular society that is not an integralist secular society needs therefore not necessarily be an anti-Christian society. See also note 430.

181. See chapter 1.2.

Christ, putting Hitler in Christ's place and for abusing Christianity for Hitler's anti-Semitism.¹⁸² Guardini had also stressed that Christ was a Jew, a statement that infuriated the Nazis. Another important reason for his dismissal was that the Nazis objected to the Catholic worldview he taught at the university because it was incompatible with the Nazi ideology.¹⁸³ Guardini saw Nazism as an immoral annihilation of the self.¹⁸⁴

Guardini was appointed professor in philosophy of religion at the University of Tübingen the same year the Second World War ended. Three years later he moved to Munich to lecture at the University of Munich, where he remained until retiring, for health reasons, in 1962. His ill health prevented him from playing any active role in the Second Vatican Council. Nevertheless, his ideas were highly esteemed by the Roman Catholic Church and his thoughts on liturgical reforms found their way into official documents of the Second Vatican Council. Some even considered Guardini to be a precursor of the Second Vatican Council. Guardini's many writings were often powerful studies of traditional themes in the light of present-day challenges, or conversely examinations of current problems as approached from the Christian, and especially Catholic,

182. See also: Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 274. Dawkins quotes in this regard Hitler's words: "The first thing to do is to rescue [Germany] from the Jew who is ruining our country [...] We want to prevent our Germany from suffering, as Another did, the death upon the Cross."

183. Robert A. Krieg, "Romano Guardini's theology of the human person," *Theological Studies* 59 (1998). Krieg mentions that "Romano Guardini was summoned to the office of the Third Reich's Minister of Education, Bernhard Rust, in January 1939 and was told that he could no longer be the University of Berlin's professor of Philosophy of Religion and Catholic Worldview. Rust's explanation: 'when the state itself has a worldview, there can be no room for a chair of Catholic 'Weltanschauung' at the University.' [...] A few days later, the Minister of Education telephoned Guardini and asked him if he would be willing to retire without the academic rank of professor emeritus and also without a pension. The Catholic scholar immediately said yes."

184. See: Robert A. Krieg, *Romano Guardini: A Precursor to Vatican II*, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), chapter 6.

tradition. His thoughts also influenced many intellectuals, amongst whom the current Pope Benedict XVI, then Cardinal Ratzinger.

Ratzinger would remind the public of Guardini's warning that no politics were possible combined with annihilation of conscience. He also pointed out Guardini's emphasis on the need for a real and effective interpretation of the world in order to procure sound politics. Ratzinger said the following in his speech for the Romano Guardini Award in 1979:

Romano Guardini's experience of Hitler's bloody tyranny and his vigilance before new threats led him, during his last years and almost against his own temperament, to issue dramatic warnings about the destruction of politics through the annihilation of conscience, and drove him to call for a proper interpretation, not a merely theoretical one, but a real and effective interpretation of the world according to the man who acts politically on the basis of faith.¹⁸⁵

In 1952, Guardini won the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade and in 1962 the Erasmus Prize. He died in Munich in 1968. His estate was left to the Catholic Academy in Bavaria, which he had co-founded. The appreciation for his books increased in the 1990s due to the applicability of many of his ideas on current world affairs.

Regarding Europe, Guardini always stressed that it was a Christian spirit that made Europe what it was. Therefore, he considered Christ the protagonist of European history, the one who set man free from the bondage of myth and ties to nature and who enabled man to have a personal relationship with God. He also explained that it was precisely for this reason that National Socialism was so keen on removing Christ from the scene, trying to fill his place with its ideology incarnated in the person of Hitler. He was convinced

185. Joseph A. Ratzinger, speech on 14 March 1979 at the Bavarian Catholic Academy in Munich, when handing out the Romano Guardini Prize to the Prime-Minister of Bavaria, Alfons Goppel.

that the moment Europe ignores Christ and thereby its essence, it will lose its intrinsic value.¹⁸⁶

Schuman and Guardini knew each other well and were thus familiar with each other's thoughts and works from the time of the recollections in Maria Laach onwards. Both were also acquainted with Theodor Abele, the then organizer of the Catholic intellectual circles in which both men participated. Their similarity of thought is striking in that Guardini's observations apply to Schuman's spiritual world and to his way of thinking about the role of nations within the European integration process. Guardini's search to express what is essentially Christian, truth and belonging to human dignity in a philosophic manner can even be considered a philosophical background or explanation of Schuman's driving force. Guardini's Catholic worldview thus provides a philosophical and cultural background or framework for the understanding of Schuman's thinking. For this reason some details on Guardini's worldview will be provided here.

Guardini's worldview

Guardini considered Catholic worldview (*Weltanschauung*) a science that needs to be defined properly so as to distinguish itself from both philosophy and theology on the one hand, and from natural sciences on the other hand. When making this distinction one could say about philosophy that it belongs to the field of thought and reason applied to thought. About theology can be said that it pertains to the study of faith, reason applied to faith and reason illuminated by faith. Natural sciences on the other hand belong to the fields of nature and restrict themselves to the examination and description of the tangible

186. Guardini, "De heilbode in de mythe," 542–543. See also: Guardini, *Die Sinne und die religiöse Erkenntnis*.

elements of a certain object. Guardini believed that the science of worldview distinguishes itself from all these in that it directs itself principally towards the totality of its object, the worldview. This totality is not a sum of its parts, nor a synthesis of its parts, but an ordering. It is an interpretation of what each separate thing strives for from the very first moment of its being and how this is related to all other separate things and to the overall totality.¹⁸⁷

In connection to Schuman's ideas on European integration it means that a worldview tries to reach the point where the essence of each entity (be it a member state, Europe, or the world) is connected most intrinsically with the overall essence (*Wesentlichkeit*); that is, the Totality (*Ganzheit*) it participates in. This Totality is beyond the entity concerned and at the same time intrinsically present in each of the entities. The result of such a worldview is therefore different from the result of exploring and trying to identify the psychological, sociological, political and economic reasons that might explain the situation of the current world, although these can contribute a great deal to the understanding of the world.¹⁸⁸

Solitude, when properly experienced, may be seen as personal liberation. Its power and necessity increase with the stature of the individual, and he has all the greater need of it when his special talents are of an active sort. One condition of a healthy life is that this experience of solitude be constantly renewed, to some extent by every man and, in a representative sense, by certain individuals for all mankind. Solitude stirs awareness of his personality in a man caught up in a network of community relationships. It makes him conscious of his own centre, which at times is the centre of the world, that is the real world: not the mere complex of available objects, but of the reality in which these objects are experienced, known and accepted by the person in question. Then what has been said previously about

187. See also: Romano Guardini, "Het wezen van de Katholieke Wereldbeschouwing," in *Peilingen van het Christelijk denken*, 17.

188. Ibid., 20, 21.

the individual centre is carried over into the world of existence. The individual experiences his uniqueness, which can neither be replaced nor displaced. This has nothing to do with selfishness or self-aggrandizement; it is the foundation of man's being and worth - of the individual who, as a person, can never be a means to a further end and also of groups which, because they are human, can be formed only of persons.¹⁸⁹

Guardini refers here to the need to foster the intrinsic connection between the entity of the person and the Totality which he experiences within himself and which pulls him upwards so as to attain his full development. The tension between the two must be kept alive. It requires, however, a person's constant will, strength and effort to keep this vision alive and live up to it. This task is humanly speaking impossible to carry out without supernatural help and vision, a vision that goes beyond human nature as such. That is, it is impossible without being fed by the Totality it participates in, and which, surprisingly enough, makes a person see and understand his own essence and that of others better. In this way, man attains a deeper insight in the Totality both unique and common to each and every person. A rather imperfect comparison could be made with getting to know oneself better because of knowing one's parents better, or with understanding a certain type of animal's behaviour better when knowing the main characteristics of its species.

The science of worldview makes use of philosophical insights, but is not a product of philosophy. Philosophy and science are closer to life in that sense than worldview is. Worldview is pure insight, a panoramic view, an understanding of life and the world that is even more profound than philosophy and natural sciences could ever be. It does not create, but it sees. Worldview does lead to a creative power,

189. Ibid., 44. See also: Heinz Kuehn, *The Essential Guardini: An Anthology of the Writings of Guardini*, (East Peoria, IL: Versa Press, 1997), 56.

but this power receives its form by observing, understanding, seeing. It allows an observer to see things as they are in themselves. Worldview entails to perceive what is already there, but not to act. To look at the world in this way one needs to create distance. It is necessary to look from beyond, from outside this world, being essentially different and free from the world. It is only then that man is free, able to look, see and observe correctly.¹⁹⁰

In 1962, Cardinal Ratzinger reflected on the fundamental structure of Guardini's thoughts, which were focussed constantly on the need to search for truth. Ratzinger mentioned the 'logos' and the 'ethos' that can be found in Guardini's work, two concepts that can be considered parallel to, respectively, the Absolute and the individual object spoken of above. In order to find its own being and thereby also find truth, the individual object needs to obey the Absolute, the full Truth, and be actively connected with the Absolute which is at the same time both in his inmost being and beyond, but which asks to be searched for constantly in order to be found constantly. Ratzinger related the concept of the Absolute or the 'logos' in this regard to God, as Silvano Zucal explains:

For Guardini - the future Pope emphasizes - the truth of man is essentiality, conformity to being, or even better, the "obedience to being" that is above all the obedience of our being before the being of God. Only in this way does one attain the power of the truth, the decisive and directional primacy of logos over ethos on which Guardini always insisted. What Guardini wanted, Ratzinger explains, was always "a new advancement toward being itself, the search for the essential that is found in the truth."¹⁹¹

190. Guardini, "Het wezen van de Katholieke Wereldbeschouwing," 26-27.

191. Silvano Zucal, "Ratzinger and Guardini, a decisive encounter," *Vita e Pensiero*, (3 October 2008).

Guardini's theories echo Schuman's wish to act in accordance with the will of God, to be a faithful instrument of Providence. The search for the Absolute, which is also called Truth, or God, and the wish to be and act aligned with it as a human being and thus also with regard to his profession as a politician, characterized Schuman's entire life.

Guardini's view on the reality of Europe and Europe's challenge ahead

*If Europe is to become a reality, it is first essential that every European nation shall re-think its history and see its past in the light of this great construction of tomorrow.*¹⁹²

Romano Guardini

Romano Guardini held a speech entitled "Europe, reality or mission" upon receiving the Erasmus Prize in Brussels on 21 April 1962.¹⁹³ In his speech he referred to the enormous task and challenge that awaited Europe in a world context shaped by its own past. According to Guardini, Europe has power and is able to exert, but also to abuse or to neglect it.

His thoughts on Europe's task can be considered a practical expression of his worldview. According to him it is the Totality that permeates each and every entity (be it a human person, state or continent) and that links the entities among themselves and unites them. Each entity as such has a unique relationship with the Totality in which it participates and therefore also with the other entities that participate in the same Totality, but each in a unique way.

According to Guardini, it is the power of science and technology that has made the world an increasingly smaller place. The

192. Romano Guardini, Acceptance Speech upon being awarded the Erasmus Prize, Brussels 2 April 1962. See also: *Europa, werkelijkheid en taak*, (Hilversum, Antwerp: Paul Brand, 1962).

193. Ibid.

power of certain states and continents had led to enormous empires in the past. In general, it is power that shapes the history of the world, of continents, states and individuals. Guardini's thoughts remind us in this regard of the theory of cultural philosophy that says that each action of man provokes a reaction towards man himself and others. What a person says, does or thinks has a direct or indirect effect on the person himself and the people surrounding him. Even the thought of possessing power has its influence on the person who has the power and on the people surrounding him. Guardini stated:

We do well to bear in mind a fundamental law of the philosophy of civilization; that nothing acts in one direction only - there is no action without reaction. Power is the capacity for action; but every influence I exert produces a reaction which in turn exerts an influence on me. The very fact of possessing power, of being able to use it, has an influence upon me; it urges me to use this power in the form of action. The urge may become compulsive, even demoniacal; the responsibility which this power lays on me as to whether and how I use it, and so on.¹⁹⁴

The fact of having the power to act is in itself the incentive to act. Essential in this process is the responsibility man has because of this power and its use. Alan Geyer, Professor of political science at Mary Baldwin College, connects Guardini's view on power with man's need to act in accordance with his purpose in life, which ultimately resides in his discovery and fulfilment of God's aim for him:

Just as there can be no power without a purposing agent, so there can be no purposeful activity without the exercise of power. This is not simply a biological or psychological fact with political consequences, it is a religious fact. Man's creation in the divine image gives him a special participation in God's sovereignty. Man is lord of nature and of himself by the

194. Ibid.

grace of God. The exercise of sovereign power is essential to man's very humanity and, ultimately, to his God-likeness.¹⁹⁵

Geyer describes how Guardini's worldview assembles and directs each and every entity towards the Totality they have in common and in which they participate. This principle resounds in Schuman's personal life and thought.

Guardini wondered if man could remain fully human when power increases exponentially. He asked himself if man would be able to manage this power properly. In short, he asked if man could absorb any amount of power or if he is limited by his human condition.

Schuman acted prudently so as to avoid the possibility of too much of power for Europe when he declared that Europe would not be built overnight. He stressed the need to follow a step-by-step process of European integration based on solidarity among the member-states.¹⁹⁶ He was acutely aware of the danger of giving too much power to the European Institutions at once, as this would not be fair towards the member states. The European Institutions themselves would not be able to cope with it. At the same time, Schuman insisted on the need for member states to leave behind the age of suffocating and egocentric nationalisms and to open up to other states in order to share and cooperate. They had sought to become too powerful and because of that became caught up in egocentric nationalisms.

Guardini observed that the magnitude of this problem of power had not yet been fully ascertained, and that the problem was as yet far from resolved. He questioned who was called to manage power and

195. Alan Geyer, "Guardini's view on Power" in *The voice for ethics in international policy*, Worldview magazine archive (1958–1985), Carnegie Council, New York 1962, volume 5, n. 1.

196. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 146, 153. Schuman in Schuman Declaration: "L'Europe ne se fera pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble: elle se fera par des réalisations concrètes, créant d'abord une solidarité de fait."

concluded that Europe was the most appropriate candidate. The managing of power should be Europe's task because of Europe's long and experienced history that has led it to its current situation and more importantly, that has helped it shed its illusions. Europe had known glorious days and days of terror and tragedy, all due to its good and bad use of human freedom. It had known scientific progress and conquests, but did not believe in guarantees for the way history will advance or in utopias of world happiness.

According to Guardini, it was not only its experience that has made Europe what it was, nor was it only the knowledge of the consequences of good and bad use of power and the need to maintain an active connection with the Absolute. Most of all it was its identity itself that made Europe the most suitable candidate to accept this challenge. Europe's identity characterizes itself by a constant process of acquisition and assimilation of its identity. In other words, it concerns a constant appropriation of its roots. These roots are the Jewish Christian heritage and the Greek and Roman tradition, whereby the former permeates the latter. In a certain sense this is a borrowed identity as the Jewish Christian heritage comes from outside Europe. Europe should fastidiously care for it and not consider this heritage its exclusive possession.¹⁹⁷ As Europe experiences itself constantly the process of appropriation of what was once foreign to it, it should, according to Guardini, be able to transfer not only its values based on the European spiritual and cultural heritage such as Christian virtues, morality and solidarity, human rights, rule of law and democracy as such but also the way in which those values can be transmitted to other states and continents. It is therefore not through

197. Remi Brague, *Eccentric Culture, A Theory of Western Civilization*, trans. Samuel Lester, (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press), 2002, 148–152. Europe is experienced in appropriating through the process of 'secondarity' what was originally foreign to it. This process is called a process of secondarity because of having its (primary) origin elsewhere.

imposition, but through transmission Europe can live up to its identity itself.

Schuman's creed was similar in that he constantly tried to live up to those values as well as to infuse the project of European unification with them. It is even possible to draw a parallel between Schuman's task and Europe's task; like Schuman was able to project the values of the European spiritual and cultural heritage onto the European unification project and its working towards the European common good, so Europe will be able to project those values onto the rest of the world and work with the other continents towards the universal common good. Then if the transmission of those values can be achieved among the European states, why not worldwide? Europe must simply be constantly aware of its spiritual and cultural heritage and its need for a constant process of appropriation of its values in order to be able to strive towards the universal common good. Furthermore it must be willing to share and cooperate with the other continents and not succumb to the suffocating continental egocentrism Schuman warned against.

Guardini firmly believed that the task of criticising power fell to Europe. This did not mean negative, fearful or reactionary criticism, but criticism out of concern for the human race. Guardini argued that in the past, Asia had appeared to be the oldest continent, timeless in a way other continents never were. However, Asia seemed now to deny its seniority and to live up to a new and grand but dangerous youth. By contrast, Europe had created this new age, but had also remained connected to its past. In this way Europe showed the signs of creativity together with those of its history of thousands of years. According to Guardini it is Europe's task and challenge not to encourage the power of science and technique, although this is surely unavoidable, but to restrain this power so as to prevent it from having

a deteriorating effect on human life itself.¹⁹⁸ He refers to the possibly detrimental effects of science and technology when they do not consider the limits of rationality and therefore of man's freedom.

According to Guardini, Europe is able to determine if one person is allowed to exercise power over another person. A mature question as this can only be answered clearly when one has lived through a great deal of history. In Europe man lives with an enormous amount of guilt towards his fellow men, and the enormous tragedies he caused. Europe also has to see how man suffers tremendously due to possibilities created by man himself. Europe should investigate the effects of this man-made power not as a purely theoretical problem, but as a moral issue of daily life.

The moral dimension proper to European integration Schuman and the other founding fathers had in mind revolved, perhaps especially to avoid the misuse of man-made power and a repetition of its dramatic consequences in the past, around man and his dignity. Economic cooperation was meant to be a means towards political integration so as to foster man's development, peace and security. The founding vision on European integration can therefore be considered a result or example of Guardini's theory.

Modern man, said Guardini, wants a structure behind which is a power; that is, a structure and power that serve. Here he returns to the science of worldview, the power of the Absolute and the structure of the entities aligned with the Absolute that Guardini sees as fundamental. The entities need to be open to and want to feed the alignment in order to achieve their totality or completeness. To recognize this and to attain this could also be a task for Europe in that Europe needs to be open to and want to achieve its totality or completeness. Guardini says in this regard that "History does not

198. Guardini, Acceptance Speech Erasmus Prize.

occur naturally, it is a man-made process, the accomplishment of which is not automatic, but has to be willed.”¹⁹⁹

Guardini considered it Europe’s task to contribute to the unification of peoples and societies because Europe had itself undergone the process completely, but would constantly need to work at this process. Europe had already started its unification process at the time Guardini is speaking (1962). Europe’s attitude should be one of humility and service. Schuman’s motto “I have come to serve and not to be served” echoes Guardini’s observations on Europe’s task.

2.2.7 Pope Pius XII

Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli (1876–1958)²⁰⁰ was a scholar and well-known diplomat for the Holy See before he was elected to the Papacy and became Pope Pius XII. Schuman was familiar with his writings and thoughts on the way to rebuild Europe after the Second World War. Schuman met the Pope several times. He received a personal letter from him in answer to the blessings Schuman had asked for when he was asked to become the new Prime Minister of France in November 1947. Schuman answered the Pope saying: “Acknowledging the sentiments that Your Holiness has dignified to direct towards me and that have touched me profoundly, I dare to offer You the witness of my most respectful devotion. The tasks of a quite heavy job make me feel every day the insufficiency of my proper means and the need of special grace.”²⁰¹

199. Guardini, Ibid.

200. Biographical data from: Piet van Veen, *Geschiedenis van de Pausen*, (Roermond: Romen & Zonen, 1950), 536–563; Andrea Tornielli, *Pio XII. Eugenio Pacelli. Un uomo sul trono di Pietro*. (Milan: Mondadori 2007); *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 14, (Chicago: Benton Publisher, 1974), 486–487.

201. Robert Schuman, letter 24 May 1948, quoted in Roth, 329: “Sachant les sentiments que Votre Sainteté a daigné exprimer à mon égard, et qui m’ont profondément touché, j’ose lui offrir le témoignage de mon plus respectueux

When Schuman's government fell and he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, one of his first actions was the replacement of Jacques Maritain as Ambassador to the Holy See by Wladimir d'Ormesson. He did so in answer to Maritain's request to be withdrawn from this post. Schuman informed D'Ormesson of his policy of reconciliation regarding Germany and D'Ormesson passed the information on to the Vatican. The Vatican reacted favourably to this new kind of policy that broke with the policy of revenge of Schuman's predecessors De Gaulle and Bidault. D'Ormesson quickly found his way to reach the Pope himself and the Pope's closest associates Tardini and Montini (the later Pope Paul VI). He organized a personal meeting for Schuman with the Pope in September 1950.²⁰²

The connection between the Pope and Schuman was often abused by those opposing their policy of reconciliation, such as the Gaullists and the communists, who started to speak of a conspiracy and a Vatican Europe. However, the Pope made very clear, as we will see later on in this section, that the Church had no say whatsoever in temporal matters and could only express its opinion.²⁰³ Furthermore, Schuman himself was in favour of a policy in line with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church²⁰⁴ for the plain reason that it formed part of the Catholic faith and thus also of Christian morality. Schuman himself reacted to the accusation of 'Vatican Europe' with the words:

dévouement. Les charges d'une fonction bien lourde me font sentir chaque jour l'insuffisance de mes propres moyens et le besoin de grâces spéciales."

202. Roth, 329–330. The fact that Pius XII hoped Schuman would remain Minister of Foreign Affairs during the French Ministerial crisis one year later is literally expressed in the words the Pope spoke to a Frenchman who visited Rome "Above all, make sure that Schuman remains on Foreign Affairs!"

203. The Catholic Church holds a moral mirror in front of state-affairs, but has no say in the execution and technicalities of state-affairs.

204. Ferdinand Kinsky, "European Unity and Diversity, a Christian point of view" *The European Legacy, Toward new paradigms* 3, no. 2, (1998), 55. "Konrad Adenauer, Alcide de Gasperi and Robert Schuman thought their task of uniting Europe to be in accordance with the social and political doctrines of the Catholic Church. They were encouraged by Pope Pius XII, a convinced European and world federalist."

The “Vatican Europe” is a myth. The Europe we envisage is as profane in the ideas which form its foundation as in the men who are establishing it. They take from the Holy See neither their inspiration nor their orders. Certainly, Christians have played, in fact, a considerable part, sometimes preponderant, in the creation of European institutions. There is a sort of predisposition, a similarity of preoccupations which renders Christians open to European ideas. But never have they claimed any monopoly or conceived of any clericalist or theocratic conspiracy; such ideas are perfectly utopian [...] Our first initiatives were taken in cooperation with notorious unbelievers, socialists, and others, anti-papalist protestants and Jews. Let the laicist guardians of the Capitol reassure themselves: Europe is not a Trojan horse invented by the Church to accomplish some shadowy design.²⁰⁵

It is worthwhile to emphasize in this context as well that Christianity and therefore also the thoughts of the Catholic Church cannot be identified with an ideology and that European integration is not a matter of faith. The Christian social doctrine and other teachings of the Church, however, do offer guidelines for the Christians.²⁰⁶ It is a known and remarkable fact though that no Pope until this day has expressed himself in such explicit ways on state affairs as Pius XII did on European unification.

In 1956, two years before the Pope died, Schuman received from him the Grand Cross of the Order of Pius IX,²⁰⁷ a distinction that showed the Pope’s high esteem of Schuman’s integrity and service to the Church. During his lifetime, Pius XII was not only highly respected by Schuman, but by most of the faithful. However,

205. Fimister, 227; “*Le Catholicisme en face du problème de l’unification de l’Europe*”, Paris, November 1954. Archives Départementales de la Moselle, 43J31. See also: Roth, 330.

206. Ibid., “[But] of course, Christianity in general and the Roman Catholic Church in particular cannot be identified with any political ideology or party. [...] They [Christians] may disagree on European integration. However, the Christian social doctrine, the views expressed by the Holy Father in his encyclical letters as well as by national or transnational Episcopal conferences, do offer guidelines for the personal judgement and engagement of Christian citizens.”

207. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 54, 55, 124.

since Rolf Hochhuth's play *Der Stellvertreter* in 1963, Pius XII has become a controversial figure. In this play he was accused for the first time for remaining silent on the Jewish persecution during the Second World War. Some stated this silence made him complicit with the Nazis²⁰⁸ whilst others praised him for it or justified it by arguing he avoided even more bloodshed this way.²⁰⁹ However, the discussion on this matter is of no relevance to this thesis.²¹⁰

From Pacelli to Pope Pius XII

Pius XII was Pope from 1939 until his death in 1958. Because of his diplomatic posts he was familiar with international affairs and had a keen insight into the dangers that awaited Europe due to Nazism and Communism.²¹¹ He firmly opposed both. In 1935 he ridiculed Nazism when attending pilgrims at Lourdes saying:

208. Hochhut's accusation was revived by the English journalist and author John Cornwall in his book *Hitler's Pope* (1999), and by the American author Daniel Goldhagen with *A Moral Reckoning: The Catholic Church during the Holocaust and Today* (2002). The Belgian social liberal theorist and author Dirk Verhofstadt criticized the Pope in *Pius XII and the extermination of the Jews* in 2008 and in his thesis on the same subject - *Pius XII en de vernietiging van de Joden. Een historisch en moraalwetenschappelijk onderzoek naar de morele verantwoordelijkheid van paus Pius XII ten aanzien van de Endlösung der Judenfrage*- in 2010.

209. The arguments against Pius XII were strongly refuted among others by the Jewish diplomat and theologian Pinchas Lapide (1922–1997) and Jeno Levai, a Jewish historian and the leading authority on the Jewish massacre. Levai was, together with Albrecht von Kessel the only survivor of the German Embassy in the Vatican. He repudiated Hochhuth's judgement unreservedly and refuted the accusations on the Pope's silence in his book *Hungarian Jewry and the Papacy: Pius XII did not remain silent*, first published in 1968. (O'Carroll, Michael, Pius XII dishonoured, Laetare Press, Blackrock, Co. Dublin). Jewish historians Norman Finkelstein and Rith Birn, refuted the accusations against Pius XII with *A Nation on Trial: the Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* in 1998. The American rabbi David G. Dalin wrote *The Myth of Hitler's Pope: how Pope Pius XII rescued Jews from the Nazis* in 2005.

210. For an insight in the Vatican Archives see: Pierre Blet, *Pie XII et la Seconde Guerre mondiale d'après les archives du Vatican*, (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée: Perrin, 1997).

211. Pius XII quoted in: J.K. Hahn, *Pius XII en de Internationale Vraagstukken*, (The Hague: Uitgeversmaatschappij Pax, 1956).

[The Nazis] are in reality only miserable plagiarists who dress up old errors with new tinsel. It does not make any difference whether they flock to the banners of the social revolution, whether they are guided by a false conception of the world and of life, or whether they are possessed by the superstition of a race and blood cult.²¹²

For instance, in 1937 he warned the American consul to Berlin, Klieforth, not to trust Hitler who was “an untrustworthy scoundrel and fundamentally wicked person.” Klieforth himself wrote that Pacelli “did not believe Hitler capable of moderation, and [...] fully supported the German bishops in their anti-Nazi stand.” A report written by Pacelli the following year for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and filed with Ambassador Joseph Kennedy declared that the Church regarded a compromise with the Third Reich as “out of the question.”²¹³

His predecessor, Pope Pius XI, acknowledged²¹⁴ that it was Pacelli who drafted the encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* (With Burning Concern) published during his Papacy in 1937. It firmly condemned the ideology of National Socialism:

Whoever exalts race, or the people, or the State, or a particular form of State, or the depositories of power, or any other fundamental value of the human community - however necessary and honorable be their function in worldly things - whoever raises these notions above their standard value and divinizes them to an idolatrous level, distorts and perverts an order of the world planned and created by God; he is far from

212. Joseph L. Lichten, “A Question of Judgment: Pius XII and the Jews” (1963).

213. Joseph Bottum, “The End of the Pius Wars,” *First Things Magazine*, (April 2004).

214. John Peter Pham, *Heirs of the Fisherman: Behind the Scenes of Papal Death and Succession*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 45. “When Pius XI was complimented on the publication, in 1937, of his encyclical denouncing Nazism, *Mit Brennender Sorge*, his response was to point to his Secretary of State (Pacelli) and say bluntly, ‘The credit is his.’”

the true faith in God and from the concept of life which that faith upholds.²¹⁵

This was the second time in history that an encyclical was written in the vernacular language, German, instead of in Latin.²¹⁶ It was written in German so as to make sure it could be understood by all and read from every German Catholic Church pulpit on Palm Sunday. It was the first official denunciation of Nazism made by any major organization and resulted in persecution of the Church by the infuriated Nazis.²¹⁷

When Pacelli became Pope Pius XII in 1939 he wrote his first encyclical entitled *Summi Pontificatus*. In this document he explicitly condemned the invasion, occupation and partition of Poland under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact:²¹⁸

The blood of countless human beings, even noncombatants, raises a piteous dirge over a nation such as Our dear Poland, which, for its fidelity to the Church, for its services in the defense of Christian civilization, written in indelible characters in the annals of history, has a right to the generous and

215. Pius XI (Pius XII), encyclical letter *With Burning Concern* (*Mit Brennender Sorge*), Rome Palm Sunday, 14 March 1937, n. 8.

216. The first encyclical written in the vernacular language – French – instead of Latin, was *Une fois encore* (1907) by Pope Pius X which dealt with the separation of Church and State.

217. Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 389–392: “And when Hitler showed increasing belligerence toward the Church, Pius met the challenge with a decisiveness that astonished the world. His encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* was the ‘first great official public document to dare to confront and criticize Nazism’ and ‘one of the greatest such condemnations ever issued by the Vatican.’ Smuggled into Germany, it was read from all the Catholic pulpits on Palm Sunday in March 1937. It exposed the fallacy and denounced the Nazi myth of blood and soil; it decried its neo-paganism, its war of annihilation against the Church, and even described the Fuhrer himself as a ‘mad prophet possessed of repulsive arrogance.’ The Nazis were infuriated, and in retaliation closed and sealed all the presses that had printed it and took numerous vindictive measures against the Church.”

218. See: *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*. The Molotov-Rippentrop Pact was a non-aggression agreement between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs Molotov and Von Ribbentrop. The treaty renounced warfare between their two countries. It also implied a secret division of Eastern European countries between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

brotherly sympathy of the whole world, while it awaits, relying on the powerful intercession of Mary, Help of Christians, the hour of a resurrection in harmony with the principles of justice and true peace.²¹⁹

Pius XII also spoke out clearly against Nazism and totalitarianism in his Christmas messages of 1941 and 1942. In June 1942 Pius protested against the mass deportations of Jews from France, ordering the Papal Nuncio to protest against Pétain and his Vichy government against the inhuman deportations of the Jews.

The danger that empirical science would prevail over man, which Dawson, Jaspers and Guardini explicitly warned against, was also of great concern to Pope Pius XII. He mostly spread his ideas on reason, faith and the social doctrine of the Church through speeches and radio messages, but also through encyclical letters such as *Humani Generis* (1950). He considered for instance science and religion to be “heavenly sisters, different manifestations of divine exactness, who could not possibly contradict each other over the long term.”²²⁰

After the war, Pius XII contributed to the rebuilding of Europe, and advocated peace and reconciliation, including lenient policies toward vanquished nations and the unification of Europe. In this his

219. Pius XII, encyclical letter *Summi Pontificatus*, Rome 1939, n. 106.

220. See the following speeches and radio messages: Discorsi E Radiomessaggi di sua Santità Pio XII, Vatican City, 1940, 407; Discorsi E Radiomessaggi di sua Santità Pio XII, Vatican City, 1942, 52; Discorsi E Radiomessaggi di sua Santità Pio XII, Vatican City, 1946, 89. Discorsi E Radiomessaggi di sua Santità Pio XII, Vatican City, 1951, 28. In 1950, Pius XII promulgated *Humani Generis*. In this he acknowledged that evolution might accurately describe the biological origins of human life. He criticizes however those who “imprudently and indiscreetly hold that evolution explains the origin of all things.” As it is conform Catholic faith that the human soul is created directly by God. Since the soul is a spiritual substance it is not brought into being through transformation of matter, but directly by God, hence the special uniqueness of each person.” *Humani Generis*, n. 36. Fifty years later, Pope John Paul II, stating that scientific evidence now seemed to favour the evolutionary theory, upheld the distinction of Pius XII regarding the human soul. “Even if the human body originates from pre-existent living matter, the spiritual soul is spontaneously created by God.”

attitude resembled that of George Washington regarding the brotherhood of nations, which was quoted by Brugmans. Pius XII remained a staunch opponent of Communism.

On 11 November 1948, Pius XII expressed his support for the Federalist Movement's actions for European unity. He affirmed that it would serve man's freedom, provide economic peace and serve intercontinental politics. He recommended making haste with the unification process because of the precarious situation in Europe. Pius XII also made clear that the Church should not be part of this process, as it concerned a strictly temporal matter:

Last June 2 when we [I] spoke in favour of a European Union, we [I] had done so while taking well into account that the Church were not involved in these purely temporal interests.²²¹

Pius XII echoed the statements of those of the other intellectuals mentioned in this section, most especially Schuman's, when he said states needed to be encouraged to set aside their egotistic national interests which were so often a source of jealousy and hate.²²² In this regard he made the distinction between national life and national politics:

221. Pius XII, Allocution de S.S. Pie XII aux congressistes de l'Union européenne des fédéralistes, in *Fédération*. Décembre 1948, n. 47, 2, 3. "Nous l'avons fait en nous gardant bien d'impliquer l'Eglise dans des intérêts purement temporels." Right before this he had said: "Et si l'on tient à ce que cette union atteigne son but, si l'on veut qu'elle serve utilement la cause de la liberté et de la concorde européenne, la cause de la paix économique et politique intercontinentale, il est grand temps qu'elle se fasse. ("and if we wish this union to reach its goal, if we want it to serve the cause of freedom and of European concord, the cause of international economic and political peace, then it is hard time that it occurs.")"

222. Ibid., "un encouragement à déposer une bonne fois leurs préoccupations égoïstement nationales, source de tant de jalousies et de tant de haines."

The national life, the rights and the honour of a people have to be protected. National politics, however, must be firmly rejected, since they are the cause of never-ending strife.²²³

Much like Brugmans and De Rougemont, Pius XII warned those attending the UEF Congress about the possible lack of interest in contributing to the European unification process from the larger European countries that were still clinging to their glorious past or political superiority. To facilitate their participation in the process Pius XII stressed the need for respect for national cultures and for the acceptance of the cultural differences between member states. He warned against uniformity of culture and expressed his conviction that diversity would contribute to the success of the unification process.²²⁴

As an example of successful transnational political community, one that implied respect for each other's cultures, Pius XII also referred to Switzerland:

Today when the idea of unity between state and nation, that is even exaggerated to the point of confusion between the two notions, is claiming dogmatic validity, the specific case of Switzerland must seem quite paradoxical to certain people. But it should rather lead to serious reflection. Switzerland found itself geographically at the intersection between three mighty national cultures and unified all three into the unity of one unique people. In a time when nationalism seems to dominate everywhere, Switzerland, that is rather more a transgressing political community than a nation state, enjoys the fruit of peace and the power that results from the unity of its citizens

223. "Das katholische Europakonzept," in *Luxemburger Wort* 8, January 1955, n.8/9; 108, p. 1. Translated by the CVCE. (Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe).

224. Pius XII, Allocution, "Les grandes nations du continent, à la longue histoire toute chargée de souvenirs de gloire et de puissance, peuvent aussi faire échec à la constitution d'une union européenne, exposées qu'elles sont, sans y prendre garde, à se mesurer elles-mêmes à l'échelle de leur propre passé plutôt qu'à celle des réalités du présent et des prévisions d'avenir. C'est justement pourquoi l'on attend d'elles qu'elles sachent faire abstraction de leur grandeur d'autrefois pour s'aligner sur une unité politique et économique supérieure. Elles le feront d'autant meilleur gré qu'on ne les astreindra pas, par souci exagéré d'uniformité, à un nivellement forcé, alors que le respect des caractères culturels de chacun des peuples provoquerait, par leur harmonieuse variété, une union plus facile et plus stable."

[...] The strength and the political creativity that others believe they will find in the national idea, are found in Switzerland at least as much in friendly competition and in the cooperation between its different national constituents.²²⁵

His stress on solidarity among states combined with a respect for the national culture of each state brings to mind Schuman's statement that the unification process should not happen at the cost of the protection of the patriotic ideal of each state. The difference in point of view between Pius XII and Schuman on the one hand and the federalists De Rougemont and Brugmans on the other hand was that the federalists focussed on solidarity and the need for federalism in all areas while Schuman and Pius XII also highlighted the importance of protecting national identity in the process of unification.

The Pope's, and Schuman's, emphasis on solidarity over economic advantage expressed, like his other observations, the vision of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Such emphasis on solidarity is also a key aspect of the unification process as envisioned by Schuman, who always repeated that the technical parts were of less importance than the solidarity among the states. Pius XII said the following on this topic:

Without any doubt the advantage of a European economy does not only consist of a common and enlarged area where the so-called market mechanism is regulating production and consumption; it is more important to achieve, at the same time as the European economy is about to create a system of competition, a real social way of life in an attempt to ensure a healthy development of the family from generation to generation.²²⁶

Pius XII advocated a personalist view of society where man had to be at the centre of all proceedings:

225. Pius XII, "Broadcast message of 21 September 1946 to the Swiss people" in: *Herder-Korrespondenz* 1, 172.

226. Pius XII, "Address to Italian workmen on 1 May 1953" in: *Herder-Korrespondenz* 1, 215.

Human society is no machine and it should not be transformed into one, not even in the economic area. On the contrary one must always return to the contribution of the human being and to the identity of people as the natural basis [...] Therefore solidarity and the desire for a better standard of living and labour should be organized in different, though relatively large, areas where nature and the historical development of the participating nations could offer more easily a common basis.²²⁷

Pius XII made clear as well that no one would deny that in order to achieve successful unification on the European continent a moral order to which all should aspire was necessary. He mentioned that this moral order should be based in Christianity, much like in the time of Charlemagne. He observed that the unity of those days was gone once culture was separated from religion and religion was removed from public life. Pius XII saw this phenomenon as one of the main causes of the deplorable state of Europe in the post-war years.²²⁸ He therefore recommended re-establishing the connection between religion and civilization.²²⁹

The observation made by Pope Pius XII on the danger of fast integration echoes Schuman's conviction that unification should happen step-by-step so as to avoid serious mistakes and hasty

227. Ibid.

228. Dawson concluded the same in his book *The Making of Europe*. See section 2.3.2.

229. Ibid. "Personne, croyons-Nous, ne pourra refuser de souscrire à cette affirmation qu'une Europe unie, pour se maintenir en équilibre et pour aplanir les différends sur son propre continent – sans parler ici de son influence sur la sécurité de la paix universelle – a besoin de reposer sur une base morale inébranlable. Où la trouver, cette base? Laissons l'histoire répondre : il fut un temps où l'Europe formait, dans son unité, un tout compact et, au milieu de toutes les faiblesses, en dépit de toutes les défaillances humaines, c'était pour elle une force; elle accomplissait par cette union des grandes choses. Or, l'âme de cette unité était la religion, qui imprégnait à fond toute la société de foi chrétienne. Une fois la culture détachée de la religion, l'unité s'est désagrégée. A la longue, poursuivant comme tache d'huile son progrès lent mais continu, l'irreligion a pénétré de plus en plus la vie publique et c'est à elle avant tout que ce continent est redevable de ses déchirements, de son malaise et de son inquiétude. Si donc l'Europe veut en sortir, ne lui faut-il pas rétablir chez elle le lien entre la religion et la civilisation?"

implementations that would be hard to undo. The Pope's preoccupation with what might happen if integration took place too hastily resounds in the following words:

When we observe the efforts of those statesmen [who work for European Unity] we can hardly avoid a depressing feeling. Under the urgent pressure to unify Europe as fast as possible, they begin to implement political objectives that are conditioned by a new thinking from nation to nation.²³⁰

Pius XII expressed his joy about the content and title "Common heritage of Christian civilization" of the resolution written by the Cultural Commission after the Congress of The Hague for referring at least to the universal moral law of good and evil as the foundation on which the human rights are based.²³¹

Schuman too saw, like Pius XII, the European unification process as a necessity in spite of protests from the larger countries. He too recognized the need for a moral order based on Christianity so as to make unity possible. He too wanted the unification to be shaped with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church in mind, and he also knew the Church should not be included in this process, as it concerned a temporal matter.

For both Pius XII and Schuman the process of unification meant the process towards the achievement of a unity that would protect diversity. Both did not limit this concept to just European integration, although their focus was on Europe. Schuman made clear on several occasions that in order to take into account the European

230. Pius XII, "Address to the members of Pax Christi," 13 September 1952 in: *Herder-Korrespondenz* 9, 215.

231. Ibid. "C'est pourquoi Nous avons eu grand plaisir à lire en tête de la résolution de la Commission culturelle à la suite du Congrès de La Haye en mai dernier, la mention du 'commun héritage de civilisation chrétienne.' Pourtant ce n'est pas encore assez tant qu'on n'ira pas jusqu'à la reconnaissance expresse des droits de Dieu et de sa loi, tout au moins du droit naturel, fond solide sur lequel sont ancrés les droits de l'homme. Isolés de la religion, comment ces droits et toutes les libertés pourront-ils assurer l'unité, l'ordre et la paix?"

common good, the universal common good needed to be looked at as well. And Europe had a special responsibility towards its former colonies. Pius XII referred to world unity when he said:

Indeed no global world organization would be useful if it did not correspond to the plurality of natural relations, with the normal organic order that is ruling the specific situation of people and the different nations.²³²

The Pope's 1953 statement about the way the integration took place confirms Schuman's conviction that the unification needed to occur step-by-step as people and states must be prepared and made aware of the common 'European spirit' so as to be able to hand over partial sovereignty and achieve European unification.²³³

Europe was still waiting for the rise of its own consciousness [...] The practical implementation of European unity [...] whose urgency is felt by all [...] was opposed by two great obstacles. The first one has its origin in the constitutional structure of states, the second was of a psychological and moral nature. The first one includes a number of economic, social, military and political problems [...] but more urgent is the demand for what is called the European spirit, the consciousness of the internal unity that is not so much based on the satisfaction of economic needs but on the vision of common spiritual values, such a clear vision that a strong will to live in unity will be justified and kept alive.²³⁴

Both Schuman and the Pope insisted on the central importance of the 'European spirit', a product of the European spiritual and cultural heritage. Both saw this spirit as the essential ingredient for successful European unification.

232. Pius XII, "Address to the members of the 'Mouvement universel pour une confédération mondiale' on 6 April 1951." in: *Herder-Korrespondenz* 5, 352.

233. See also section 2.1.

234. Pius XII, "Address to professors and students of the College of Europe, Bruges," 15 March 1953.

2.2.8 T. S. Eliot

The dominant feature in creating a common culture between peoples, each of which has its own distinct culture, is religion [...] I am talking about the common tradition of Christianity, which has made Europe what it is, and about the common cultural elements, which this common Christianity has brought with it [...] It is in Christianity that our arts have developed; it is in Christianity that the laws of Europe - until recently - have been rooted, it is against a background of Christianity that all our thought has significance.

*An individual European may not believe that the Christian Faith is true; and yet what he says, and makes, and does, will all depend on the Christian heritage for its meaning. Only a Christian culture could have produced a Voltaire or a Nietzsche. I do not believe that the culture of Europe could survive the complete disappearance of the Christian Faith.*²³⁵

T. S. Eliot

Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888–1965) was a well-known American born poet, playwright and literary critic. Although at the first sight Eliot's thoughts on unification seem to echo Schuman's, there are some considerable differences.

Eliot was educated at Harvard, the Sorbonne and Merton College, Oxford. For most of his life Eliot lived in Great Britain and he became a British citizen in 1927. He not only renounced his American citizenship but also converted to Anglicanism in 1927.²³⁶

235. T.S. Eliot, *Die Einheit der Europaischen Kultur*, (Berlin 1946); also published as "The Unity of European Culture" in an appendix to *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, London, 1948, 122–4; quoted in: Norman Davies, *Europe: A History*, (London: Pimlico Random House, 1997), 9. Eliot's description of Christianity as a main source of the European culture reflects according to me as well the universal importance of Christianity.

236. The Anglican Church was created by King Henry VIII when he wanted to free himself from his marriage with Catherine of Aragon who had already born him a daughter, but was not permitted to do so by the Church of Rome. As he wanted to pursue this aim he started the Anglican Church of which he himself became the Head. From then on the separation between the Roman Catholic Church with its Papacy and Magisterium, and the Anglican Church with the King or Queen as its Head became a fact. The Anglican faith denied in this way its unity with the Roman Catholic faith. A break with the Vatican was the result. For rejecting the Magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church has no

The publication of Eliot's first book of poems *Prufrock and other Observations* in 1915, followed by *The Wasteland* in 1922 made him a leading poet of the avant-garde. He also became one of the leading literary critics of the English-speaking world. After his conversion to Anglicanism he started to write about social and religious topics. Eliot received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1948. He died in London in 1965.²³⁷

Eliot's Idea of a Christian Society

Eliot explained in his book *The Idea of a Christian Society* (first published in 1939) that what he was concerned with "is not spiritual institutions in their separated aspect, but the organisation of values, and a direction of religious thought which must inevitably proceed to criticism of political and economic systems."²³⁸ He pointed out that the problem of leading a Christian life in a non-Christian society is very present and that it is not merely the problem of a minority in a society of men holding an alien belief. It is the problem constituted by our being caught in a network of institutions from which we cannot dissociate ourselves; institutions no longer appear neutral, but anti-Christian. The Christian who is not conscious of this dilemma, and this is the majority, is becoming more and more de-Christianized by

unanimously accorded authorized documents on faith and morality that serve as guidelines. Another difference is that the Roman Catholic Church does not know about national churches as the Anglican Church does. The fact that Eliot is concerned about the Church of England and the Church of Christ as two different kind of churches with each their own functions, is therefore incompatible with the Catholic thought that does not acknowledge but the universal Church in whichever part of the world.

237. Ronald Bush, "T.S.Eliot's life and career" in: *Modern American Poetry*, American National Biography. Ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

238. T.S. Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1942), 6.

all sorts of unconscious pressure: paganism²³⁹ holds all the most valuable advertising space. Eliot was concerned with the dangers for the tolerated minority. He stated that in the modern world, it may turn out that the most intolerable thing for Christians is to be tolerated.²⁴⁰ The political and economic systems should therefore be 'reviewed' as these undermine and even destroy the people's Christian faith.²⁴¹

With *The Idea of a Christian Society* Eliot wanted to express "something that can only be found in an understanding of the end to which a Christian society, to deserve the name, must be directed."²⁴² To make such a denomination possible Eliot suggested a division as it were of society into three components: the Community of Christians, the Christian Community and the Christian State. The Community of Christians is regarded as the elite among the faithful. They take their faith seriously and live up to it. Their behaviour is exemplary. For them Christianity is primarily a matter of thought and not of feeling.²⁴³

According to Eliot, the elite are those who must permeate the Christian Community with their faith and help show the way towards Christ. The Christian State will provide the necessary environment that makes it possible for the Community of Christians and Christian Community to live up to their faith and infuse society with the Christian spirit. The Christian State does not imply a certain political

239. By paganism is understood heathendom or the beliefs of those that do not believe in God.

240. See: Eliot, *Christian Society*, 22.

241. Schuman could have said the same about the situation in France when he obtained his ministerial job as a member of the Finance Committee (1946) and experienced the chaos of his country and the lack of morality in politics. He worked hard to remedy this situation, but had to contend with strong opposition. Caricatures in which he was portrayed as a Gandhi or with an aureole showed that people mocked him for his effort to cleanse politics.

242. Ibid., 8.

243. T.S. Eliot, *Christianity and Culture*, (San Diego: Harcourt, 1988), 6.

form, but can take whatever form is suitable to a Christian society.²⁴⁴ The State is meant to govern the Christian framework within which the people can realise their ambitions and improve the prosperity and prestige of their country. They may frequently perform un-Christian acts, but they must never attempt to defend their actions on the basis of un-Christian principles:²⁴⁵

In the Christian Community that they ruled, the Christian faith would be ingrained, but it requires as a minimum, only a large unconscious behaviour; and it is only from the much smaller number of conscious human beings, the Community of Christians, that one would expect a conscious Christian life on its highest social level.²⁴⁶

Eliot's proposal to divide society into three components is not compatible with Schuman's Catholic faith, according to which it is no more than the product of human effort to establish an ideal society based on Christian convictions. Reasoning from Schuman's Catholic framework one objection to Eliot's suggestion is that it is too subjective. For instance, in order to belong to the Community of Christians Eliot talks of, one must be an exemplary Christian. But who would decide who is exemplary and can belong to this Community of Christians? The Anglican Church does not have a *Magisterium* that helps to make those choices. Consequently these choices would depend exclusively on temporal circumstances and human interpretation. He would therefore probably have been sceptical about the election and selection of candidates to the Community of Christians, who would indirectly be the executives of the Christian State. Schuman would have stressed the danger of arbitrariness in the selection procedure. He would also have disagreed with Eliot about what Eliot considered Christian 'enough'. This would imply a lack of

244. Eliot, *Christian Society*, 12.

245. *Ibid.*, 27.

246. *Ibid.*, 28.

integrity, as Eliot seemed to reduce faith for the majority to a lifeless set of habits. Eliot believed that:

For the great majority of the people - and I am not thinking of social classes, but of intellectual strata - religion must be primarily a matter of behaviour and habit, must be integrated with its social life, with its business and its pleasures; and the specifically religious emotions must be a kind of extension and sanctification of the domestic and social emotions. [...] Even for the most highly developed and conscious individual, living in the world, a conscious Christian direction of thought and feeling can only occur at particular moments during the day and during the week, and these moments themselves recur in consequence of formed habits.²⁴⁷

Eliot regards religious life thus mainly as a set of customs that are part of social life. He reduces faith in the quote above to 'religious emotions' and a 'Christian direction of thought and feeling' that is hardly accessible. In another passage from *The Idea of a Christian Society*, he defines Christianity as 'the system for the rulers under which to govern' that will be accepted by the people 'as a matter of behaviour and habit'.²⁴⁸

Schuman, precisely because of his belief that every person has a vocation to holiness, would have objected to Eliot's statement. He would not have agreed with the statement that for the majority of people Christian behaviour and certain religious practices on special occasions and days of the week would suffice. Schuman would have said that Christianity is more than sound behaviour or good habits. He would have stressed the need for integrity and the call to live one's Christian faith twenty-four hours a day. His own life can be seen as a testimony to this conviction.

Eliot reached the conclusion that "a state secularized, a community turned into a mob, and a clerisy disintegrated" can only be

247. Ibid., 30.

248. Ibid., 34-35.

recovered “in a society with a religious basis where you can get the proper harmony and tension, for the individual or for the community.”²⁴⁹ This observation reflects the state of confusion and chaos people lived in during the years just before the outbreak of the Second World War. The ‘state secularized’ refers to the lack of living faith and most probably to the State’s lack of living up to the Christian morality. Eliot’s observation of ‘a community turned into a mob’ refers to the people living and acting without direction, without a state to guide them, without a faith that has something to tell them. ‘The clerisy disintegrated’ refers to the lack of integration on the part of the intellectuals and elite and the lack of understanding, and even the desire for understanding, what is happening in society. Eliot’s conclusion that man should live in a society with a religious basis is therefore not surprising. Eliot himself wondered: “was our society [...] assembled round anything more permanent than a congeries of banks, insurance companies, and industries, and had it any beliefs more essential than a belief in compound interest and the maintenance of dividends?”²⁵⁰ The industrial revolution, the rise of technology and movements such as Socialism, Communism and Liberalism made it hard for man to remain open to the supernatural. Eliot commented that “more important than the invention of a new machine, is the creation of a temper of mind in people such that they can learn to use a new machine rightly.”²⁵¹ He observed that only then would society be able to change and awaken its people. A Christian mentality could help

249. T.S. Eliot, quoted in: Harold J. Blackham, *Religion in a modern society*, (London: Constable and Company, 1966), 75. Blackham studies the position of religion in a modern society and interprets events of the past that happened thanks to and due to religion. He studies and compares among others also the theories of T. S. Eliot exposed in *The Idea of a Christian Society* and of Jacques Maritain. Blackham himself is in favour of an open society in which social agnosticism composes the horizontal line to which, according to him, all, believers and non-believers, can and need to adhere to and develop themselves fully.

250. Eliot, *Christian Society*, 82.

251. Eliot, *Christianity and Culture*, 77.

combatting the general conviction that “the actual constitution of Society, or that which their most generous passions wish to bring about is right, and that Christianity must be adapted to it.”²⁵² Then it is “[f]or a long enough time that we have believed in nothing but the values of a mechanised, commercialised, urbanised way of life: it would be as well for us to face the permanent conditions upon which God allows us to live upon this planet.”²⁵³

Eliot’s arguments are ably summarized and paraphrased by Russell Kirk when he says that according to Eliot:

Christianity prescribes no special form of government. Yet the source of any political order is a religious creed or else the inverted religion of ideology. A principal function of the state is the maintenance of justice; and justice can be defined only upon ethical assumptions, ultimately derived from religious insights. If the state is in opposition to the religious principles of a society, or indifferent to those principles, then either the state or the society is not long for this world. For our civilization, Christianity has provided both the principles of personal order and the principles of social order. If we repudiate or ignore those principles, our only alternative is the Pagan State, obeying the commandments of the Savage God. So it is that we must labour to restore the Christian State. It is not necessary that all statesmen be good Christians; nor is it necessary that dissent be discouraged among the citizens; but it is necessary that the state should recognize the moral order which Christianity outlines, and should conform the public order, so far as possible in this imperfect world, to that ethical understanding.²⁵⁴

Eliot elaborated on his ideas of the Community of Christians, the Christian Community and the Christian State so as to give shape to the way in which this Christian society could be achieved and how the pagan culture could be fought.

252. Eliot, *Christian Society*, 97.

253. *Ibid.*, 62.

254. Kirk Russell, *Eliot and his Age*, (LaSalle, IL: Sherwood Sugden & Company, 1984), 277–278.

According to Schuman a Christian State could lead to a theocracy, on which he stated:

Theocracy ignores the principle of separation of the two domains. It gives the religious idea responsibilities that do not belong to it. Religion has no say in issues that have nothing to do with faith or morality. Under such a regime, the divergences of political order risk to degenerate in religious fanaticism; the holy war is the most horrifying expression of a bloody exploitation of religious sentiments.²⁵⁵

These thoughts were fully in line with the Catholic Church, which also regards theocracy as going against the principles of faith. The negative experiences of past centuries in this regard in which clerical and political interests were often improperly mixed, were a consequence of human error and abuse of religion.

Schuman, knowing and accepting the teachings of the *Magisterium* wholeheartedly, would, like Eliot, have underlined the necessity to safeguard the principles of personal and social order. Thinking along Schuman's lines, these principles would come from natural law, the universal moral law ingrained in all human souls.²⁵⁶ This was also expressed in the resolution on the "Common heritage of Christian civilization" written by the Cultural Commission after the Congress of The Hague to which Pius XII referred as we saw before.

Eliot believed only a Christian society could be a fully human society and solve the problem of the lack of spirituality in today's world. But we can suppose that Schuman would not agree with the way in which Eliot embodied his idea of a Christian society for not believing in prefabricated structures such as the Community of

255. Schuman, *For Europe*, 55–56.

256. Leo XIII, encyclical letter on the nature of human liberty, *Libertas praestantissimum*, 597.

"The natural law is written and engraved in the soul of each and every man, because it is human reason ordaining him to do good and forbidding him to sin [...] But this command of human reason would not have the force of law if it were not the voice and interpreter of a higher reason to which our spirit and our freedom must be submitted."²⁵⁶

Christians, the Christian Community and the Christian State created by man himself. Schuman did applaud though a life consistent with Christian faith.

2.2.9 Jacques Maritain

A single idea, if it is right, saves us the labour of an infinity of experiences.

Jacques Maritain

Our great Christian philosopher, Jacques Maritain, who we, the French, wrongly abandoned to study in a distant university instead of taking advantage of his brilliant teaching, indicated the parallel between development of Christian thought and democracy.²⁵⁷

Robert Schuman

Schuman knew Maritain personally from the encounters and recollections at Maria Laach and later as colleague, as Maritain was the Ambassador to the Holy See at the time Schuman became Prime Minister. During Schuman's Prime Ministership, Maritain spoke as French Ambassador at the UNESCO about the need for supranationality in order to achieve a durable peace in Europe, but he did so without crediting it as actually feasible.²⁵⁸ The fact that Maritain spoke as an Ambassador of France makes it plausible that he spoke in the name of the Prime Minister of that time, Schuman. The hesitant

257. Schuman, *For Europe*, 43. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 53. "Jacques Maritain, notre grand philosophe chrétien que nous, Français, avons eu le tort d'abandonner à une université lointaine, au lieu de mettre nous-mêmes à profit son enseignement lumineux, a marquée ce parallelism dans le développement de l'idée chrétienne et de la démocratie."

258. Maritain, "L'Unité de l'Esprit" in: *Syntheses*, n.9 (Paris: Revue Mensuelle Internationale, Dec.1947) 273. Maritain opened with this speech the 2nd General Assembly of the UNESCO in Mexico in 1947. "Les premières questions qui se posent à qui médite sérieusement sur les conditions d'une paix juste et durable, son évidemment celles qu'évoque l'idée d'une organisation supra-nationale des peuples. Nul n'ignore les obstacles qui aujourd'hui, plus encore qu'au lendemain de la victoire, se dressent devant la réalisation d'une telle idée. A l'heure présente, une organisation réellement supra-nationale de monde est hors du domaine des possibilités."

way in which he commented on supranationality might suggest that he was not very convinced about it and that it was not his own idea, but Schuman's.

Jacques Maritain (1882–1973),²⁵⁹ whom Schuman quotes in his book *Pour l'Europe*, was a well-known French Catholic philosopher. He studied philosophy at the Sorbonne and at the University of Heidelberg. Before the Second World War, he moved to the United States where he taught philosophy and Catholic theology at Columbia, Princeton University and at the University of Notre Dame. He fiercely opposed both Nazism and Communism. Maritain was raised a Protestant, but converted to Catholicism at the age of 24. This conversion affected his entire life. The Catholic faith played a main role in all areas of his life. He became one of the leading representatives of Neo-Thomism, a philosophical doctrine that wanted to bring Thomas Aquinas's theological and philosophical thinking closer to society, culture and science. Aquinas's teachings were highly recommended by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of 1879, as mentioned in chapter one. Maritain cherished Thomas Aquinas's harmonization of revelation and reason and his holistic and realistic description of reality.

In his 1920 work *Éléments de Philosophie* he highlighted what he saw as the truthful connection between the pagan philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas's Christian philosophy:

If the philosophy of Aristotle, as revived and enriched by St. Thomas and his school, may rightly be called the Christian philosophy, both because the church is never weary of putting it forward as the only true philosophy and because it harmonizes perfectly with the truths of faith, nevertheless it is proposed here for the reader's acceptance not because it is Christian, but because it is demonstrably true. This agreement

259. (Biographical) data from: *The Crisis of Modern Times, perspectives from The Review of Politics 1939 – 1962*, Ed. A. James McAdams, (2007); and *Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy*, Stanford (California).

between a philosophic system founded by a pagan and the dogmas of revelation is no doubt an external sign, an extra-philosophic guarantee of its truth; but from its own rational evidence, that it derives its authority as a philosophy.²⁶⁰

For Maritain, religion was far from an impediment to genuine philosophizing and in fact enhanced philosophy and provided it with access to regions it would otherwise be denied. According to him it was faith that shed light on reason and made it able to see what otherwise would be difficult to see.²⁶¹ It is therefore not surprising that he was a strong defender of a natural law ethics and regarded ethical norms as being rooted in human nature. According to him those norms were known primarily not through philosophical argument and demonstration but through connatural knowledge, a kind of direct knowledge man gets through his experience. He sees natural or human rights therefore as products of natural law and thus rooted in natural law. His conviction was key to his involvement in the drafting of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.²⁶²

Some dominant themes in his work are the human person's transcendence of the political community; secondly, that natural law expresses not only what is natural in the world but also what is known naturally by human beings; thirdly, that moral philosophy must take into account other branches of human knowledge; and finally, that people holding different beliefs must cooperate in the formation and

260. Jacques Maritain, *An Introduction to Philosophy*, (Wiltshire, UK: Anthony Rowe, 1930).

261. See also: Leo XIII, Encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* (1891) in which Leo XIII renewed the condemnations of Rationalism for its theory that reason is the primary source of knowledge and of spiritual truth. The Pope pursued the reestablishment of the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas which made clear that faith shed light on reason and that reason could never be contradictory to faith.

262. James V. Schall, *Jacques Maritain: the philosopher in society*, (Landam, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 223. "Maritain chairs the committee on human rights - other members: Aldous Huxley, E.H.Carr, Benedetto Croce, Teilhard de Chardin - whose document forms the basis of the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights in 1948."

maintenance of salutary political institutions. Among his major works are *Art and Scholasticism* (1920), *The Degrees of Knowledge* (1932), *True Humanism*²⁶³ (1938), *Man and the State* (1951), and *Moral Philosophy* (1960).

Maritain's convictions show a remarkable similarity with Schuman's beliefs. It is a known fact that Maritain's philosophy was to a large extent applauded by the Roman Catholic Church and that he contributed greatly to the encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (1967) of Pope Paul VI. *Populorum Progressio* can be considered a follow-up to *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) of Pope Pius XI, but broadened from a continental to a global level, which in turn was an elaboration of *Rerum Novarum* (1891) in which Pope Leo XIII expounded the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Maritain's ideas on democracy and the future of European society surely also had their impact on the thoughts, and definitely had the approval, of Pope Pius XII regarding Europe's future after World War II, as discussed in a previous section of this chapter.

Schuman held Maritain's works in high esteem, as the quote at the beginning of this subsection in which he speaks about Maritain's 'brilliant teachings' illustrates. They shared ideas at Maria Laach where both went for their spiritual recollections, as mentioned in chapter one. Both were Thomists and naturally their concepts on human dignity, natural law and the line of thought that results from these concepts overlapped. Schuman applauded Maritain's ideas on democracy, as will be discussed in chapter three.

263. The original French title *Humanisme intégral* is translated both as *True Humanism* and as *Integral Humanism*.

Maritain prefaced his sketch of a new Christian order with a survey of modern culture from a Christian point of view in which he distinguished three phases, as Harold Blackham writes:

The first is what he calls the classical period of Christian naturalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when human confidence and efforts were increasingly drawn to the idea of the sufficiency of reason, without abandoning Christian assumptions. The second period is the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the bourgeois world of rationalist optimism brought into question and rejected the assumptions of revealed religion. And the third phase, the twentieth century, is considered the attempt of a radical atheism to produce by social means a new humanity. In the first phase, culture becomes the means of man's domination over matter, instead of a link in the process of salvation for eternal life. The rest is a working out of this aim to end in man's domination of man by means of the technical. At the end of the epoch, in our own day, pure atheism confronts pure Christianity, two absolute positions.²⁶⁴

Maritain described the shift of man's focus from God to reason, from reason to man removed from God, from man removed from God to man governed by technology. Man removed from God increasingly becomes a merely rational and material being. Man becomes more and more bourgeois, and the spiritual element is increasingly left out. According to Maritain, this bourgeois man needs to change. He referred to the biblical expression that the 'old man' may die to make place for the 'new man'.²⁶⁵ Maritain abominated

264. Blackham, *Religion in a modern society*, 68–69. Blackham quotes Maritain and studies his ideas on a Christian society. Blackham has a very much different view on religion as he regards it as a social phenomenon more than a product of faith. He focuses on the utility and cultural standing of religion. He studies and compares among others also the theories of Thomas S. Eliot and of Jacques Maritain.

265. See: Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme intégral*, (Paris: Aubier Ed. Montaigne, 1968), 101. "et cela seul au fond nous importe: je veux dire, au sens chrétien, faire mourir "le vieil homme" et donner place à "l'homme nouveau".

false appearances also in Christianity and calls for integrity that has its repercussions in society.²⁶⁶

In this regard, Maritain and Eliot differ considerably. Maritain and Schuman stressed the need for Christian integrity or unity of life for each and every person, and of holding each person responsible for this. Both also rejected the idea that the good behaviour of the majority of people would be sufficient for communal purposes.

Maritain explained that to permeate society with a Christian spirit was not a purpose on its own of Christianity, but a consequence of man's need to answer his vocation and graces received. Man will thus help to improve society and make temporal life better.²⁶⁷ Maritain argued that for this reason the domains of economic activity and politics should also be integrated into ethics. A synthesis of life is needed.²⁶⁸ His way of reasoning echoed Schuman's thinking. Schuman did not insist on Catholicity but did want to permeate society with a (Christian) ethical spirit in line with Maritain's ideas. The following quote from an interview with Schuman on the Social Christian Movement in Europe is illustrative of this point:

Let me say first of all that I never used that expression "Political Catholicism". The parties of the social-Christian movement are no confessional parties. In France counts foremost the M.R.P. with Israelites, protestants and non-believers among its members [...] What characterises the M.R.P. is that it recruits its members among the right and among the left. Among the right because it wants to reconcile the interests from an economic point of view, among the left because it is above all a social movement. Moreover it recruits

266. Ibid., 102. "il importe de donner partout le pas au réel et au substantiel sur l'apparent et le décoratif, - au réellement et substantiellement chrétien sur l'apparement et décorativement chrétien; il comprendra aussi que c'est en vain qu'on affirme la dignité et la vocation de la personne humaine si on ne travaille pas à transformer des conditions qui l'oppriment, et à faire en sorte qu'elle puisse dignement manger son pain."

267. See: Ibid., 120.

268. Ibid., 126. "Les choses du domaine politique et économique doivent ainsi se trouver, conformément à leur nature, intégrées à l'éthique."

believers because it has made itself the defender of the free school. One conceives therefore the width of its programme, its successes and also its difficulties. Its greatest enemies, if one has to call them that way, are the communists.²⁶⁹

In this way, Schuman indicated that Christianity is essentially supernatural and as such beyond politics.²⁷⁰ Maritain stressed that each man has a vocation to sanctity. He spoke of the sanctification of the secular.²⁷¹ Interestingly, Harold Blackham (1905–2009), who is referred to as the father of Modern Humanism, commented favourably on Maritain's conviction:

Maritain proposes a commonwealth that would be virtually Christian, oriented towards integral Christianity, allowing the various non-Christian groups a just liberty.²⁷²

269. "M. Robert Schuman nous parle du Mouvement Social-Chrétien en Europe" in: *La Métropole*, 21 January 1954. Archives *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. "Laissez-moi vous dire d'abord que je ne prise guère cette expression: 'Catholicisme politique.' Les parties nées du mouvement social-chrétien ne sont pas des parties confessionnelles. En France notamment le M.R.P. compte parmi ses membres des Israélites, des protestants, des incroyants... de même il en est ainsi, peut-on dire, partout. [...] Ce qui caractérise le M.R.P. c'est qu'il recrute ses membres aussi bien vers la droite que vers la gauche. A droite parce qu'au point de vue économique il cherche à concilier les intérêts, à gauche parce qu'il est résolument social. Au surplus il raille les croyants parce qu'il s'est fait le défenseur de l'école libre. On conçoit dès lors l'ampleur de son programme, ses succès comme aussi ses difficultés. Ses principaux adversaires, faut-il le dire, sont les communistes."

270. According to Catholic faith, God created man in his image to govern the earth. God in time became man in Christ, in order to redeem man and procure his personal relationship with God. Christianity is therefore both exalted and very much down to earth and personal. It concerns man and all he is into as all is related to man's personal relationship with God.

271. Maritain, *Humanisme intégral*, 130. "la prise de conscience de l'office temporel du chrétien appelle un style nouveau de sainteté, qu'on peut caractériser avant tout comme la sainteté et la sanctification de la vie profane." It is reminiscent of Schuman's friend Eschbach's advice to Schuman to become a 'saint in suit' and follow his professional career, as mentioned in chapter one.

272. As a general comment can be said that Blackham's statement might recall the position of the Dhimmis or non-Muslims that practiced certain kinds of faith in a Muslim society in which the sharia was practiced. Those faiths were originally, in the seventh century, restricted to the Jewish and Christian faith. Later the Dhimmi status was also conferred to the Sikhs, Zoroastrians and several other religions. The Dhimmis did not have the same rights as the Muslims, but they did have more than many other religions. When a Dhimmi became a Muslim he immediately obtained also all the rights that he lacked when he was a Dhimmi. In the beginning no force was put on people to become Muslim. This changed later on

Blackham continued by stating:

The unity of such a civilization would not be a unity assured from above by profession of the same faith and the same dogmas, but a unity of orientation proceeding from a common aspiration for a form of common life in harmony with the supra-temporal interests of the person. Distinct from the medieval conception in that it admits diversity, it is also distinct from the liberal conception in that it insists on a definitely religious and ethical specification of the temporal order, an order intrinsically ethical and bearing an impregnation of Christianity.²⁷³

In his book *Religion in a Modern Society*, Blackham's observation on Maritain's ideas is not followed by an attitude of rejection, but by one that shows that Modern Humanism is not opposed to Maritain's ideas on a form of common life in harmony with the supra-temporal interests of the person.

To underline Maritain's statement on the need for religious freedom, which is proper, but for centuries not recognized by the Church as such, to the Catholic faith since Christ, the Declaration on religious freedom made by Pope Paul VI in 1965 states:

This Vatican Council declares that the human person has a right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits.²⁷⁴

and it became ever more frequent that fights occurred to attain this goal. The essential difference with Christians respecting others in their religion or lack of religion is, precisely that it belongs to the essence of Christian faith to respect any person and to see a child of God in each person alike. Christian faith itself is however not compatible with any ideology or belief of believers and non-believers that goes against its view on human dignity with its transcendent core.

273. Blackham, *Religion in a modern society*, 71.

274. Paul VI, *Dignitatis humanae*, Declaration on religious freedom, 1965,

Maritain's conception of a Christian society in which there is respect for all different religions and ideas, was actually a very young idea that found its expression within the Church in this Declaration on religious freedom of Pope Paul VI. This was two years after Schuman died. However, the fact that religious freedom was only officially proclaimed by the Catholic Church in 1965 does not mean that Schuman did not recognize its truth, for being proper to Christianity, before. His respect for those that thought differently is already reflected by the quote on the Social Christian Movement in Europe. The testimonies about his personality as provided in chapter one confirm this respect for religious freedom.

Blackham explains in *Religion in a Modern Society* that Maritain stressed the need for a Christian orientation as a product of good reason that benefitted the common good. Blackham pointed out Maritain's view with the words:

But in order that the Christian conception of the temporal order shall prevail "in a secular and pluralist way" Christians imbued with this conception must have enough spiritual energy and enough political prudence to make men see, if they are capable of comprehension, that such a conception is in conformity with good reason and the common good, and to rouse and merit the confidence of them as leaders with authority. Believers and unbelievers in such a society are not sharing a doctrinal minimum but a practical task, which is secularly Christian and follows a Christian initiative. ("He that is not against you is with you"). All may be inspired by the idea and ideal of laws and institutions founded on and infused with the spirit of fraternal love.²⁷⁵

275. Blackham, *Religion in a modern society*, 72. See: Jacques Maritain, *True Humanism*, trans. M.R. Adamson, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938) and Joseph Ratzinger, *Values in a time of upheaval*, trans. Brian McNeil, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), 69–70. Cardinal Ratzinger, just before being elected Pope says in this regard: "The Church should not coincide with the State nor become the plaything of political power. The Church remains something "outside" the state, for only thus can both Church and state be what they are meant to be. [...] The Church must exert itself with all its vigour so that in it there may shine forth the moral truth that it offers to the state and that ought to become evident to the citizens of the state. This truth must be vigorous within the Church, and it must form men,

Schuman and Maritain thought similarly about Christian orientation. Both stressed the need for moral order in all areas of life and thus also in politics. He strove towards the implementation of such moral order, as is manifested for example by his struggle against corruption within the government. Both argued the content of the Christian conception of the temporal order should refer to the Christian virtues and fundamental concepts embedded in norms that according to Catholic faith are universal.²⁷⁶

Maritain saw a strong connection between Christianity and democracy and so did Schuman. In fact, Schuman specifically referred to Maritain's thoughts on precisely this matter, as will be shown in chapter three.

Both thinkers also referred to the philosopher Henri Bergson in this regard, though in slightly different ways. On the topic of the Christian essence of democracy Schuman mentions Bergson's statement that the moral authority and the high value of its doctrine are always with the Church. Maritain focused on Bergson's emphasis on the openness of Christianity when commenting on the Christian essence of democracy in his writing on *Christianity and Democracy*. Maritain wrote:

[I]t is the urge of a love infinitely stronger than the philanthropy commended by the philosophers which causes human devotion to surmount the closed borders of the natural social groups - family groups and national groups—and extend it to the entire human race, because this love is the life in us of the very love which has created being and because it truly makes of each human being our neighbour. Without breaking the links of flesh and blood, of self-interest, tradition and pride which are needed by the body politic, and without destroying

for only then it will have the power to convince others and to be a force working like a leaven for all of society.”

276. As examples of virtues can be mentioned sincerity, perseverance, friendliness and humility. Examples of fundamental concepts are the transcendence of human dignity, freedom and responsibility in line with the transcendence of human dignity.

the rigorous laws of existence and conservation of this body politic, such a love extended to all men transcends, and at the same time transforms from within, the very life of the group and tends to integrate all of humanity into a community of nations and peoples in which men will be reconciled. For the kingdom of God is not miserly, the communion which is its supernatural privilege is not jealously guarded; it wants to spread and refract this communion outside its own limits, in the imperfect shapes and in the universe of conflicts, malice and bitter toil which make of the temporal realm. That is the deepest principle of the democratic ideal, which is the secular name for the ideal of Christendom. This is why Bergson writes, “democracy is evangelical in essence and ... its motive power is love.”²⁷⁷

Maritain also refers to non-Christians in this respect:

I am not forgetting that strangers to Christian philosophy can have a profound and authentic feeling for the human person and his dignity, and even at times show by their behaviour a practical respect for that dignity which few can equal. But the description of the person here outlined is I believe the only one which without their being themselves aware of it, provides a complete rational justification for their practical convictions.²⁷⁸

Maritain agreed that other philosophies could make similar claims if they “recognise the existence of an Absolute superior to the entire order of the universe, and the supra-temporal value of the human soul.” Yet Christian philosophy has an advantage in that the second of these two necessary postulates cannot be demonstrated by human reason and, when the certainty of reason deserts mankind, for

277. Jacques Maritain, *Christianity and Democracy and the Rights of Man and Natural Law*, trans. Doris C. Anson, (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1986), 53–54. From a typewritten manuscript by Jacques Maritain, who gave this address at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in New York on 29 December 1949 and again at Gettysburg College under the auspices of the Adams County Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on 19 February 1950. “As the French philosopher Henri Bergson put it, the democratic sense or feeling is, by its very nature, an evangelical sense or feeling, its motive power is love, the essential thing in it is fraternity, it has its real sources in Gospel Inspiration.”

278. Jacques Maritain, *The Rights of Man and Natural Law*, (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1944), 7.

the Christian philosopher the stronger light of faith will take the strain.²⁷⁹ In this way Maritain developed a political philosophy “which intertwined the question of regime, of supranational society, and the question of the confessional character of the state, by asserting that the solidarity of all classes and nations demands a supranational democracy as its ideal political expression but requires revealed premises as its foundation.”²⁸⁰

In his work *True Humanism* Maritain dealt extensively with this subject and compared secular humanism with integral humanism while working towards a political theory for a Christian democracy. Maritain considered secular forms of humanism anti-human because of refusing the wholeness of the person by leaving the spiritual dimension out. His conviction was that once the spiritual dimension of the person is rejected only partial humanism, humanism without foundation, will remain. In *True Humanism* Maritain explored ways in which Christianity can imbue politics in a pluralistic society. He believed that people with different ways of thinking could work together in a democratic way towards common practical aims. Maritain’s political theory became a primary source of inspiration for the Christian Democratic Movement.

As mentioned before, Schuman applauded Maritain’s ideas on democracy. It was probably a combination of Maritain’s ideas strengthened by Bergson’s observation that made Schuman regard democracy as essentially Christian.

Maritain brought his thoughts down to man when he quoted Charles Péguy saying that to transform a socialist society, man needs first of all to transform himself. Man needs to completely renew his own spiritual and moral life. He then should try to understand

279. Fimister, 121–122.

280. Ibid., 255.

thoroughly the leading moral ideas of the socialists so as to be able to awaken a new élan in them consistent with Christian morality: “The social revolution will be a moral revolution or there will not be a revolution.”²⁸¹

Maritain considers ethics to be an essential component of the uniting of Europe. He wrote the following at the outbreak of the Second World War, when peace seemed very far away:

[I]f a federal Europe is to be born, and if it is to be viable, politics must be intrinsically bound to ethics, and that a good politics is a just and humane politics, and that without political justice there can be neither peace nor liberty nor honour among nations. [...]

All peoples must equally reconstruct their political philosophy, renounce the false political dogmas of liberal individualism and of revolutionary totalitarianism in its various forms, rely upon the truths which have given shape to the West to advance, in the West, that common ideal of civilization without which, as I said at the outset, a true federal organization is not permanently to be realized. A federal Europe will not exist unless the Christian spirit makes it exist.[...]

The acceptance by all the members of the federation of the reductions in the sovereignty of the State required by an authentic international organization would lead at the end, if they are conceived under the banner of liberty, to the establishment of what we can properly call in its own right a new Christendom.²⁸²

Maritain continued by stating that peace must be built collectively and that the common Father should enlighten the people building this peace. His high regard for Pius XII is expressed in the following quote:

281. Maritain, *Humanisme intégral*, 128, quoting Charles Péguy, “La révolution sociale sera morale ou elle ne sera pas.”

282. Jacques Maritain, “Europe and the federal Idea,” *The Commonweal* XXXI, no. 26, (19 April 1940). See: Fimister, 282–284.

Nothing could be more definite than the [...] points indicated by Pius XII. They have received the sympathetic attention of the Allies. One of the powerful reasons for hope is that the Holy See, which was carefully kept out of the negotiations for the peace which followed the last war [the Treaty of Versailles], has taken already attitudes of major importance with regard to the peace which is to come, and will in all probability, be induced to play a decisive role.²⁸³

The similarity in thought between Schuman and Maritain regarding the Papacy is evident. The only notable difference between the two is that for Schuman the Church held a central position in the assurance of the connection between Christianity and democracy while Maritain focused more on the nature, and specifically the openness, of Christianity.

Schuman and Maritain believed Christianity and the European cultural heritage as such to be essential elements of the European integration process. Both were consequently in favour of a reconciliation policy towards Germany, regarded man as a human person with a personal vocation to sanctity in the middle of the world and therefore of pivotal importance in the unification process and considered democracy to be essentially Christian.

283. Maritain, "Europe and the federal Idea."

2.3 Conclusion

Schuman stressed the importance of a ‘European spirit’ that needed to permeate this European enterprise. This spirit was to be found in the European cultural heritage with its Christian roots in which the human person and his transcendence played a pivotal role and of which effective solidarity through practical integration was the outcome.

The thoughts of Schuman’s contemporaries were surprisingly similar regarding the most fundamental issues. The same goes for their thoughts with regard to the idea of unification. All of the intellectuals mentioned in this chapter stressed the pivotal role of the human person and the need for a correct concept of man in order to be able to construct a new political and economic order.

De Rougemont and Brugmans focus on man’s freedom and responsibility, including solidarity, that should inform the social, political and economic order. The other intellectuals mentioned in this chapter, Benda, Dawson, Jaspers, Guardini, Pius XII, Eliot, Maritain, focus on the recognition of man’s transcendence and the need for a moral order based in Christianity. They stress the necessity of the integration of spirituality into the world of science, as the separation of the two badly damages society and is one of the causes of the deplorable state of Europe. Dawson, Guardini, Pius XII and Maritain thus comment on the devastating effect of separating faith and reason. According to them this separation means, in Dawson’s words, seeing the tree while missing the forest. They, like Benda, Jaspers, De Rougemont, Brugmans and Eliot, also emphasize the need for a moral order, principles or spiritual framework consistent with Christianity, that informs the public order so as to avoid man becoming an instrument of ideologies or of a totalitarian regime. Guardini centers

in his worldview on man's need to be aligned with the Totality, or Absolute, in which he participates. He also states that Europeans need to continuously re-appropriate their European cultural heritage and live up to it if they want to strive towards the attainment of the universal common good. Thus they need to be willing to share and cooperate with other continents and not succumb to continental egocentrism as if Europe exists on its own.

All the intellectuals mentioned before oppose nationalism and are in favour of European unification. The federalists De Rougemont and Brugmans are the only ones with Benda who explicitly mention the need to surrender sovereignty in order to achieve a real European Union. But the others also acknowledge the need for supra-nationality and thus for transfer of sovereignty. Brugmans even explicitly states that the German problem was a European problem and that it should be solved by the creation of a supranational cooperation in the field of coal and steel. He also explains that Western Europe needs to be reunited with Eastern Europe, that Europe has its fate in its own hands and that European federalism will surely affect the world order. The similarity in thought on all these issues between him and Schuman is surprising.

Jaspers, De Rougemont and Pius XII all point to Switzerland as an example of how European integration should come about. Pope Pius XII provides as it were a blueprint of what would become the European unification Schuman strives towards. Pius XII favours a policy of reconciliation and a supranational polity for achieving European unification. He emphasizes that national political interests should be set aside so as to make room for common interests. Pius XII further comments that there should be solidarity among states along with respect for the national culture of each state. In this regard, he stresses the links between unity and diversity, between European and

national common good, and between universal and European common good. For this unity to happen the creation of a moral order based on Christianity is needed. Pius XII strongly suggests re-establishing the connection between religion and culture so as to cure the deplorable European situation of the years after the war. As far as the method of integration concerns, he recommends a slow integration and avoidance of acting hastily. Although the Church does not mingle in temporal affairs and only opines, it is clear that all these thoughts of Pope Pius XII mentioned above are known to and shared by Schuman.

Eliot suggests a society built on Christianity so as to purify the political system and society itself from the dominating lack of morality. Maritain, a neo-thomist who wants to bring Aquinas's philosophical doctrine closer to society, culture and science, stresses the fact that the human person transcends the political community. He is a strong defender of natural law ethics and sees human rights as being rooted in natural law. He further speaks of each man's call to sanctity in the middle of the world and stresses the importance of integrity. This is also applicable to his idea on European integration, as he regards ethics and moral order as essential components of the idea of European integration. Maritain further emphasizes the need for political systems with Christian thought, respectful to those who think differently, and pleads for an authentic and pluralistic democracy. He sees democracy as an essentially Christian phenomenon; a product of the equality of man and woman which is damaged in the past but restored by Christ. Schuman fully accepts Maritain's view on democracy.

The comparative approach of this chapter has provided the basis for a better understanding of Schuman's thoughts as it has further articulated Schuman's distinguishing ideas on European unification, such as his step-by-step method of integration and focus

on the 'European spirit', and made clear that there were more intellectuals thinking along similar lines as Schuman. It has also illustrated the revolutionary state of thinking on European unification in those days. The time was right for a revolutionary act, not because of fear due to the threat of Communism or of another war but because of the fact that the people cried out for a different political, economic and social order. Schuman is the one who would launch this revolutionary act when pronouncing the Schuman Declaration on 9 May 1950, a unique act that brought forth a unique kind of integration.

CHAPTER THREE

Robert Schuman: The Plan

This chapter will start off by addressing the common assumption that Monnet was the principal architect of the Schuman Declaration. This will be followed by an overview of Schuman's political career, the circumstances of which contributed to the launch of the Schuman Declaration. The next section will be on the way the Schuman Declaration was launched, its content and on how it was received, as well as explain why the Declaration was a revolutionary move.

The final section covers Schuman's thinking on the key concepts of European unification. Some of these have already been mentioned in the two previous chapters but due to their importance in the creation of the Schuman Declaration they deserve to be looked at in greater detail.

3.1 Schuman Declaration: Schuman's or Monnet's?

Monnet²⁸⁴ is commonly presented as the inventor of the European unification project²⁸⁵ (that is, the Schuman Plan). Theodore White diminished Schuman's role in his *Fire in the Ashes: Europe in mid-century* (1953) saying:

284. Many think Monnet is, together with his team, the protagonist of the Schuman Declaration based on the detailed description of Monnet's *Mémoires* about this period and on Monnet's noticeable presence in European affairs. This last decade, however, there is increasing evidence that Schuman and his staff were the brains behind the Schuman Declaration. This 'discovery' is based on archives that opened and facilitated the study of Schuman's speeches, writings and actions of the years before, during and after the Declaration.

285. Alan S. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, (London: Methuen & Co.Ltd, 1984), 395. "The Schuman Plan was invented to safeguard the Monnet Plan" (See also Introduction); Tony Judt, *Postwar, a history of Europe since 1945*, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005), 156. "Monnet proposed to France's Foreign Minister what became known to history as the Schuman Plan" (See also Introduction).

Schuman was looking for some token to offer to Germany as an earnest of good will. Schuman liked Monnet's project, accepted it, offered to give it his name and bring it before the Cabinet.²⁸⁶

Jos Kapteyn and Pieter Verloren van Themaat limited Schuman's role to the actual launch of the Declaration in their *The Law of the European Union and the European Communities* (2008) when they wrote "Schuman and Monnet (the intellectual father of the plan)".²⁸⁷ So did Dick Leonard when he wrote in his *Guide to the European Union* (1994) "Monnet's proposal, which was put forward by the French government as the Schuman Plan".²⁸⁸ The idea of Monnet as the principal initiator of the European unification also found its expression in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (2011).²⁸⁹ Alan Milward, while also regarding Monnet as the inventor of the Declaration, did give some credit to Schuman in this regard, when he wrote:

That the substance of the proposals came from Monnet and the Planning Commissariat [and that this] need not be doubted and the timing of their submission reflects Monnet's shrewd sense of stage at which French policy had arrived. [...] But the

286. Theodor White, *Fire in the Ashes: Europe in mid-century*, (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1953), 262.

287. P.J.G. (Jos) Kapteyn, Pieter Verloren van Themaat, *The Law of the European Union and the European Communities*, (Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International BV, 4th revised edition, 2008), 4.

288. Dick Leonard, *Guide to the European Union*, (London: The Economist in Association with Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1994), 4. "Monnet's proposal, which was put forward by the French government as the Schuman Plan". Leonard's comment on the Schuman Plan echoes Milward's comments on the rebuilding of Europe *The reconstruction of Western Europe* which is generally taken as a book of reference by those who study European affairs after the Second World War.

289. Mike Walker, *Beyond Borders (play)*, (London: BBC Radio 4, 16 December 2011); John Tusa, *The European Dream (documentary)*, (London: BBC Radio 4, 17 December 2011). A critical comment on this broadcasting from David Heilbron Price was: "Monnet seems to have persistently claimed the parentage of earlier ideas that were first circulated by others. The BBC should have been aware of this, especially when it could easily be checked where it dealt with British politics" in *Monnet9: The BBC becomes a propaganda voice for the Monnet Myth (article)*, <http://www.eurdemocracy.blogspot.com>, 29 December 2011.

ultimate credit for the Schuman Plan must go to Schuman himself. He had the courage to act quickly.²⁹⁰

The Schuman Declaration was based on more than Schuman's courage. Recently opened Schuman Archives and other sources of information²⁹¹ make clear that Schuman was not only the one "who had the courage to act quickly", but also the one who patiently and steadily prepared the ground for the reconciliation policy and the supranational structure of a European community. He did so in order to come to a European unification that would solve the 'German question' and that would make war impossible between the members of that European community. These sources explain that Schuman focused on the Franco-German common interests in coal and steel as a means for integration and practical interdependence to eradicate the possibility of another war.²⁹² As a French Deputy representing the most strategic region in France, Lorraine, for more than thirty years, Schuman, as these sources explain, had a great expertise on coal, steel and their cause for war unlike the other politicians and unlike Monnet.²⁹³

290. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, 396.

291. The Archives of the *Maison de Robert Schuman* opened in 2007. Other sources of information such as biographies on Robert Schuman and *Pour l' Europe*. See bibliography.

292. Schuman did not envision a federal union like the United States, nor a trading block of nations, but a community of peoples with a new political system which was the supranational system.

293. The district of Thionville, a city of steel in Lorraine, was itself of the most crucial importance in three wars: the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and the two world wars. See: Heilbron Price, *Robert Schuman and the making of Europe*, 13. Heilbron Price also quotes the words written at the beginning of the First World War by M. Weiss, Director of Mines at the French Ministry of Public Works, to the army underling about the prime strategic importance of the iron production near Thionville and the need to bomb the area. The document submitted to the French General Staff concluded: "The occupation of the region of Thionville would immediately put an end to the war, because it would deprive Germany of almost the whole of metal that it needs for its armaments." His advice, however, was never taken up. The reason why it was never taken up is according to one of Schuman's fellow deputies "the most murky of all mysteries, the tightest of secrets, the web of the most closely-conjured obscurities."

Documents found in Schuman's Archives show that the project Monnet presented to Schuman was primarily the output of Schuman's thoughts, which came to Monnet through Schuman's close collaborators Reuter and Clappier who joined Monnet's team for the matter. Reuter, Schuman's right-hand man in the Legal Department of the Foreign Ministry, wrote the first draft of the Schuman proposal, not Monnet as David Heilbron Price makes clear in his book *Schuman or Monnet?*. Heilbron Price comments the following:

The very first pencilled drafts of the Schuman Declaration and key parts of the treaty were hand-written by Paul Reuter. He could not be described as '*a close colleague*' of Monnet. He was Schuman's legal adviser at the Foreign Ministry. Bernard Clappier, Schuman's head of private staff, and Paul Reuter were instrumental in stimulating Jean Monnet and his team of economics and engineers to involve themselves in the Declaration. Its initiation by two key staff members of the Foreign Minister should have alerted historians, some of who implied the Declaration was Monnet's idea and his contribution alone.²⁹⁴

The fact that Monnet had no intentions to strive towards European unification as visualized in the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950 is made clear when in April 1950, he still considered creating a buffer-state Lotharingia which would be composed of part of Belgium, Luxembourg, Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar and Ruhr territory. This newly created state would separate the main industries of coal and steel from Germany and therewith dismantle its strength based on heavy industry. Heilbron Price says regarding this episode:

It turned out that in April 1950 Monnet still had the idea of creating a buffer state called Lotharingia between eastern France and Germany. It would separate the rest of Germany from its heavy industries and supposedly pacify it. Professor Reuter, a Lorrainer, dissuaded him; separating people such as

294. Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, (Brussels: Bron Communications, 2003) 8, 9. The first draft was typed in the office and not at Monnet's home as is suggested in Monnet's *Mémoires*.

German Rhinelanders, Alsace-Lorrainers, Belgians and Luxembourgers from their home countries was 'against Nature'. It was for this reason that Monnet then asked Reuter - who was familiar with Schuman's thoughts, to prepare the first draft of the Declaration.²⁹⁵

Monnet affirmed that Reuter was at the origin of the High Authority, the word and the substance.²⁹⁶ And that he himself had no concrete ideas at that stage.²⁹⁷

After accepting this draft version on European unification Monnet's input regarding the Declaration would concern mainly technicalities. He would know best how to achieve economic integration. His contribution would be the fruit of his experiences in the League of Nations, the The Hague Congress and of the knowledge, which he shared with Schuman, of the contemporary problems France and Germany faced regarding the Saar and Rhur regions. In fact he himself had caused part of those problems with the project he had proposed as Head of the French Planning Commission to De Gaulle after the Second World War.²⁹⁸ The Germans protested against this project because it channelled all the financial and economic benefits to France and left them with only their political independence. This project, which Monnet had suggested at the time, was in line with De Gaulle's policy of dismantling the German coal and steel industry. It had, however, become clear, also to Monnet, that this was not the way to solve the 'German question'. He therefore supported Reuter's, read Schuman's, idea of a reconciliation policy with the integration of economic interests as this would be able to solve the problem.

295. Paul Reuter, *La naissance de l'Europe communautaire*, (Lausanne Jean Monnet Foundation, 1980). See also: *Mélanges Fernand Dehousse*, vol 2. 1980, 65-69.

296. Monnet, *Mémoires*, 352-353.

297. Monnet, *Mémoires*, 342.

298. See also: Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, 129.

The fact that Monnet is regarded by many as the main architect of Europe, has as a consequence that the idea of Europe is often regarded as purely economic, while the economy was in reality meant to be no more, and no less, than an instrument for European unification. Schuman's range of thought was far greater as we saw in the previous chapters and will see in the following pages. His vision was primarily focused on achieving a European community, a gathering of European nations, whose peace be guaranteed with the help of a supranational structure. Economic interdependence would be a means to make war impossible and contribute to the sense of community in which the human person played a pivotal role and in which Christianity was at the base of the moral order. The latter was understood, but not made explicit in the Schuman Declaration.

Because of Schuman's self-effacing personality, which was commented on in the first chapter, this never came to light. He did not mind and even seemed to prefer to obliterate himself and avoid the recognition of being the main father of this unique form of governmental policy that had never existed before. It is even acknowledged by historians and contemporaries that Schuman went out of his way to hide his own contribution.²⁹⁹

His personality seems to have prevented his close collaborators for a long time from protesting against the underestimation of Schuman as the principal architect of Declaration. Thirty years after the Schuman Declaration Reuter confirmed Schuman's main role in the process. Reuter stated at a conference of Europe's most eminent historians that they had neglected Schuman's subtle, self-effacing

299. See also: Heilbron Price, *Robert Schuman and the making of Europe* (manuscript), 1.

style of politics, his pre-occupations and methods. They should have concentrated more on substance not on Monnet's personality.³⁰⁰

Another consequence of Schuman's personality is that it is hard to find any information written by Schuman himself on the gradual development of his ideas across the years on European unification. The only booklet he wrote, which was only published posthumously, as mentioned in the Introduction, was his *Pour l'Europe* in which he had put down his main remarks and comments made during speeches that concerned the principal issues of the European unification history and the process and guidelines Europe should not part from.

Monnet writes in his *Memoires* that he handed the draft-project to Schuman on the Friday evening and that Schuman gave his consent on the Monday right after the weekend. It would not have been consistent with Schuman's personality to make such a revolutionary move without having carefully considered it. Thus, this relatively swift consent would suggest that Schuman was already familiar with its content. He was renowned for his political skills and accuracy. He had prepared the ground for a reconciliation policy in France³⁰¹ and already discussed and spoken about the possibility of European unification with his main colleagues Adenauer from Germany and De Gasperi from Italy before Monnet handed over the project that would become the Schuman Declaration. Monnet himself acknowledged

300. Paul Reuter, *International Conference of Professors of Contemporary History*, Luxemburg 1982, 16 (CEC 1982)).

301. Schuman's reconciliation policy is already clearly evidenced in Marcel Bérain's observation made in the winter of 1939. Marcel Bérain was a young student teacher at the time he met Schuman in 1939 when the German attack on France could happen any moment. He recalled how Schuman reacted immediately to his belligerent talk towards Germany. Schuman had said that they should try to win the war as the war was imposed on France, but that once the war was over and there would be peace, he, Schuman, counted on him and his colleagues to teach the young people above all about brotherhood, not only confined to national borders, but extended to all peoples, beginning with their neighbours. See: Marcel Bérain, *Entretiens avec Schuman*, typescript. See also: Heilbron Price, *Robert Schuman*, 16.

Schuman's rare qualities as a politician and mentioned Schuman's 'lucid vision' of a working synergy integrating France, Germany and other countries in a 'united Europe' when he said:

It is a matter of great fortune for Europe that a man possessing such rare qualities was in place to open the route for a peaceful revolution.

[Schuman had a] lucid vision for the future of the countries of Europe.

[Schuman] had long reflected on the means to reconcile definitively France and Germany in combining their energies with the aim of integrating them in a united Europe in the service of peace and mankind.³⁰²

The opening up of the Schuman Archives, of which the Archives of *Maison de Robert Schuman* opened in 2007, and the insight in Schuman's background disclose Schuman's preparation work for and main role in the European unification process and unravel to a large extent the 'mysterious' element which according to Milward accompanied the extraordinary and lasting prosperity of the Schuman Declaration in Western Europe.

No one knew when or why it [this extraordinary prosperity] had started, and I soon discovered that neither did I. It was in fact not only one of the most unexpected events in Western Europe's history, but remains one of the most unexplained.³⁰³

The material from the archives also supports the assumption that Schuman's personal background predisposed him to European

302. *Revue générale* 1973, n. 6, 11. Quoted in: Heilbron Price, *Robert Schuman and the making of Europe* (manuscript), 9. In an interview I had with David Heilbron Price, he comments on the fact that in Monnet's *Mémoires* hardly any reference is made to Schuman's vision. Heilbron Price explains the latter saying that the *Mémoires* were not written by Monnet himself, and that the references to Schuman must have been either consciously ignored by the biographer or simply not have been noted down in writing by Monnet himself so as to be used as a source of information.

303. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, Preface, XV.

integration and that Schuman, not Monnet, was the main architect of European unification.

3.1.1 Monnet's Mémoires and Schuman

He reflected for a long time, but he knew how to act quickly when he found the response to the grave problems that he settled on his conscience. To reconcile France and Germany was his deep preoccupation at that time. The surprise was total when this man who was so reserved proposed what no two nations had ever done before: place in common their vital resources, precisely those which were the source of their conflicts. This revolutionary gesture was accomplished without vain ostentation, with a sincerity that convinced at once all those to whom it was addressed. There was no ulterior motive in the French proposal. It was simple and frank; that is why it carried greater conviction in people's minds and had more consequences on events than the most carefully crafted schemes.

Jean Monnet on Schuman

Of course Schuman's *Pour l'Europe* and materials from the Archives provide a precious source of information on Schuman's thoughts about European unification. But Monnet's *Mémoires* must be mentioned as well as it is referred to frequently and used as a book of reference by scholars, students, and professionals in the field of the EU. The book reflects Monnet's version of what happened the days in which Monnet himself, Schuman and several specialists from different fields worked closely together in order to design what would become known as the Schuman Declaration. The entire sequence of events that accompanied the launch and reception of the Schuman Declaration is described from Monnet's point of view. The *Mémoires* also give an insight into the tense atmosphere within the country and the need to act in order to avoid a division amongst the people. People were devastated because of the ruins of war, and the lack of work, money and housing. And they were gripped by the fear of the outbreak of

another world war, and by the threat of Communism. Monnet argued that not the states but the people needed to be united in the first place.

³⁰⁴ This statement reflects the central importance of the citizen and of solidarity in the unification process.

He stated in his *Mémoires* the main challenges Schuman would experience as Minister of Foreign Affairs during his governmental period, that is, the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, the undesirable separation of Germany into an East and West Germany in 1949 and the urgent need for the recovery and re-armament of Western Germany. Monnet recalled that it was thought better to leave Europe out of this continental conflict between the two super-powers: “Let’s leave Europe out of these clashes.” But this was precisely the wrong attitude to take, according to him. Europe should take an active part in solving the problems it was itself complicit in creating.³⁰⁵

Monnet observed the impact the Cold War had on the minds of people, who had become locked up in their thoughts and fears. They needed to be given hope and he, like Schuman, was convinced that in order to do so the mentality had to change. Thorough action was needed to inspire this change of mentality.³⁰⁶ But at the same time, political prudence was called for, as there was a fierce opposition. On 9 May 1950 and the days before Schuman had to move cautiously within the government, so as not to give his opponents the opportunity

304. Monnet, *Mémoires*. The motto of *Mémoires* is: “Nous ne coalisons pas des États, nous unissons des hommes.”

305. Monnet mentioned the following to Beuve-Méry, director of *Le Monde* and a good friend: “L’absence des pays de l’Ouest européen dans les grandes décisions du monde, est précisément la cause du déséquilibre contre lequel vous pensez nous prémunir. Il faut au contraire que nous reprenions activement notre place dans le règlement des problèmes où l’Occident est tout entier engagé.” (in response to : “Laissons l’Europe en dehors de ces affrontements.”)

306. Monnet, *Mémoires*, 344. “Il faut une action profonde, réelle, immédiate et dramatique qui change les choses et fasse entrer dans la réalité les espoirs auxquels les peuples sont sur le point de ne plus croire.”

to block the Plan that was meant to bring about the integration of Germany into a European unification process. Only certain crucial individuals were informed of the project. From the government itself, these were the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Justice, who both favoured a policy of reconciliation and were highly respected within the government. Schuman also sent an envoy, Robert Mischlich, to Bonn to inform Adenauer of the proposed Declaration and to ask for his consent, as Schuman did not want to launch the Declaration before being absolutely certain of German consent.³⁰⁷ It was only after receiving Adenauer's consent that Schuman made the Declaration public at the Council of Ministers as the very last point on the agenda.³⁰⁸ The two Ministers that were informed beforehand supported the Plan and therefore no protests followed and the Declaration was accepted. Schuman thus somehow managed to mislead Prime Minister Bidault and pushed through the Declaration that not only unified France and Germany, but that was open to any democratic country interested in establishing a community without any form of discrimination or restriction. Monnet's *Memoires* also illustrate that the Schuman Declaration meant a historic break with former policies of enmity. The *Memoires*, however, lack accuracy on occasion in that they incorrectly give the main credit to Monnet and do not mention that the content of the Declaration was basically given and written by Schuman's close collaborators Reuter and Clappier and prepared by Schuman (see 3.1). The latter had prepared the

307. Konrad Adenauer, *Erinnerungen: 1945–1953*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1965), 328. "Ich teilte unverzüglich Robert Schuman mit, dass Ich seinem Vorschlag aus ganzem Herzen zustimme." Ibid., 335. "Die Bundesregierung erblicke in dem Schuman-Plan die Bildung eines wirklich dauerhaften Fundamentes für eine europäische Föderation, und die Bundesregierung werde sich diesem Plan mit ganzer Kraft widmen."

308. See: Robert Schuman, "Rede van de heer Schuman," in: *De verwezenlijking van een groot denkbeeld: Europa*, Publicity services of the European Community 2489.4.60.1, 9 May 1960.

Declaration through his policy of reconciliation, speeches in international contexts such as at the start of the Council of Europe (May 1949) and through talks with Adenauer and De Gasperi on a community of nations governed by supranational institutions to guide and control the Franco-German common industry of coal and steel to start with.

3.2 Schuman: his crucial impact on European unification

A closer look at Schuman's life from his first appointment as a Minister in 1940 onwards will provide further explanatory details regarding his vision on how Europe should overcome the dangerous and weakened situation it was experiencing immediately after the Second World War. It might thus shed more light on why Schuman can be considered to some extent a man of his circumstances, next to being a person of exceptional qualities, as he was able to initiate and launch the kind of project of European unification he did.

3.2.1 Schuman: 1940 – 1945

In March 1940, when the Second World War had been raging for several months, Schuman received a ministerial post for the first time. He was appointed the Under-Secretary of State for Refugees³⁰⁹ in Paul Reynaud's government also because he was from the Lorraine region and because he was familiar with German culture. After Reynaud's government fell on 16 June he automatically continued in Pétain's government until July 1940 when the new government would be

309. See also: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 133. Roth, 593. Reynaud's government went to Bordeaux in the spring of 1940. The people from Alsace-Lorraine had to evacuate their region in 1939 even before the German troops entered France, because the Maginot-line for defence was situated at some distance between the Eastern French frontier and the West. Eastern France thus faced a refugee crisis. Most of them went to Poitiers in the central-western part of France.

formed. Pétain wanted an armistice between France and Germany. Schuman too preferred not to go to war, which was proposed by De Gaulle³¹⁰. The latter was furious about the armistice that came about. De Gaulle would accuse Schuman years later of collaborating with the Germans³¹¹ because Schuman had initially been in favour of an armistice. De Gaulle, however, later also acknowledged that this was an unjust reproach.³¹² Schuman strongly opposed Nazism, as is made

310. Charles De Gaulle (1890–1970), French general and statesman, led the French Free Forces during the Second World War. He opposed Pétain's wish for armistice vehemently at the beginning of the war and was angry with Schuman for being in favour of the armistice. Years later, when Schuman became first Prime Minister and then Minister of Foreign Affairs, De Gaulle strongly opposed Schuman's post-war policies of reconciliation between France and Germany. He did not support the idea of European integration at that time and was opposed to the Schuman Declaration and the subsequent creation of the European Community for Coal and Steel. However, from 1958 onwards his attitude changed. In that year De Gaulle founded the French Fifth Republic and became its first President. He showed himself to be in favour of European integration and valued a close collaboration with Germany. The United States and Great Britain were to be kept aside according to De Gaulle. De Gaulle resigned from the presidency in 1969. He passed away the following year.

311. See also: Roth, 412. (De Gaulle said: (mt)“Schuman, is a Jerry ; he is a good Jerry, but he is nevertheless a Jerry!” “Schuman, c'est un Boche; c'est un bon Boche, mais c'est un Boche tout de même!”).

312. See: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 10. Despite De Gaulle's inimical attitude towards Schuman, it was the same De Gaulle who right after the Second World War cleared Schuman of the accusation that he had been a collaborator of the Germans. This clearance made possible that Schuman was accepted as the representative of the Lorraine region in parliament.

Schuman has never been persued by the Gaullists and Communists because of his involvement in the 'Munich Treason' of 1938 when he, as the representative of Alsace-Lorraine, was in favour of having Hitler incorporating part of Czechoslovakia in order to avoid war (the Munich Treason). The reason why Schuman pleaded in favour was that he represented the people of Alsace-Lorraine of which the great majority wanted to safeguard peace in France at any cost. They were afraid a new war would start when they opposed themselves to Hitler's project. Schuman encouraged actively safeguarding peace at any cost. It was only a year later, when Hitler invaded Poland that he and the others became aware of their own naïveté. See Poidevin, *homme d'État*, 121-124 and Baudet, Thierry, “Juist Europese eenwording leidt tot oorlog”, in: de *NRC*, 23 juni 2012, 4.

Schuman's attitude resembles his initial wish to safeguard peace at all costs when the Germans had started to invade France for which he supported in the (very) beginning Pétain's suggestion of armistice.

With reference to Schuman's forebears can be mentioned that he had no German ancestors. Several generations of Schuman's family had come from the general area around Lorraine-Luxembourg and the neighbouring southern part of

clear in the first chapter and will be made evident later on. When Pétain's new government had to be formed in July 1940, Schuman's post of Under-Secretary of State was discontinued. The post of Director of the Secretary of Refugees was offered instead, but Schuman rejected the offer and resigned from the Pétain government.³¹³ Schuman only continued in politics as a Member of Parliament. Even though Schuman rejected Pétain's offer, he was caught in a trap on 10 July 1940 when he, still being a Member of the National Assembly, was required to come to Vichy like the rest of the National Assembly (Pétain's government had moved to Vichy because the Germans now occupied Paris). When he arrived at Vichy, he and other deputies of Alsace Lorraine were forced by Pierre Laval of the Vichy government to give full powers to Pétain so as not have the Germans think that the people of Alsace Lorraine did not want to remain French citizens. Schuman therefore signed. It turned out to be no more than a trick of Laval so as to acquire enough signatures needed to support Pétain's government, that he, Pierre Laval, had to give shape. After signing the papers Schuman decided to go to Poitiers where most of the refugees from Alsace-Lorraine were stationed, so as to uplift their situation and see if they could go back to Alsace-Lorraine now that the armistice was a fact and their situation supposedly safe. But when he arrived back in Metz a few weeks later to arrange some matters for the refugees and burn papers that should not fall into German hands, the situation turned out not to be safe at all. Schuman got arrested by the Gestapo as the first Member of

Belgium. De Gaulle did have family in Germany. (from interview with David Heilbron Price, May 2011)

313. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 42.

Parliament.³¹⁴ This happened on 14 September 1940, most probably because of him having left Pétain's government.³¹⁵

Schuman's biographer Robert Rochefort mentions that the Germans wanted Schuman to cooperate with and endorse the re-incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine into the German Reich. Rochefort explains how Schuman refused unhesitatingly, also when offered the position of *Gauleiter* (Governor) of Alsace-Lorraine.³¹⁶ As a consequence he was sent to prison for the next seven months and placed under house arrest in Neustadt (Pfalz).³¹⁷ He escaped, however, in August 1942 and hid in an abbey of Benedictine monks close to Poitiers. From there he went to Lyon and other cities to speak to war refugees and others about hope for victory and the defeat that awaited the Nazis, convictions based on his experiences in Neustadt.

The Neustadt episode and the following years are also described in detail by Schuman's other biographer François Roth. He explains that Schuman was forced to live clandestinely after having escaped from German house arrest, also because of his dealings with the resistance. At his places of hiding, mostly monasteries, he read the

314. Ibid., 42, 43.

315. See: "Der Kopf der Woche", in: *Die Weltwoche*, Zürich 21 November 1952. "Pétain suchte seine Mitarbeit im Juli 1940; doch Schuman lehnte ab und wird deshalb von den Deutschen verhaftet, die ihn sieben Monate lang in Metz in einer Zelle behielten. Dann wurde er von der Gestapo nach Neustadt deportiert." (Pétain asked for his collaboration in July 1940; but Schuman refused and was because of this arrested by the Germans, who put him for seven months in jail in Metz. After that he was deported to Neustadt by the Gestapo).

316. Rochefort, 97. When Schuman was in Neustadt he managed to meet with George Ditsch, his legal colleague in Kaiserlautern in April 1942. Schuman was in constant danger, but nevertheless explained how he saw this new Europe he had in mind arising. "This war, terrible though it is, will finish one day and will finish by the victory of the free world. [...] There are strong chances that there will appear more than ever, an exacerbated conflict between the free world whose roots lie in Christian civilization and the Soviet empire with its atheistic materialism. That is the reason why there is no question of perpetuating the hatred and the resentment towards Germans."

317. Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 107.

works of St. Thomas Aquinas³¹⁸, St. John of the Cross, as well as Shakespeare to perfect his English. Rochefort mentions that Schuman not only spoke out clearly against Nazism, but that he already began to speak to his friends at that time of the need to reconstruct post-war Europe on the basis of an institutional fusion of France and Germany:³¹⁹ “Even as far back as 1942 when he was on the run from the Gestapo, Schuman had been reflecting on the need for a victorious France to create a new Europe in cooperation with Germany.”³²⁰ In April 1942 he wrote down his thoughts, projects and vision of the future of Europe in a letter to his friend and fellow lawyer in Thionville, George Ditch, saying:

This war, horrible as it may seem, will one day end well with the victory of the free world. Force has never been able to triumph over justice for a long time [...] It should not lead to a perpetual hate and resentment towards the Germans. On the contrary, without forgetting about the past, we and our allies should look for the cause of the wars and come to structures that make the return of such cataclysms impossible. The solutions can only be found within a unified European framework. A similar thing has been tried in the past, but by brutal force.

Only a democratic enterprise will be able to count with the approval of the nations. This time we should finish off completely all the territorial ambitions that generate new

318. Roth, 262.

319. Rochefort, 128–132. See also: Schuman project, Brussels, 2004. During his house arrest in Neustadt (1941–42) Schuman succeeded in collecting intelligence information secretly from German sources and a top-secret economic Nazi report. His conclusion after statistical analysis was that German defeat was certain even though Nazi power was at that time attaining its greatest expansion and appeared to others as invincible: its armies attacked Leningrad and Moscow. He already told visiting friends then about the need for post-war European structure. Once he had escaped he chose to stay and work underground in occupied France. This meant three years of living clandestinely with a 100,000 Reichmark reward on his head. He spoke to Resistance friends (much to their consternation) on need for postwar reconciliation with Germany. He rejected De Gaulle’s invitation to come to London. Schuman preferred to stay with compatriots in Nazi-occupied France, changing address continuously. He prepared work for solid supranational European institutions and a healthier democracy once Europe was liberated.

320. Rochefort, 128–132. See also: Fimister, 186 and Roth, 250.

conflicts and look for the unification of all through cooperation.³²¹

Those thoughts are also reflected in his words after the war when he says:

War and the destruction it caused, together with liberating victory, were undertaken collectively. If we want peace to last and supplant war, we must take joint steps towards this, by associating everyone, including those who fought against each other in the past and who might, once more, face each other in bloody rivalries.³²²

Those first words mentioned above, written down in 1942, show Schuman's eagerness to find a solution to the seemingly never-ending problem of war on the European continent. They already give an idea of the blueprint of European unification striven towards after the Second World War. At that time, Schuman already wanted Franco-German reconciliation, the creation of new basic structures that made another war impossible, a European unification in accordance with democracy, and cooperation as a means for this unification to come about.³²³

321. René Lejeune, *Une âme pour l'Europe*, (Paris-Fribourg: Ed. Saint Paul, 1986), 90. "Cette guerre, si terrible qu'elle soit, finira bien un jour, et elle finira par la victoire du monde libre. La force n'a jamais pu durablement triompher du droit [...]. Il ne saurait être question de perpétuer la haine et nos ressentiments à l'encontre des Allemands. Tout au contraire, sans oublier le passé, il faudra avec nos alliés, rechercher la cause des guerres et imaginer des structures rendant impossible le retour de tels cataclysmes. Les solutions ne pourront être trouvées que dans le cadre d'une Europe unifiée. Une telle chose a déjà été tentée dans le passé, mais par la force brutale. Seule une entreprise démocratique sera susceptible de recueillir le consentement des nations. Cette fois, il faut faire table rase de toutes les ambitions territoriales génératrices de nouveaux conflits et chercher l'union de tous dans la coopération." See also: Muñoz, 43.

322. Schuman, *For Europe*, 32. "La guerre et ses destructions, comme la victoire libératrice, ont été oeuvre collective. La paix, si nous voulons qu'elle devienne une victoire durable sur la guerre, devra d'édifier en commun, par tous les peuples, y compris ceux qui se sont combattus hier et qui risquent de s'affronter à nouveau dans des rivalités sanglantes." Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 41.

323. As mentioned in chapter one, even as far back as 1912 Schuman was already involved as vice-president of the *Görres-Gesellschaft* in an international European peace project trying to find a structure based on international law that

During this wartime period Schuman's speeches and discourses had a strong impact on audiences, as he was a Member of Parliament, although he could not practice his profession. Schuman was one of the first European politicians to warn of the systematic destruction of the Jews by the Nazis as German government policy.³²⁴ Because of being wanted by the Germans, he was forced to change address more than a dozen of times until the end of the war, so as not to be captured by the Germans.

The fact that he already spoke in favour of a Franco-German reconciliation policy during the war, is even more surprising considering he was wanted by the Nazis. This demonstrates his capacity to look beyond short-term personal and national interests and feelings as well as his Christian virtue of forgiving and reconciliation. Both would be reflected clearly in the Schuman Declaration of 1950.

3.2.2 Schuman: 1945 – 1948

The inventory of public finances he established when he became Minister of Finance in 1946 became for this methodical, economic man, without illusions, the basis for [France's] economic and financial revival.

Alain Poher³²⁵

As a Minister of Finance Schuman's emphasis on transparency and on combat of corruption improved the economy and financial sector in France. He fostered a policy of reconciliation and unification after the Second World War. It was therefore not surprising that Schuman himself explicitly worked towards European unification and that his

would make war among European countries impossible. The project got destroyed during the first world war.

324. David Heilbron Price, *Schuman's Warning of the Nazi Destruction of the Jews*, (Brussels: Bron Communications, 2004).

325. Alain Poher (1909–1996) was French centrist politician, twice interim President of France (1969, 1974) and Schuman's colleague (MRP).

ideas on reconciliation and unification found their echo in the Schuman Declaration.

Robert Schuman returned to Lorraine on 21 November 1944 after the war had ended in France. It was a period of governmental unrest and of a succession of Republics resulting from contrary interests among citizens and even among politicians. Gaullists, nationalists, communists and those who wanted cooperation with western democratic states and were in favour of cooperation with the United States fought to pursue their practically incompatible convictions. The average duration of the successive governments was six months and 25 days. During this period of unrest Schuman was elected Deputy of the Moselle region and Member of the Commission of Finance in 1945.³²⁶ He became the French Minister of Finance in 1946. After yet another government collapsed he became the new Prime Minister in 1947. This change of charge was based on his excellent qualities as a Minister.

Schuman asked Pope Pius XII for an Apostolic blessing when he accepted this task of Prime Minister.³²⁷ His task would be a tough one not only due to the contemporary circumstances in France and Europe but also because of the political climate amongst French politicians. This was already clear at the moment Schuman presented his newly formed government on 29 November 1947 to the Assembly.

326. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 10. The people of Alsace-Lorraine want to celebrate Schuman's return, but the authorities take him for an ex-Minister of Pétain who had given full powers to Pétain's regime. As mentioned before in the note on De Gaulle's rejection of Pétain's armistice and Schuman's consent, it is only through the intercession of De Gaulle that Schuman is relieved from those accusations and re-enters politics.

327. Archives départementales de la Moselle 1369W184. (mt) "The responsibilities of so heavy an office bring home to me each day the inadequacy of my own powers and my need for special graces. The blessing which I ask Your Holiness would be for me a precious pledge and encouragement." Pius XII replied: "We recommend to God with all our heart your person and your activities. In pledge of the graces for which we plead in abundance for you and for your dear country we bestow upon you with particular affection the Apostolic Blessing for which you have asked."

He then had to confront a severe attack by the Communists who accused him of having been a German officer in the army during the First World War and of having worked for the German prefecture in Metz. Schuman himself replied with clear statements. He categorically denied the accusations, not because it hurt him personally to be falsely accused but for the sake of his position as a government official. To clear any doubts he said the following, directing himself to the leader of the communist party, Georges Marrane:

I protest against the methods used by your friends in politics not because of me personally, but because of the fact that my function, the dignity and the authority of the government are at stake. Statements regarding my past have been made that are absolutely false and slanderous, especially regarding my supposed time in the German army. They pretended that I had been a German officer. I tell you here solemnly: I have never worn a German uniform. There was a second false statement that said that I had worked for the German prefecture in Metz. I have not even known the prefect and I have never spoken to him. I am obliged to defend myself against this kind of methods, not because my person is at stake - in that case I would have kept quiet - but because of the fact that the government itself is at stake and the authority it needs. The public opinion of France and outside France needs to know what the methods are that one uses in certain environments. You, M. Marrane should be able to associate with what I say.³²⁸

328. Roth, 314. “Je tiens à élever une protestation - non pas parce que ma personne est en cause, mais du fait que ma fonction, la dignité et l'autorité du gouvernement sont en jeu – contre des méthodes utilisées par vos amis politiques. On a produit des affirmations absolument mensongères et calomnieuses au sujet de mon passé, en particulier sur mon prétendu passage dans l'armée allemande. On a prétendu que j'avais été officier allemande. Je le dis ici solennellement: je n'ai jamais porté l'uniforme allemande. Il y a une deuxième affirmation mensongère d'après laquelle j'aurais accompli des services à la préfecture allemande de Metz. Je n'ai même pas connu le préfet et ne lui ai jamais adressé la parole. Je suis obligé de me dresser contre des méthodes pareilles, non parce que ma personne est en cause – s'il n'y avait que cela, je me serais tué -, mais parce que le gouvernement lui-même est en cause et l'autorité dont il a besoin. L'opinion publique en France et en dehors de France doit savoir quelles sont les méthodes auxquelles on a recours dans certains milieux. Vous devriez, monsieur Marrane, vous associer à ce que je dis.” It is a known fact that Schuman was not called to the army, but required by the Germans to register conquered items in Boulay during the First World War. See chapter one (a Man of Faith).

Schuman did not let himself be intimidated. His accusers did not succeed in humiliating Schuman and did not have the last word.³²⁹

However, social and economic unrest, due to strikes and a huge inflation, made his position as Prime Minister a serious challenge. He wrote history with the way he handled the economic crisis and ended the Communist Trade Unions strike.³³⁰ As a practicing Catholic Schuman wanted to heed the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. In practice this meant primarily the effort to put into effect a reconciliation policy with Germany and to achieve an integration of Germany into Europe, which in turn led Schuman to the challenge of beginning the European integration process so as to safeguard peace and security in Western Europe.

It was the announcement of the Marshall Plan from the United States with its offer of financial support for the reconstruction of the European democratic countries that brought some hope and relief to the Schuman government. The Marshall Plan came about during Truman's Presidency.³³¹

Molotov, representing the USSR, did not accept the idea of a joint European project. He believed that it would harm the sovereignty of nations. He therefore declined and made all Soviet satellite states refuse American support as well. The consequence of Molotov's rejection was a deep fracture through the heart of Europe. The Eastern and Central European countries fell under Moscow's leadership and

329. See Roth, 315.

330. Franz Knipping, "Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman und der Durchbruch zur europäischen Einigung", in: *Europäer des 20Jahrhunderts. Wegbereiter und Gründer des "modernen" Europa*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2002), 75.

331. The Marshall Plan was part of the Truman Doctrine (12 March 1947) that wanted to provide economic and financial support in order to assure a stable European economy and political order and to prevent Europe from falling into communist hands.

therefore under the communist system. The break between East and West became a reality. This was the beginning of the Cold War.

The Marshall Plan was put into effect on 2 April 1948. In the meantime Rumania and Czechoslovakia had chosen sides with the USSR and Stalin's regime. Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary followed soon after being pressured by Stalin to do so. The situation in France was difficult, especially because of the Gaullists, the communists and the nationalists who opposed Schuman's policies and fiercely resisted a policy of reconciliation with Germany. Every step towards the integration of Germany into Europe meant that Schuman was called names such as *Le Boche*, the 'Jerry' or the *Kraut*.³³² Gaullists, nationalists and communists continued accusing Schuman of being a traitor who collaborated with the Germans, because of his policy of reconciliation.³³³ Moreover, they rejected any policy that would imply more focus on Europe and less focus on France. They could not agree with Schuman's strong support of the Congress of The Hague of May 1948 which was organised by the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity and which would discuss several

332. As Schuman turned out to be able to beat the communists the latter started (again) to accuse him of having been a Prussian officer even though Schuman had already clearly rejected this false accusation as is mentioned before. The French Chamber needed to make known officially that Schuman had never been an officer in the army and that it concerned a false accusation. See also: *Die Weltwoche*, Zürich 14 July 1950. Archives *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. "Die Behauptung Schuman sei Preussischer Offizier gewesen, wurde seinerzeit von der französischen Kommunistischen Partei verbreitet, um diesen Politiker in Misskredit zu bringen. Als Robert Schuman Ministerpräsident wurde und mit energischer Hand die kommunistischen Agitatoren niederkämpfte, warfen diese ihm vor, man könne von einem preussischen Offizier nichts anderes erwarten. In Tat und Wahrheit ist Schuman aber weder preussischer noch deutscher Offizier gewesen und die kommunistische Diffamierung wurde seinerzeit von der französischen Kämmer auch offiziell widerlegt."

333. They also accused him falsely of collaborating with the Nazis, on the basis of him having been part of the Vichy-regime headed by Marshal Pétain. Schuman did sign as a Member of the General Assembly due to Laval's trick as is explained before, but had already resigned from the government as he did not accept the post of Director of the Secretary of Refugees that was offered to him. See also: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 42; Roth, 287.

important European issues.³³⁴ When Schuman's government fell two months after the Congress and he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, he quickly ensured that the Congress of The Hague gave birth to the Council of Europe.³³⁵

Schuman himself would describe the attitude of those opposing reconciliation and the initiative of the Congress of The Hague during a European conference in Vienna in 1956 as an attitude characterized by "patriotic fetishism of all kind, intangibility of the sovereignty especially regarding the army, liberalism and economic protectionism."³³⁶ Although the tension between those in favour and those against a conciliatory attitude towards Germany made it difficult to govern the country, it was on another issue that Schuman's government fell on 10 July 1948. After eight months, his government fell on a point of principle regarding a national matter. Schuman introduced legislation to remove the ban on public financial support for confessional schools. This was one of the key issues on which he had been elected to parliament back in 1919, and he could not in good conscience fail to make the attempt to legislate the removal of the ban on funding for confessional schools now that he was Prime Minister. The move was unacceptable to the Socialists who did not want to fund religious education and Schuman was unable to hold his coalition

334. The Congress, which was presided over by Winston Churchill, brought together state and other representatives from all over Europe and observers from the United States and Canada. It meant an important step towards European unification as it led to the establishment of the Council of Europe, the creation of the European Movement and the foundation of the College of Europe in Bruges.

335. (French) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Europe généralités 1944-49* Z547 5sd b10.

See also: David Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet? The real architect of Europe*, (Brussels: Bron Communications, 2003), 17.

336. Robert Schuman, "La Relance Européenne", Conférence Parlementaire Européenne, Vienna, 5 September 1956. Archives *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. "fétichisme nationaliste de toute inspiration; intangibilité de la souveraineté, notamment dans le domaine militaire, libéralisme et protectionnisme économique."

together.³³⁷ The latter shows that Schuman did not compromise his (religious) convictions despite the risk of losing his job of Prime-Minister. The fact that this would work out in his favour in that he would become the next Minister of Foreign Affairs meant that he became the one whose task it was to give shape to foreign policies and to solve the ‘German question’.

3.2.3 Schuman: 1948 – 1953

Profoundly democratic as Robert Schuman was, he faced up as the head of government with a cool head and strength to seditious attacks from all sides that at the time aimed their cross-fire at our republican democracy. This Christian, whose faith was so pure and simple that it could only gain respect, was nothing of sectarian and he extended this ‘tolerance’ at all opinions different from his own. This led him to defend the legitimacy and necessity of political parties against the demagogy that already exploded with furor [...] Courage, calmness and tenacity didn't fail Robert Schuman any less during the historic moments when a crucial impetus had to be given to Coal and Steel Community, or rather the Grand Design for a united Europe of which it was the first practical manifestation.

*Guy Mollet*³³⁸

This section on Schuman’s political achievements as Minister of Foreign Affairs will show that he followed a conciliatory course, with the United States as well, and that he constantly worked towards European unification. Schuman’s speech in London, where he signed the Statutes of the Council of Europe in May 1949, forms the backbone of the Schuman Declaration that would come about one year later. His meetings with Adenauer, De Gasperi and Acheson further prepared the unification. In the same year Schuman stepped down as

337. Fimister, 172.

338. Guy Mollet (1905–1975), French Socialist politician, French Prime-Minister from 1956–1957.

Prime Minister he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, as he was highly appreciated for his outstanding governmental talents and insight into international politics. He would remain Foreign Minister in the seven subsequent governments.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs he could move more freely, follow his vision and make good use of his parliamentary and governmental experience. He knew the situation of those days in Europe and had become familiar with the different moods that dominated the post-war period and thus also with the growing opposition between the Soviet Union and the West. At the time of commencing his new post, the period of confrontation between the democratic countries and the Soviet Union had just started. Schuman had to face as well the 'German question' which was another issue of great concern that needed to be tackled soon. There was, however, no one better equipped to deal with this matter amongst French politicians right after the Second World War than Schuman. Thanks to his origins he knew Germany and its people as no other French politician.³³⁹ He was also keenly aware of the complexity resulting from Germany and France's shared interests in the Saar³⁴⁰ and Ruhr regions rich in coal and steel that were under French control after the war.

Schuman had a clear vision of the integration of Germany into Europe and of the way in which this could be achieved through cooperation in precisely the controversial area of coal and steel. He

339. Peter Kindler, "Robert Schuman - ein wirklicher Staatsmann", *Sie Er*, n. 24 (17 June 1949). Archives *Maison de Robert Schuman*, Scy-Chazelles. Schuman sees the Germans as they are and not as the nationalistic hate or the pacifistic dream sees them. "Er sieht die Deutschen, wie sie sind – nicht wie sie der nationalistische Hass oder der pazifistische Traum sehen möchte."

340. See also: Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 216–228. Adenauer and Schuman had different opinions regarding the Saar. France still needed the produce delivered by the Saar region for economic and security reasons and did not (yet) want to give up on them.

also had the basic architecture for the institutions in mind, but still searched for the exact formula and plan to implement this vision.

A change in the way of thinking was needed. There was a need to face reality and act towards attaining unity.³⁴¹ A policy of revenge did not work as was evident enough from history in general and made very clear by the consequences of the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War. The way in which to escape this state of affairs, however, was at that moment still unclear. Time passed and there were other issues requiring Schuman's attention.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs Schuman signed the North Atlantic Treaty for France on 4 April 1949. This caused anger from the Soviet Union which accused Schuman of infringement of the agreement signed by De Gaulle and Stalin on 10 December 1944. That agreement implied the avoidance of participation in any coalition that would be formed against each other for a period of five years. Those five years had not yet passed. The communists in France turned against Schuman for this reason as well.

While Schuman had to combat this opposition in France and tried to prepare the ground for reconciliation with Germany, he went off to London to sign the Statutes for the Council of Europe. There too, he expressed his strong belief in the need for a supranational unification of Europe and the concept of unity in diversity:

Today, we cast the foundations of a spiritual and political cooperation, from which the European spirit will be born, the founding principle of a vast and enduring supranational union.

This union will have neither as a goal nor as its outcome the weakening of our link to the nation. On the contrary, the diversity and originality of the contributions that the member countries bring to their Community will supply the vital nutrient for the works conceived by the European association.

341. See also: Monnet, *Mémoires*, 334.

We can thus reconcile vigorous, dynamic expansion with those matters requiring prudence and realism.

We do not intend to deny our own past history, or weaken the vitality of our personal aspirations; our only limit is how to coordinate them in our immense collective work.³⁴²

Back in France Schuman remained convinced that he was an instrument of reconciliation between France and Germany despite severe opposition within France. Schuman found strong support from the United States. His American fellow Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dean Acheson (1893–1971) put pressure on France to find a way to integrate Germany into the sphere of European democracies as soon as possible. These democracies were under threat from the Soviet Empire and therefore needed to gain strength. The American concern about the spreading of communism combined with Schuman's eagerness to come to a reconciliation with Germany as a first step towards European unification made the collaboration between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and therefore between France and the United States, still closer. The close friendship that arose between Acheson and Schuman also facilitated this process.

The German Saar territory with its major industries of coal and steel was the main region of concern in the reconciliation policy. It was a problematic region because its economy and finance were put under French command after the Second World War as we saw in the section at the beginning of this chapter. For the people of the Saar this was difficult to accept as they had their own constitution, their own government and their own parliamentary assembly. They also wanted to decide on their own economic and financial matters. A similar observation could be made about the heavily industrialized region of the Ruhr. This obstacle for reconciliation had to be removed at any

342. Robert Schuman, Speech at signature of Statutes of Council of Europe, St. James's Palace, London, 5 May 1949.

cost. For this reason Schuman arranged his first meeting with Konrad Adenauer. Adenauer was at that time president of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany and of the Temporary Parliamentary Council of the three zones occupied by the allies. He was also one of the candidates for Chancellorship and would become the appointed Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany³⁴³ within a month after their first meeting in August 1949. Adenauer had been fiercely opposed to Nazism, and had been dismissed as the mayor of Cologne for this reason in 1933 when Hitler came to power. He had suffered imprisonment twice during the war. Adenauer too was in favour of reconciliation.

The United States strongly supported not only the economic and political recovery of West Germany but also its re-armament. This was an urgent necessity due to the threat of communism from the Soviet side and the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 for which American troops had to be present in Asia and could not be fully present in Europe.

Schuman knew that the initiative for reconciliation should come from France and that any proposal from the German side would be rejected outright by the French government and public due to the anti-German feeling that still reigned in France. Nevertheless, France needed to foster German recovery in order to be able to count on its main ally, the United States, which had recently launched its Marshall Plan. If France continued to withdraw itself from any attempt at integrating Germany into Europe and show no sympathy towards the

343. The notion of theistically grounded civic responsibility and of European integration was integral to West Germany from the moment of its foundation. The Preamble of the German Constitution, promulgated on 23 May 1949 began with the words: "Conscious of their responsibility before God and man, inspired by the determination to promote world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe, the German people, in the exercise of their constituent power, have adopted this Basic Law. See Fimister, 181.

German recovery effort, it would risk damaging its relationship with the new government in Bonn.

A meeting was scheduled on 10 May 1950 between France, the United States and the United Kingdom. At this meeting Schuman had to present a proposal for the re-integration of Germany into Europe as an equal partner.

Adenauer from his side also searched assiduously for a solution. He believed “in the Europe and in the Germany that once raised cathedrals to the sky and in humble faith in divine omnipotence served the spirit of pure humanity”.³⁴⁴ In short, he believed in a Europe and Germany older than the concept and the reality of sovereignty. Adenauer even came to suggest putting all German and French interests together under a common institution. His ideal consisted of a German unity within a unified Europe, as only a European Community would be able to pave the way for the ‘German question’ to be resolved and to weaken the threat of the Soviet Union.³⁴⁵ His ideas, however, were never framed in a serious proposal, partially because the initiative for a solution should come from France if it were to have any result. But his ideas were heard and worked with later on, although restricted to the common interests of coal and steel.

The two, Schuman and Adenauer, understood each other perfectly. Both men had been fierce opponents of Nazism and were in favour of a policy of reconciliation. They wanted Germany to integrate into a democratic Europe. They both knew that something had to be done regarding the Saar region, and discussed for months how the tension in that territory could best be resolved. A providential

344. Konrad Adenauer, *World Indivisible*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), 21. See also: Fimister, 181–182.

345. Hans-Gert Pöttering, “Konrad Adenauer’s policy on Europe,” EPP-ED Group in the EP (European People’s Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats in the European Parliament), 2001.

coincidence was that Schuman and Adenauer had several main characteristics in common. Both men grew up close to the borders of France and Germany and felt affection for both countries. Both were educated and nourished by the Catholic faith, a source that characterized their political thinking. Both were sober, preferred simplicity, were interested in culture and literature to name but a few similarities. The fact that they could converse face to face without requiring an interpreter aided their mutual understanding, friendship and communication even more. Both men were known for their integrity.

Schuman met Alcide de Gasperi, the Italian Prime Minister, for the first time in Paris on 23 November 1948. De Gasperi commented on this encounter with the words:

I feel confident, because Schuman and I have things in common. We are both irredentists, he from Lorraine and I from Trentino. We have lived for a long time at the frontiers of our national thoughts; we are on the same wavelength and we understand the current problems as well in the same way.³⁴⁶

De Gasperi also shared several characteristics with Schuman and Adenauer. He was, like Schuman, brought up in a German-speaking border region, in this case Trentino, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Trentino later became part of another nation state, Italy, causing De Gasperi, too, to change his nationality. Like Schuman and Adenauer, he was a convinced and practicing Catholic and was known for his integrity. Next to that, De Gasperi had a natural bond with Schuman and Adenauer because of the German language and

346. (mt) Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 200. “Je me sens en confiance parce qu’en analogie avec M. Schuman. Nous sommes deux irrédents, lui de Lorraine, moi du Trentin. Nous avons vécu longtemps à la frontière de nos pensées nationales; nous avons réfléchi de la même manière et nous comprenons les problèmes actuels aussi de la même manière.”

education all three shared.³⁴⁷ Furthermore, the three of them had in common that they were all protagonists of Christian Democratic movements³⁴⁸ in those days: Schuman of the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP),³⁴⁹ Adenauer of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and De Gasperi of the Italian *Democrazia Christiana* (DC). De Gasperi also supported a policy of reconciliation and wanted European democratic countries to unite and integrate their interests, as he too believed that no European state was able to stand on its own and face the problems of rebuilding Europe by itself.³⁵⁰

De Gasperi fostered a close friendship with Robert Schuman and got along very well with Konrad Adenauer:

These three statesmen, meeting each other, could take for granted knowledge, experiences, values that each of them had interiorized and about which it wasn't even necessary to exchange ideas, because each of them knew perfectly what the ideas of the others were.³⁵¹

347. See also: Tony Judt, *Postwar: A history of Europe since 1945*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 157.

348. See also: Micheal Burgess, "Politischer Katholizismus, europäische Einigung und der Aufstieg der Christdemokratie," in: *Die Christen und die Entstehung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft*, ed. Martin Greschat and Wilfried Loth (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994), 130. The Christian Democrats saw it as their task to fill out the political vacuum of the post-war period with Christian principles. They wanted a federal Europe that would be and remain rooted in an "organic community". Their ideal was consistent with the message of the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931).

349. Schuman became a member of the MRP in 1945, one year after it was founded.

350. See Paolo Mattei, "De Gasperi and Europe," an interview with Sergio Romano, 2004. Sergio Romano was Ambassador in 2004 and author of *Europe, history of an idea*, Longanesi & C. Milano 2004. "No European state on its own was any longer able to deal with the problems of reconstruction and the future of the Old Continent. This perspective became particularly efficacious when he met Schuman and Adenauer who with him "become the real European directorate" after the end of the Second World War. His experience of the past as a parliamentarian of the Habsburg Empire came in handy as he knew from within the attempt to make a multi-ethnic Empire, a mosaic of nations, function".

351. Ibid.

Nearly a decade later Schuman commented on their acquaintance during his inauguration speech as *Doctor Honoris Causa* of the Catholic University of Leuven in 1958:

[W]e were led, I would say all of a sudden, to put in place [the unification], to get started without preparation, without having it properly discussed in other circumstances, and we have done it each with our temperament, with our contingent national characteristics, but we all had the same inspiration, the Christian inspiration; we had confidence and this conviction was for all three of us in the Faith that inspires us, in the Hope that encourages us, in the Charity that unites us.³⁵²

The fact that Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi had several main characteristics in common and all aspired to a similar European unification facilitated the possibility to work towards the realisation of the unification as Schuman envisioned it.

This triumvirate of Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi would become the pre-eminent Fathers of the European Union. Yet they needed Jean Monnet, then the Director of the French Planning Commission, and his pragmatic way of thinking to give shape to their vision of a united Europe on a Christian democratic basis. Although Monnet put Schuman's basic architecture for the institutions in place the main credit regarding the principal concepts of the Schuman Declaration, the foundation stone of the European Union, was Schuman's, as David Price points out:

The speeches prove that Schuman was the real architect of today's European Union - and that he considered the creation

352. Schuman, Robert, DVD, inauguration speech *doctor honoris causa*, l'Université Catholique de Louvain 1958. See also: Geneviève Duchenne and Gaëlle Coutois, *Pardon du passé, Europe Unie et défense de l'Occident*, (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2009), 162. "nous étions amenés, je dirais à l'improviste, à mettre sur place, à mettre en œuvre sans préparation, sans nous être concertés dans d'autres circonstances, et nous l'avons fait chacun avec son tempérament, avec les contingences spéciales de son pays, et nous avons eu la même inspiration, l'inspiration chrétienne; nous avons eu confiance et cette persuasion nous l'avons, tous trois, puisée dans la Foi qui nous inspire, dans l'Espérance qui nous anime, dans la Charité qui nous unit."

of the first European Community to be of global importance. The supranational system was a means to 'save our Continent and preserve the world from suicide'.³⁵³

Monnet soon became a close friend of Schuman's, and later on of Adenauer and De Gasperi's as well. He too had been in favour of a policy of reconciliation for a long time and thought along the same lines as Schuman. After the First World War he had been Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations and had learned about step-by-step integration as a possible way to come to a Federation of States.³⁵⁴ It was through working together in the specific fields of coal and steel that this step-by-step integration was created. The spillover effect that made states cooperate in areas related to those specific fields fostered the increase of co-operation and increasingly broadened its scope of cooperation.

Next to being the Director of the French Planning Commission, Monnet also headed the Coal Authority of the Ruhr territory after the Second World War, and was therefore keenly aware of the complicated state of affairs for both Germany and France. His

353. Strasbourg 16 May 1949 Palais des Fêtes. See also: Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, 52.

354. One could argue therefore that the theory of functionalism, which suggests a step-by-step integration in certain fields of common interests, found its birth in the League of Nations. The denomination of "functionalism" was defined as "neo-functionalism" after the Schuman Declaration. Will Banyan, "functionalism and neo-functionalism," www.research-assistant.com. "Under functionalism, the role of governments is to be progressively reduced by indirect methods, and integration is to be actively encouraged by a variety of functionally based, cross-national ties. Neo-functionalism, in essence, takes the functionalist perspective on integration even farther; it calls for the development of official supranational organizations such as the European Union (EU) that acquire the sovereignty and the status, in many different arenas, normally reserved to the exercise of the nation-state." David Mitrany (1888–1975) is considered the creator of functionalism. He was a Romanian born, naturalized British scholar, historian and political theorist who worked on international relations and on issues of the Danube region. The founder of neo-functionalism was Ernst B. Haas (1924–2003), a German-American political scientist and leading authority on international relations theory. He explains his theory on neo-functionalism in his book *The Uniting of Europe; Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.

Monnet Plan of Modernisation, which, as mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter, was implemented right after the Second World War during De Gaulle's government and which was in line with De Gaulle's thoughts, had given the economic benefits of the Saar to France and the governmental independence of the region to Germany. It was scheduled to last until 1952. The Plan caused a strenuous situation for both France and Germany and both countries demanded clarity about what had to happen after 1952.

Monnet acknowledged the unsuitability of the situation created and that France should try to solve this mutual problem together with Germany. He also recognized that the initiatives up to then to come to a unified Europe did not work, as they all were based on an intergovernmental approach which involved the protection of national interests. He was therefore, just like Schuman, searching for a way to resolve this dilemma. The idea of unifying Europe led for example to the Congress of The Hague in 1948. The Congress was presided over by Winston Churchill and was attended by many political leaders such as Eden, Macmillan, Reynaud, Mitterand, who was sent by Schuman, Adenauer and Hallstein. Monnet, who was present as well, observed that several valuable ideas were announced, but that there was also a large amount of wishful thinking. Nevertheless, the congress would lead to the creation of the Council of Europe a year later. Monnet believed that another approach was needed, as the current approach would only lead to a deadlock. This was because it was not an expression of tangible European unity and the Council did not have the authority to enforce rules or laws.

The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) that came about in 1948 provided each country the freedom to decide whether or not it wanted to participate in cooperative efforts. Monnet saw how these initiatives did not provide the desired result of

unification, as the countries involved were led by their own national interests. He acknowledged the necessity to be more ambitious and to confront the national sovereignties with more daring on more specific points.

In short, a great deal was said and written on the need for a united Europe, but nothing was effectively done. Churchill's address in the presence of Schuman in Metz on 14 July 1946 demonstrated his support for European unity, albeit without Great Britain.³⁵⁵ His speech about the United States of Europe in Zürich later that same year became far more famous.³⁵⁶

Monnet learned from the Congress of The Hague that institutions and rules were needed to safeguard the process of gradual integration. He made use of Schuman's advocated architecture for the institutions in his concept of a European supranational organisation with membership open to all democratic European countries. This organisation would have institutions among which a High Authority, a supranational entity as Schuman proposed, which would attend to and

355. Roy Jenkins, *Churchill: A Biography*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 810–818. Churchill believed that Europe needed to do away with nationalisms, as only a united Europe would be able to avoid wars on the continent and resist the threat of Communism. He acknowledged three big centres of power after the Second World War: the United States, the Commonwealth of Nations and a united Europe. Although he did not state this explicitly, he mindfully excluded Great Britain from the European unification project. He did so not only because of the British Commonwealth, but also because of the strong Anglo-American connection.

356. Winston Churchill, "Zürich speech," Switzerland, 19 September 1946. Churchill underlined the need for Europe to become united and thus form the third world power. About the European identity Churchill says: "It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, the arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern time. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and the glory which its three or four million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this twentieth century and even in our own lifetime, wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind."

decide on certain issues of common European interests predetermined by its members.³⁵⁷

The supranational aspect of the European Community to be was essential according to Schuman. Monnet agreed, but did not much favour the word 'supranational'. David Heilbron Price comments on Schuman's strong belief in the supranational approach based on sound moral principles and his rejection of former ways of unification attempted in the past, considering them utopian.³⁵⁸

Schuman already spoke about a supranational Europe in the immediate post-war years.³⁵⁹ For Schuman this supranational aspect was akin to a 'scientific discovery'. It would be the first time in world history that such a supranational political structure would be established. He prepared the ground during the years preceding the Schuman Declaration.

As Schuman would later observe, this was precisely what Pius XII had proposed back in 1944 as the remedy for future wars and as the buttress of democracy: "the formation of an organization for the maintenance of peace, of an organization invested by common consent

357. The inauguration of the High Authority took place in Hôtel de Ville in Luxembourg. Monnet declared solemnly on behalf of all members of the High Authority that all would exercise their tasks in full independence, free from national bounds and in favour of the community and its supranational character. In his *Mémoires* he wrote: "Nous exercerons nos fonctions, en pleine indépendance, dans l'intérêt général de la Communauté. Dans l'accomplissement de nos devoirs, nous ne solliciterons ni n'accepterons d'instruction d'aucun gouvernement ni d'aucun organisme et nous nous abstiendrons de tout acte incompatible avec le caractère supranational de nos fonctions. Nous prenons acte de l'engagement des États membres de respecter ce caractère supranational et de ne pas chercher à nous influencer dans l'exécution de nos tâches." Monnet, *Mémoires*, 439.

358. Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, 14. See also: Monnet, *Mémoires*, 352. A year before the Declaration, Schuman had listed as utopian all the previous plans from the Middle Ages on for uniting Europe based upon varying models of federalism and theocracy. The only chance, he said, was the supranational approach: an experiment based on sound moral principles. Monnet's only objection to *supranational* was that he disliked the word. He did not discuss its meaning or significance.

359. Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, 14.

with supreme power.”³⁶⁰ Pius XII had already explored the question of the unity of human society in his inaugural encyclical *Summi Pontificatus*. He spoke of a natural sympathy between democracy and Christianity in his wartime radio addresses. He even mentioned the means to come to such a unity and strongly advocated:

[T]he creation of permanent institutions to embody supranational society through the use of treaties between sovereign powers establishing a “supreme authority” over themselves. He also advocated to Charles de Gaulle right after the Second World War the creation of a bloc of Western European Catholic powers to resist Communism.³⁶¹

De Gaulle, contrary to Schuman, had been against a policy of reconciliation and had therefore also not been supportive of the Pope’s ideas on striving towards a supranational society. But Schuman backed the Pope’s suggestions as they were fully in line with his train of thought and with that of his fellow founding fathers of European unification, Adenauer, De Gasperi and later also Monnet.

Schuman applauded Monnet’s proposal for being exactly the one he, Adenauer and De Gasperi had been searching for in order to make the policy of reconciliation work and attain the desired European unification.³⁶² The proposal was in line with their Catholic faith and applied the ideas suggested by Pope Pius XII. The ideas were elaborated and outlined in the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950.

It was Schuman who had prepared the ground to make the Declaration possible and who had taken responsibility for executing

360. Robert Schuman, “Démocratie et Christianisme,” Dijon 20 May 1957, Archives départementales de la Moselle, 34J35. See also: Fimister, 187.

361. Fimister, 255.

362. This statement contradicts therefore the observation “The Schuman Plan was invented to safeguard the Monnet Plan” made by Alan S. Milward in his book *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945- 1951* (London: Methuen & Co.Ltd, 1984) 395.

the project despite the still strong resistance in France towards the implementation of such a project of reconciliation:

The formation of a strong, new Europe applying the 'Community method' was based on years of conciliatory work. Immediately after the war, public opinion had been totally unready for European integration, even hostile. Repairing the ruins at home was absolute priority. With the destruction and nationalism of war, few people and governments with the notable exception of Schuman's 1947–1948 governments even mentioned European unity. In his writings, he praises men of trust who had succeeded in turning these two contrary tides: apathy for unity and hate for Germany.³⁶³

During his time as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Schuman became *Doctor Honoris Causa* in Economic Sciences of the Roman Catholic Polytechnic of Commerce of Tilburg, The Netherlands, in 1952.³⁶⁴ Schuman gratefully accepted and held his inauguration speech in December of that same year.

It was this same month of December 1952 that Schuman was forced to resign from his position as Minister of Foreign Affairs³⁶⁵ due to the strong opposition of the Gaullists against his foreign policy and attitude towards the former colonies. They considered his moral approach too soft. The problems in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Indo China had to be tackled firmly according to them. Schuman continued as a member of the Parliamentary Assembly. He worked towards and hoped for the formation of the proposed European Defence Community and the breakthrough it could provide.³⁶⁶ But there was no majority in favour of the EDC and the French government rejected the proposal.³⁶⁷

363. Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, 9.

364. See also: Regional Archives of Tilburg.

365. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 364.

366. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 376–383.

367. The decline of the MRP into political impotence was possibly partly the cause of the rejection of the EDC by the French parliament. See also: Fimister, 256.

The High Authority of the ECSC created a Robert Schuman Chair dedicated to the study of economics at the College of Europe in Bruges on 9 May 1953, which Schuman heartily applauded and opened with his inauguration speech in October of that same year.

3.2.4 Schuman: 1954 – 1963

In 1955 Schuman became the Minister of Justice, a position he would hold for ten months.³⁶⁸ It was to be his last post in the French government, as he would dedicate himself to European tasks within European institutions from 1956 onwards. He gave speeches all over the world on the Schuman Plan and so came to be called the Pilgrim of Europe. Schuman was honoured with the Charlemagne Award for his essential role in the unification of Europe in 1958.³⁶⁹ He became *Doctor Honoris Causa* of the Catholic University of Leuven in the same year.³⁷⁰ In 1959 he received, as mentioned in chapter two, the Erasmus Prize together with Karl Jaspers for his unifying efforts and contribution to peace and security in Europe.³⁷¹

From 1956 until 1961 Schuman was the President of the European Movement³⁷², and from 1958 until 1960 the first President

368. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 401, 406–409.

369. He was already nominated in 1951 for the Charlemagne Award, but Schuman had obligations he could not put aside. He therefore unfortunately could not accept his nomination. See: *Du Pater Europae aux Pères de l'Europe*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010).

370. Adenauer received the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa* together with Robert Schuman at the Catholic University of Leuven in 1958.

371. Robert Schuman received the Erasmus Prize together with Karl Jaspers in 1959. The Erasmus Prize is awarded annually by the Praemium Erasmianum Foundation, a Dutch non-profit organization, to a person or institution that has made an exceptionally important contribution to culture, society or social science in Europe. Emphasizing the importance of tolerance, cultural pluralism and undogmatic critical thinking, the Foundation endeavours to express these values in the choice of the Erasmus laureates. The Praemium Erasmianum Foundation was founded on 23 June 1958 by Prince Bernhard. See also: www.praemium-erasmianum.nl.

372. See: www.europeanmovement.eu. The European Movement, with its headquarters in Brussels, was formally created after the Congress of The Hague on

of the European Parliament. As first President of the EP he was unanimously proclaimed the 'Father of Europe'. In 1962 Schuman retired from politics due to health reasons. He decided to note down and collect the most important ideas he had articulated in speeches and conferences. These assembled notes, which were finished with the help of others, would be published posthumously under the title *Pour l'Europe*.³⁷³ He passed away on 4 September 1963. His funeral Mass was held on 7 September in the Cathedral St. Etienne in Metz. Statesmen from all over the world came to pay a final tribute to Schuman, the Father of Europe. De Gaulle, President of France at that time, and never in favour of the supranational politics of Schuman, was absent, and so were all the principle members of his government.³⁷⁴ The French government had also dissuaded Adenauer to come to the funeral.³⁷⁵ Nonetheless, a large number of people attended the ceremony. Many friends and acquaintances from the Catholic circles and organisations Schuman attended were present. Schuman was buried in the tiny church opposite his home in Scy-Chazelles, where his grave is visited to this day.

In addition to what was mentioned in chapter one on Schuman's background, personality and personal and professional life, this chapter on Schuman's political circumstances has further explained and contextualized Schuman's intent to come to European unification. Furthermore it has shown how Schuman took advantage

25 October 1948. It is an international organisation open to all political, economic, social and cultural trends in civil society. It helped to bring about the Council of Europe in May 1949, the College of Europe, a postgraduate independent university in European Studies, in Bruges also in 1949 and the European Centre of Culture in Geneva in 1950. Since its beginning it has played an essential role in the process of European integration by exercising its influence on European and national institutions.

373. Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 388. *Pour l'Europe* would be published posthumously in 1963.

374. Ibid., 423. "Nul n'est prophete en son pays."

375. Roth, *Robert Schuman*, 524; Poidevin, *Homme d'État*, 421.

of these circumstances which he felt were providential circumstances he was called on to make use of to strive towards the European unification he envisioned.

3.3 Schuman's 'Revolutionary Move': *un saut dans l'inconnu*

*Europe will be born of this, a Europe solidly united and constructed around a strong framework.*³⁷⁶

Robert Schuman

Although there have been many ideas of a united Europe, none is equivalent to the Declaration launched by Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950. In *Pour l'Europe* Schuman wrote the following words about this episode:

Before dropping our bomb, we had to know what sort of reception it would get from the main targets. Our main target was the federal government, and therefore, we were assured, before May 9, of the federal chancellor's agreement in principle. Nothing would have been possible without that agreement. The other governments, the British, the Italian, the American, and the Benelux governments, were informed 24 hours before the official declaration.

Everybody was surprised. Nobody within or exterior to France, was expecting this kind of initiative, especially on the part of France. I could see this amazement (and this is an understatement) when on May 10 I travelled to London for a conference which had been planned for quite a while. I immediately felt that our plan had provoked coolness among our English friends. Jean Monnet was with me. We gave further explanation concerning our thoughts and our final intentions. That exchange of views, verbal at first, then via memoranda, lasted several weeks. It was quickly realised that

376. Schuman's own preliminary remarks before reading the Declaration on 9 May 1950. This statement was not drafted by the Monnet team. See: Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, 4.

it was not one of those diplomatic bombshells that make a lot of noise, but are devoid of effectiveness.³⁷⁷

Schuman saw the uniting of European states primarily as a requirement on its own, in that the unification would procure a strong and healthy Europe because of which war could be avoided. In this way Europe could also confront the threats of Communism and the East-West conflict. Schuman acknowledged that for this unification to succeed the main cause of the conflict between France and Germany had to be eliminated. This cause resided in the important regions of Alsace-Lorraine and of the Saar and Ruhr because of their richness in coal and steel. Cooperation between the former archenemies in the field of precisely these raw materials would dismantle the war-industry and consequently make a war between the states impossible. Schuman emphasized though that European unification should be more than just a sequence of integrated technical, economic and political events to take place. For unification to succeed the states and Europe as a whole needed to build and foster solidarity among nations and citizens based on the European heritage that formed its soul. Unification without this soul would be lifeless and therefore unsuccessful.

377. Schuman, *For Europe*, 120–121. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 124–125. “Nous devons avant de lancer cette bombe, savoir quel accueil elle recevrait de la part des principaux interlocuteurs. Le principal interlocuteur était pour nous le gouvernement fédéral et c’est ainsi que nous nous étions assurés, avant le 9 mai, de l’accord de principe du chancelier fédéral. Sans cet accord rien n’aurait été possible. Les autres gouvernements, britannique, italien, américain, ceux du Benelux, ont été mis au courant 24 heures avant la proclamation officielle. La surprise fut générale. Personne ne s’attendait à une initiative de ce genre, ni en France, ni hors de France, et surtout de la part de la France. J’ai pu mesurer cette stupeur (et le mot est encore faible), lorsque le 10 mai je me suis rendu à certain temps. J’ai senti tout de suite que notre projet avait provoqué un froid chez nos amis anglais. Jean Monnet m’accompagnait. Nous fournissions des précisions sur nos idées, non seulement sur celles qui étaient développées sommairement dans la déclaration de 9 mai, mais aussi sur nos pensées, nos intentions finales. Cet échange de vues, d’abord oral, puis par notes, dura plusieurs semaines. On s’est rapidement rendu compte qu’il ne s’agissait pas d’un de ces ‘pétard’ diplomatiques qui font de bruit, mais sont dépourvus d’efficacité”.

The Declaration was soon referred to as the ‘Schuman bomb’ as it took the world by surprise and because of its potential impact on the national sovereignties of European states and on the relationships among countries and continents. Schuman, before reading out the Declaration, stated:

It is no longer a time for vain words, but for a bold, constructive act. France has acted, and the consequences of her action might be immense. We hope they will. She has acted essentially in the cause of peace. For peace to have a chance, there must first be a Europe. Nearly five years to the day after the unconditional surrender of Germany, France is now taking the first decisive step towards the construction of Europe and is associating Germany in this venture. It is something which must completely change things in Europe and permit other joint actions which were hitherto impossible. Out of all this will come forth Europe, a solid and united Europe. A Europe in which the standard of living will rise thanks to the grouping of production and the expansion of markets, which will bring down prices.³⁷⁸

The Declaration put forward five main principles:

1. Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through practical achievements which will first create real solidarity.
2. The age-old enmity between France and Germany must be eliminated; any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries, but it is open to any other European nation which shares the aims.

378. As translated by Alan Fimister, in: *Robert Schuman: Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe*, 192. Déclaration liminaire: “Messieurs, Il n’est plus question de vaines paroles, mais d’un acte, d’un acte hardi, d’un acte constructif. La France a agi et les conséquences de son action peuvent être immenses. Nous espérons qu’elles le seront. Elle a agi essentiellement pour la paix. Pour que la paix puisse vraiment courir sa chance, il faut, d’abord, qu’il y ait une Europe. Cinq ans, presque jour pour jour, après la capitulation sans conditions de l’Allemagne, la France accomplit le premier acte décisif de la construction européenne et y associe l’Allemagne. Les conditions européennes doivent s’en trouver entièrement transformées. Cette transformation rendra possibles d’autres actions communes impossibles jusqu’à ce jour. L’Europe naîtra de tout cela, une Europe solidement unie et fortement charpentée. Une Europe où le niveau de vie s’élèvera grâce au groupement des productions et à l’extension des marchés qui provoqueront l’abaissement des prix”.

3. Action must be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point: Franco-German production of coal and steel must be placed under a common High Authority.³⁷⁹
4. The fusion of these economic interests will help to raise the standard of living and establish a European Community.
5. The decision of the High Authority will be binding on the member countries. The High Authority itself will be composed of independent persons and have equal representation. The Authority's decisions will be enforceable.³⁸⁰

The Declaration showed that France had taken the initiative to build a new Europe on the basis of equality with Germany. That was *un saut dans l'inconnu* (a leap in the dark), was one journalist's conclusion when trying to get more information from Schuman about the Declaration on European unification. He caught Schuman at the moment when the latter was about to catch the train, trying to avoid questions about the future of the project. Schuman, however, confirmed the journalist's observation. It was a leap in the dark because nothing similar had ever been done, and the plan still had to be defined and concretized. It would become the cornerstone of Europe's future, as it was through the effective solidarity that a tangible solution of the German-French problem regarding coal and steel came about.³⁸¹ Adenauer would confirm the statement and thank Schuman for his initiative.³⁸²

379. Kapteyn, Verloren van Themaat, *The Law of the European Union and the European Communities*, 7. "In accordance with the Schuman Plan the High Authority occupied a central place in the institutional structure of the Community. It was composed of independent persons jointly designated by the governments, had its own financial resources from a levy on coal and steel production, and was provided with powers for binding the Member States and companies coming under the Treaty regime. Thus it became a governmental authority operating in this new market instead of or alongside the six national governments."

380. Fimister, 192. See: Schuman Declaration 9 May 1950 in Appendix.

381. Robert Schuman quoted in Poidevin, *Robert Schuman*, 78.

382. Adenauer's words translated to French in Poidevin, *Homme d'État*, 83: "l'homme qui, par son initiative de la C.E.C.A. a scellé la pierre angulaire de l'amitié qui unit désormais si étroitement nos deux peuples."

Schuman, Acheson and Bevin³⁸³ met in London on May 10, the day after the Schuman Declaration. Bevin, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, fully opposed the idea of handing over sovereignty and therefore also opposed the Schuman Declaration made the day before. He blamed Acheson and Schuman for setting up a plot against the UK. Attlee, the English Prime Minister at that time, welcomed the French-German reconciliation, but was not confident enough about its content and wanted a thorough examination of the economic and national consequences the project would have. His request would go unanswered, as these possible national consequences could not possibly be determined before the negotiations. From the United States, Italy, the countries of the Benelux and other states positive reactions followed. The Declaration made itself felt in the entire world in waves of impact like the circles of a stone fallen into the water.

The UK remained hesitant about entering the negotiations because of the plan to install a supranational institution, the High Authority, to decide on issues of common interests. The English saw such a High Authority as a threat. Their critical attitude contributed to a sharper definition of the parliamentary control over the High Authority, but in essence it remained the same. The governments surrendered their authority over a certain issue of common interest to a High Authority that was not accountable to governments but to the General Assembly. The Council of Ministers, with representatives of each of the member states, could have some influence on the High

383. Ernest Bevin (1881–1951) was appointed Minister of Labour (1940) by Churchill, who led the coalition government during the Second World War. From 1945 to 1951 Bevin became Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Labour Government led by Clement Attlee. He was very much against the communist regime and in favour of dealing with the United States. It is said that thanks to him the Marshall Plan and the NATO came about as quickly as they did. Bevin also dealt with the European unification idea, but the idea as proposed in the Schuman Declaration did not suit the UK and its Commonwealth of Nations because it was too much to ask a handing over of part of its sovereignty to a Higher Authority.

Authority, but only when it concerned veto-issues and when the majority votes system counted. Although their critical attitude had some effect on the plan, the English remained unconvinced. Schuman regretted the English attitude. Monnet wrote in his *Mémoires* that due to this attitude the UK would not decide its own destiny, but would be forced to change, adapt and shape its destiny according to the unification process that was taking place on the European continent.³⁸⁴

Schuman, Monnet and Adenauer spoke about the new partnership that had come into existence between France and Germany as two equal partners. They would work together and change especially the war industry into an industry that would be profitable to all of Europe. Europe would regain the eminent role it once played in the world and which its separations through the existence of nation states had caused it to lose. Its unity would not affect its diversity, but foster it. European civilization would benefit from its diversity and have influence on the development of super-powers as the United States.³⁸⁵

3.3.1 Moral order: key to ‘revolutionary move’

In his *Mémoires*, Monnet wrote the following words, describing one of the core points from which to depart since the Declaration of the Schuman Plan was made:

The French proposal is therefore essentially political. It has even a moral aspect. In its essence it envisions a very simple objective that our government tries to realize without, in the beginning, being bothered about technical difficulties.³⁸⁶

384. Monnet, *Mémoires*, 363. “Les Anglais ne trouveront pas seuls la ligne de leur destin. Le changement leur viendra de l’extérieur.”

385. Ibid., 365.

386. (mt) Ibid., 365–366. “La proposition française est donc, dans son inspiration essentiellement politique. Elle a même un aspect pour ainsi dire moral. Dans son essence, elle vise un objectif très simple que notre gouvernement

The focus should not be on the technical details, but on the political and moral ideal of unification. Monnet's conviction was that specific problems could easily be solved from the point of view of a great ideal.³⁸⁷ And in this case, the great ideal was European unification based on common interests.

Adenauer also considered the enterprise as belonging essentially to the higher order of morality, more so than that of politics and technical details. He wrote:

I am not, me neither, a technician, and not completely a politician. I look at this enterprise the same way you do which is under the highest regard, it belongs to the order of morality. It is the moral responsibility that we have towards our peoples, and not the technical responsibility that we need to put into the work so as to realize such a huge hope. It has been received enthusiastically by Germany, so let us not get stuck in details.³⁸⁸

Adenauer even highlighted that he had been waiting for such an initiative already for 25 years and that he was not longing for German hegemony whatsoever. After all, history had taught how vain those aspirations were. He added that Germany knew that its destiny was bound to that of Western Europe.³⁸⁹ Adenauer saw the realisation of

cherchera à réaliser sans se préoccuper, dans une première phase, des difficultés techniques.”

387. Ibid., 366. “Les problèmes concrets, je le sais par expérience, ne sont jamais insolubles à partir du moment où ils sont abordés du point de vue d’une grande idée.”

388. (mt) Adenauer's words translated to French in Monnet, *Mémoires*, 366. “Je ne suis pas, moi non plus, un technicien, et pas entièrement un politicien. J’envisage comme vous cette entreprise sous son aspect le plus élevé – elle appartient à l’ordre de la morale. C’est la responsabilité morale que nous avons à l’égard de nos peuples, et non la responsabilité technique que nous devons mettre en œuvre pour réaliser un si vaste espoir. L’accueil en Allemagne a été enthousiaste, aussi nous ne nous accrocherons pas à des détails.”

389. Adenauer's words translated into French in Monnet's *Mémoires*, 366. “Cette initiative, voici vingt-cinq ans que je l’attends. En nous y associant, mon gouvernement et mon pays n’ont aucune arrière-pensée hégémonique. Depuis 1933, l’histoire nous a appris combien pareilles préoccupations sont vaines. L’Allemagne sait que son sort est lié au sort de l’Europe occidentale.”

the proposal as the most important task that awaited him to fulfil and that would make him feel he had not lived in vain.³⁹⁰

3.3.2 ‘Revolutionary Move’: accepted, proposed, refused

On the 25 May 1950 the French government sent a memorandum to London proposing a project already accepted by Germany, and also submitted to Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy. This memorandum stated that the governments had decided to pursue common action towards the realisation of the objectives such as peace, European solidarity, as well as economic and social progress. This would be done by combining the production of coal and steel and through the instalment of a High Authority whose decisions should be implemented by all member states. The negotiations would lead to a treaty that needed to be ratified by the parliaments.³⁹¹

Harold Macmillan (1894–1986), British Prime Minister and friend of Monnet, stated his response to this memorandum in a letter in which he made clear that neither the Labour Party nor the Conservative Party would accept the High Authority as a supranational institution. Monnet responded making clear that there was no way of joining Europe without the surrender of sovereignty in defined domains of common interests. “The Schuman propositions are

390. Adenauer’s words translated into French in Monnet’s *Mémoires*, 367. “la réalisation de la proposition française comme la tâche la plus important qui m’attende. Si je parviens à la mener à bien, j’estime que je n’aurai pas perdu ma vie.”

391. Monnet, *Mémoires*, 368. “Les gouvernements [...] sont décidés à poursuivre une action commune en vue des objectifs de paix, de solidarité européenne et de progrès économique et social par la mise en commun de leurs productions de charbon et d’acier, et l’institution d’une Haute Autorité nouvelle dont les décisions lieront les pays qui y adhéreront.” “Les négociations, sur la base des principes et des engagements essentiels figurant dans la proposition française du 9 mai dernier, s’ouvriront à une date qui sera proposée incessamment d’un traité qui sera soumis à la ratification des Parlements.”

revolutionary or they don't mean a thing,"³⁹² he stated, meaning that they had to break with previous propositions that did not go beyond the intergovernmental approach. The threats of Communism and of a third world war prepared the minds of the people for the Schuman Plan. As stated above, the English formed an exception in that they showed a contrary attitude, one of isolation from continental Europe. There were several reasons for this, but the most important ones were that they first of all had to confront their own problems regarding the British Common Wealth and secondly, they were not at all inclined to surrender part of their sovereignty to a Higher European Authority. Besides, they were confident that American aid would solve their possible problems.

To this can be added that the United Kingdom had not experienced the same level of destruction during the war as continental Europe had, and after the war its economy was still functioning. And although its Commonwealth suffered severe setbacks at that time, the United Kingdom still had a great deal of influence in these countries. In short, the United Kingdom was simply less in need of rebuilding than the rest of Europe and was reluctant to relinquish its power and hand over part of its sovereignty to a European High Authority.

392. Ibid., 371. "Les propositions Schuman sont révolutionnaires ou elles ne sont rien. Leur principe fondamental est la délégation de souveraineté dans un domaine limité, mais décisif. A mon avis, un plan qui ne part pas de ce principe ne peut apporter aucune contribution utile à la solution des grandes problèmes qui nous assaillent. La coopération entre les nations, si importante soit-elle, ne résout rien. Ce qu'il faut chercher, c'est une fusion des intérêts des peuples européens, et non pas simplement le maintien de l'équilibre de ces intérêts."

3.3.3 ‘revolutionary move’ and ECSC

The Schuman Declaration was accepted by six countries: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg. The signatories were Schuman for France, Adenauer for Germany, De Gasperi for Italy, Paul Van Zeeland for Belgium, Dirk Stikker for the Netherlands and Joseph Bech for Luxembourg. Their first conference was held in Paris in the Salon de l’Horloge on 20 June 1950. Next to Monnet, the first president of the High Authority, and Schuman, representatives of the governments of the six countries, experts, trade unionists and industrialists were present at this meeting. Walter Hallstein, who was sent by Adenauer, had a prominent position as a representative of Germany. Hallstein, politician and professor in law at several German and American universities, would become the first president of what later became the European Commission of the European Economic Community in 1958. He stressed the political over the economic importance of the Schuman Plan when the BENELUX countries started to express their concern that their economic interests could suffer. As a response to Dick Spiereburg, the Dutch representative who wanted the High Authority to have a more intergovernmental character, Monnet observed that the supranational aspect of the European community was precisely the cement needed to build the community.³⁹³

During this conference, the High Authority, the Common Assembly, the Court of Justice and, because of a Dutch proposal, the Council of National Ministers had been created. In two months time the essential structure of the plan was conceived. Most surprisingly of all was the change in attitude amongst the participants. The

393. Ibid., 384. “L’autorité supranationale n’est pas seulement l’organisme le mieux en mesure de régler les problèmes économiques, elle est l’amorce d’une fédération.”

apprehensive and defensive attitude of Spierenburg and the others had changed into a cooperative attitude and they joined the others in the deliberations on how to achieve the aim of the Schuman Plan.³⁹⁴

It was evident at the conference that there had been a change in mentality. The entire arms industry of Germany was dismantled. The products of coal and steel had become instruments for the construction of peace.

3.3.4 Schuman Plan within European context

*A new political structure, Europe, transforming Europe as a mere geographical entity, appeared on the world scene. The crux of the decision (to propose a European Community) clearly went far beyond its original sinews of coal and steel. It was the embryo of an unprecedented political system unknown in history.*³⁹⁵

The Schuman Plan was generally received with great interest by Western Europe and the United States, as it gave new hope to the West for several reasons. Politically, it was a source of hope for lasting peace. The Plan would not only contribute to the unity of European states and reconciliation of former enemies, but also to lasting peace for making re-armament materially impossible:

The solidarity between the two countries established by joint production will show that a war between France and Germany becomes not only unthinkable, but materially impossible.³⁹⁶

394. Ibid., 391. “Je pouvais voir jour après jour la puissance de cohésion de l’idée communautaire qui avant d’exister dans la réalité agissait sur les esprits. Si les caractères nationaux demeuraient bien affirmés en chacun d’eux, les représentants des six pays étaient associés maintenant dans une même recherche et il leur arrivait de déléguer à certains d’entre eux le soin de parler pour l’ensemble, tant leurs points de vue s’étaient confondus en quelques semaines.”

395. Heilbron Price, *Schuman or Monnet?*, 4.

396. Schuman in Schuman Declaration. “La solidarité de production qui sera ainsi nouée manifesterà que toute guerre entre la France et L’Allemagne devient non seulement impensable, mais matériellement impossible.”

Economically the Schuman Plan took Europe out of a state of impasse. Before the First World War there had been in many ways a cross-border market between the 'Schuman countries'. After that war, however, and especially during the crisis of 1929, this market disappeared completely due to a hostile attitude and because of the global financial crisis. It was already during and even before the Second World War that countries realised their national economies were no longer self-contained and limiting their market to their own country had had a suffocating effect.

After the Second World War, Europe was left in a state of total destruction and it was therefore already very difficult to revitalise national economies. The Marshall Plan of 1947 meant enormous financial support for Europe to reconstruct its economies. It was thanks to this aid that Europe had the chance to rebuild itself. The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation was created in response to the Marshall Plan. This organisation would be the entity to administer and coordinate the Marshall Aid. The communists had voted against and the Gaullists had abstained from voting, but they did not have enough votes to reject the project. The OEEC was intergovernmental in nature, because the United Kingdom, one of its most important members, strongly opposed a supranational structure. Schuman, Monnet and the other founding fathers, however, spoke of this need for a project that provided long-lasting and increasing effects when launching the unique model for European integration based on common interests.

The Schuman Plan implied the first step towards a common market with free negotiations in coal and steel among the 'Schuman countries'. All custom duties and other obstacles would disappear between those countries during a period of transition. In this way, the Declaration was to contribute to the economic development, and to

increase the level of employment and the standard of living. The High Authority had to carefully control the process and the prices for coal and steel so as to avoid exploitation and other improper conduct, such as the formation of cartels,³⁹⁷ also towards non-member states. The ECSC Treaty translated the concept of effective solidarity among the states into articles that specified the content of this effective solidarity, such as Article 4 that prohibited:

1. duties on importation or exportation or charges having equivalent effect and quantitative restrictions;
2. measures and practices discriminating between producers, purchasers or consumers or interfering with the purchaser's free choice of supplier;
3. subsidies or aids granted by states, or special charges;
4. restrictive practices tending towards the sharing or exploiting of markets.³⁹⁸

Effective solidarity, solidarity expressed in specific deeds, was the leitmotiv of the Declaration and found its first expression in the ECSC Treaty. Another matter of importance was that the High Authority should be transparent and act publicly.

Socio-economically the maxim 'carry each other's loads' counted for the institutions and companies that did not function well enough and needed financial help to solve their problem. This might lead to the closure of the company and economic support for those who worked in that enterprise. This would also be taken care of by the Schuman Plan.

The Treaty of Paris, that established the ECSC, introduced a market-sector economy. The property rights of the companies were conserved, but the practice of these rights implied that the community

397. Article 81 of the EC Treaty. See: Kapteyn, Verloren van Themaat, *The Law of the European Union and the European Communities*, 795.

398. Kapteyn, Verloren van Themaat, *Ibid*, 4.

The effective solidarity was thus judicially laid down for the years to come. This article 4 is still unchanged present in the Treaty of the functioning of the European Union today.

interests had to be taken into account. Competition was allowed unless it provoked bad practices such as the formation of cartels. The effects of the treaty were far-reaching but needed to be supported by European institutions if they were to last.

Monnet recalled in his *Mémoires* that he and Schuman had made a far-reaching impact on the future of European countries in a short period of time through the launch of the Declaration, but that the Declaration needed to be supported by institutions if it were to work:

It all happened within a few hours and two men had had the courage and taken the responsibility to decide on the future of their countries establishing this agreement. A big step was taken, but the most important part still had to follow, such as the installation of institutions to make the agreement work. Nothing is possible without men, but nothing is lasting without institutions.³⁹⁹

The Schuman Plan was thus eagerly received in the western world and the launch of the ECSC applauded. In Scandinavia and Great Britain the ECSC was, however, looked at with skepticism for its ‘authoritarian incense’ and for the fact that it originated from mainly Catholic countries as Tage Erlander, the Swedish Social Democratic Prime Minister (1948–1968) commented.⁴⁰⁰ Scandinavia also did not

399. (mt). Monnet, *Mémoires*, 360. “Tout venait d’être conclu en quelques heures, au grand jour, entre deux hommes qui avaient osé, seuls, engager le destin de leur pays. Mais dès ce moment, si satisfait que je fusse, je savais que l’essentiel restait à faire et je n’avais qu’une hâte: que des institutions vinssent consacrer cet accord fondé sur une rencontre de bonnes volontés. Rien n’est possible sans les hommes, rien n’est durable sans les institutions.”

400. Judt, *Postwar*, 158. Willem Drees, Prime-Minister of The Netherlands in those days applauded the integration project of the ECSC, but was evenso skeptical about the fact that the Schuman Plan was originated by Catholic statesmen of Catholic countries and feared a ‘Vatican Europe’. For this reason he wanted a non-Catholic, Jan Willem Beyen, to be the Dutch Minister of European Foreign Affairs, and the Catholic Joseph Luns to be the Dutch Minister of not European Foreign Affairs. See: Paul Dekker, Albert van der Horst et.al. (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau/Centraal Planbureau, The Hague, 2007), 12, 13. Johan Willem Beyen became a Roman Catholic after his Ministership. See thesis: Wim Weenink, *Bankier van de wereld. Bouwer van Europa. Johan Willem Beyen 1897-1976* (Amsterdam/Rotterdam, Prometheus, 2005).

want to join as Great Britain, its economic partner, did not (yet) want to be part of the European Community.⁴⁰¹

3.4 Schuman's key concepts of European unification

*This Europe which is still split up and torn, continues to be ever more aware of its calling to form the heart of a pacific cooperation of all peoples and of all races at the service of a humanity that embraces all continents.*⁴⁰²

Robert Schuman

As mentioned in chapter two, next to reconciliation, the three elements that were essential to European unification were: effective solidarity, moral order and European spiritual and cultural heritage. Europe could no longer continue along the path it walked for centuries before the Second World War, but needed to change its attitude and outlook according to Schuman:

We shall have to replace all the tendencies inherited from the past with the notion of solidarity, that is to say the conviction that the real interest of all lies in acknowledging and accepting the interdependency of all. Egoism does not pay any more.⁴⁰³

Schuman referred to the extreme attachment to nationalism that had been the cause of several wars, among which the two World Wars. As

401. Kapteyn, Verloren van Themaat *The Law of the European Union and the European Communities*, 7. About Great Britain: "The fear of being impeded in the development of its own welfare state and in the maintenance of the bonds with the Commonwealth, as well as an insufficient realization of the importance of the French proposal and the vistas it opened, caused the British Government to cling to its standpoint that only a cooperation based on coordination of national policies within the framework of an intergovernmental organization like the OEEC was acceptable."

402. Robert Schuman, "Pour l'unité de l'Europe" in *Du Pater Europae aux Pères de l'Europe*, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010), 30. "L'Europe qui est encore aujourd'hui divisée et déchirée, continue de prendre toujours plus conscience de sa vocation à former le cœur d'une coopération pacifique de tous les peuples et de toutes les races au service d'une humanité embrassant tous les continents."

403. Schuman, *For Europe*, 35. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 44: "A toutes ces tendances qui nous sont léguées par le passé il faudra substituer la notion de la solidarité, c'est-à-dire la conviction que le véritable intérêt de chacun consiste à reconnaître et à accepter, dans la pratique l'interdépendance de tous. L'égoïsme ne paye plus".

we saw in chapter two he regarded nationalism itself as a positive feature, but not at the cost of the common good shared with other states. It would then harm the solidarity and interdependence that was needed primarily with those that shared the same European culture so as to safeguard peace, contribute to development and prosperity of both the individual and the state. He believed that Europe had to build on its cultural and spiritual heritage by living and practicing through deeds a spirit of solidarity in keeping with this heritage. Schuman wanted to foster solidarity not only because of threats from outside or inside Europe but because solidarity was necessary in and of itself. As we saw in chapter two, his observations greatly resembled ideas of contemporary intellectuals such as Maritain, Dawson, Guardini, De Rougemont, Brugmans and Pius XII.

This subchapter will examine Schuman's key concepts of unification, which are: Man, European citizenship, Foundation of European unification, Democracy and Europe as master of its own destiny. The three essential elements for successful European unification - effective solidarity, moral order and European heritage - will be present as the red thread in each of those concepts.

There was great interest in the implications and scope of the Schuman Plan that would bring about European unification, as it was unique in the realm of international politics. Schuman's travels from country to country to convey the message of the project named after him even earned him the epithet 'Pilgrim of Europe'. He gave many speeches explaining the structure of the project, its nature and its implications. The quotes that will be used are taken from those speeches that took place after the Schuman Declaration had been launched on 9 May 1950. The ideas he expressed, however, were not new but originated far before the Declaration as has been shown in the previous chapters.

Schuman made clear that the Schuman Plan and the treaties that would follow as a consequence were of a totally different nature and method than those of the past. Effective solidarity would become a practical output of the treaties. New structures and new independent political and economic entities were created to make this different kind of politics possible. He stressed that the powers of these institutions were neatly defined by the member states themselves. He explained the supranational element of the High Authority and conveyed that this supranational element meant a breakthrough in international politics, as it implied that member states transfer part of their national sovereignty to an institution to make common sovereignty in certain areas possible. The need for a legal framework and of the creation of supranational jurisdiction to solve conflicts that might occur is a logical consequence.

3.4.1 Concept of man and consequence of solidarity

Europeans will be saved if they are aware of their solidarity in the face of danger. [...] the present feeling of insecurity will be the direct cause of European unification, but it will not be its 'raison d'être.' Europe will be more or less complete according to the contingent circumstances that contribute to its elaboration. Yet will it ever be complete? No one can tell. But that is no excuse for postponing work on unification to a later date. Action is better than resignation and hoping for perfection is a lame excuse for inactivity.

*In our minds, European policy is in no way at odds with the patriotic ideal we all share [...] the nation has a role to play vis-à-vis its own citizens, but also, and just as much, vis-à-vis other nations. It cannot therefore retreat into the first of those roles.*⁴⁰⁴

404. Schuman, *For Europe*, 133–134, 34. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 136–137, 43: “Les Européens seront sauvés dans la mesure où ils seront conscients de leur solidarité devant un même danger. [...] L’angoisse actuelle sera la cause immédiate d’une unification européenne, mais non sa raison d’être. Selon les circonstances contingentes dans lesquelles elle se fera, l’Europe sera plus ou moins

The following part focuses on Schuman's concept of man, which is at the base of effective solidarity, and illustrates this concept and some of its consequences with Schuman's own words. This elaboration on the concept of man will build Schuman's frame of reference for European unification.

Out of the studies concerning Schuman's background regarding origin, faith and personality can be concluded first of all that his concept of man was possibly strengthened by his strong attachment to Lorraine. Lorraine was the contested Franco-German border region, always faithful to Rome, that was fought over between France and the Habsburgs and later German Empire since a few years after the Treaty of Verdun in 843 until the Schuman Declaration in 1950. Schuman was a man from Lorraine in heart and soul, and - like a Lorrainer - Catholic, straightforward and familiar with German and French mentalities and cultures.

Schuman's faith played a fundamental role in his concept of man. Schuman was a practicing Catholic whose aim was to live up to his vocation to sanctity in the middle of the world whatever the circumstances were. His loyalty to the Church, the Popes and the teachings of the Church infuses his entire being.

Schuman's personality embodied his concept of man, as he was a man of modesty, honesty, perseverance, humility and straightforwardness all imbued by Catholic faith and combined with a sharp intelligence.

Out of what has been stated can be concluded that his concept of man corresponded to his conviction that each man is called to give heed to his vocation by God and should as such be respected and

complète. Le sera-t-elle jamais? nul ne saurait le dire. Ce n'est pas une raison pour remettre à plus tard l'effort d'unification. Entreprendre vaut mieux que se résigner, et l'attente de la perfection est une piètre excuse pour l'inaction [...]."

encouraged to live up to it wherever he lives and in whichever circumstances he is. This implies an upright and reconciliatory solidarity towards others accompanied by deeds and thus providing effective solidarity.

Referring this concept of man and solidarity to the Schuman Plan, this means the Plan will lead to a unity in diversity in which the human person with his transcendence plays a pivotal role and is at the base of the effective solidarity among the Europeans. The European states would be carrying out this solidarity between and among states by the member state representatives of the European citizens assembled in the supranational institution of the High Authority and the European Court of Justice and in the intergovernmental European Assembly and Council of Ministers.

Schuman's concept of man in general and of the politician in particular on which the idea of effective solidarity among states is based can be illustrated in many ways, but we will refer to the definition Schuman himself gives of the politician in a text that he pronounced on Dutch soil on 13 December 1952, during his inauguration speech as *doctor honoris causa* in Tilburg. Describing the role of the politician, his own task, Schuman stresses the moral aspect and says the following:

[The politician] is, certainly, governed by the moral principles that dominate each human activity, he is expected to act consistently with those principles. But, outside the moral imperatives, there is no other absolute truth for him. The lessons of history, like the psychology of peoples and masses, of regimes and institutions, are dependent on time and place; they belong to the domain of the relative.⁴⁰⁵

405. Robert Schuman, inauguration speech *doctor honoris causa*, 13 December 1952. Archives Départementales de la Moselle, 34J26. "Il est, certes, régi par les principes de la morale qui dominent toute activité humaine, et il est tenu de s'y conformer. Mais, en-dehors des impératifs moraux, il n'y a pour lui aucune valeur absolue. Les leçons de l'histoire comme la psychologie des peuples et des

Speaking about nationalism he focuses on the need of solidarity and says:

But the use we make of [nationalism], the spirit in which we value it, is no longer forged by the egoism that isolates and opposes itself to other egoisms.

The demonstration of facts has convinced us that the nations, far from being self-sufficient, show solidarity towards one another; that the best way to serve one's country is to be assured of the help of others through reciprocal efforts and joining resources.⁴⁰⁶

When speaking about reconciliation as a Christian attitude, he stresses the need to go beyond pardoning and to join hands for working together. He comments:

And as a paradox that would surprise us if we were no Christians - unconsciously Christians perhaps - we stretch out our hand to those who still were our enemies yesterday, not just to pardon them, but to build together the Europe of tomorrow.

[...] we join our interests, the decisions and the destiny of this new community of States that once were rivals. This new form of politics is on the base of solidarity and political confidence.⁴⁰⁷

Schuman concludes his speech wishing that the insight obtained and right conditions for Europe may from now on provide the lead and foster the practice of Christian fraternity among countries.

masses, les régimes comme les institutions, sont fonction du temps et du lieu; elle appartiennent au domaine du relatif."

406. Ibid. "Mais l'usage que nous en faisons, l'esprit dans lequel nous la mettons en valeur, n'est plus faussé par l'égoïsme qui s'isole et qui s'oppose à d'autres égoïsmes. Nous avons acquis la conviction, par la démonstration des faits, que les nations, loin de pouvoir se suffire à elles-mêmes, sont solidaires les unes des autres; que la meilleure manière de servir son propre pays est de lui assurer le concours des autres par la réciprocité des efforts et par la mise en commun des ressources."

407. Ibid. "Et par un paradoxe qui nous surprendrait, si nous n'étions pas des chrétiens, - inconsciemment chrétiens peut-être -, nous tendons la main à nos ennemis d'hier non simplement pour pardonner, mais pour construire ensemble l'Europe de demain. [...] nous lions les intérêts, les décisions et le destin de cette nouvelle communauté d'États précédemment rivaux."

That this idea of a reconciled Europe, unified and strong, may be from now on the word of order for the young generations that are wanting to serve a humanity finally free from hate and fear, and that after too long periods of pain and hurt, learns again what Christian fraternity means.⁴⁰⁸

The four points mentioned in these quotes (morality, solidarity, reconciliation followed by joining hands, and Christian fraternity), are the key elements of Schuman's vision of European unification and can be considered Schuman's frame of reference for Europe. The fact that morality, solidarity, reconciliation and Christian fraternity do not stop at European borders, but go beyond and require consideration of the universal common good when taking decisions regarding Europe, is made clear in a statement by Schuman previously quoted in the introduction of this thesis. Schuman said: "it is impossible to remain indifferent to the fortunate or unfortunate lot of a people. For a European with the capacity to think it is no longer possible to rejoice spitefully over his neighbour's misfortune; everyone is united for better or for worse in a common destiny."

3.4.2. European citizenship

To obtain a deeper understanding of what effective solidarity means regarding citizenship, Schuman's thought on European citizenship are illustrative.

Europe needs a living faith, enthusiasm, abnegation and magnanimity. She will be created and her viability will need to be maintained by the young people and because of them, that is, with the active help of those that tomorrow will carry the heavy burden of assuring a future that is more or less

408. Ibid. "Que cette idée d'une Europe réconciliée, unie et forte soit désormais le mot d'ordre pour les jeunes générations désireuses de servir une humanité enfin affranchie de la haine et de la peur, et qui réapprend, après de trop longs déchirements, la fraternité chrétienne."

threatened. We should not forget in this regard that it are the errors of the past generations that created this situation.

*This call directed towards the young people should not be interpreted as a plea in favour of a revolutionary rupture between the generations. On the contrary: it is absolutely necessary that the continuity and the cooperation of the best people of all sorts of ages and categories be assured.*⁴⁰⁹

In his speeches, Schuman often referred to European citizenship as a result of the unification process that had started with the launch of the Schuman Declaration. He referred to the need for the new European institutions to bring about the integration of states and citizens, and explained that these new institutions would be totally at the service of the supranational community. They would therefore have different interests from those of each separate member state. National interests then need to be combined with common European interests, in the same way as the private interests of citizens mingle with national interests. Nevertheless, there will always be a common interest for all citizens of integrated Europe for which the public opinion must also be prepared, as it might be less favourable for national interests in the short run. This common interest should be made explicit over and over again, especially in the beginning. This implies a long process of education by those who are called to foster European citizenship next to their own national citizenship, as it implies the recognition of common principles and values. The recognition of this new citizenship will, according to Schuman, be a product of the creation of the new

409. Schuman, "Pour l'unité de l'Europe," 58. "L'Europe a besoin d'un foi vivante, d'enthousiasme, d'abnégation et de magnanimité. Elle sera créée et sa viabilité devra être maintenue par et pour la jeunesse, c'est-à-dire avec l'aide active de ceux à qui reviendra demain la lourde charge d'assurer un avenir plus ou moins menacé. Nous ne devons à ce sujet pas oublier que ce sont les erreurs des générations passées qui ont créé cette situation." "Pareil appel à la jeunesse ne doit pas être compris comme un plaidoyer en faveur d'une rupture révolutionnaire entre les générations. Au contraire : il est indispensable que reste assurée la continuité et la coopération des meilleurs éléments de toutes les classes d'âge et catégories de population."

institutions in favour of common interests. Schuman stresses above all the need to focus on the European common good. But this does not mean that one should deny one's duties towards the mother country.

We are not, and we shall never be, given to deny our mother country; we shall never forget our duties towards it. But beyond each country, we increasingly and clearly acknowledge the existence of a common good, superior to national interest. A common good into which our countries' individual interests are merged.⁴¹⁰

Of course there will always be the internal affairs and interests a member state itself should attend to and for which it cannot or should not count on the support of the European institutions:

Some problems, ladies and gentlemen, cannot be solved but by the proper responsibility of each State. We, French people, know that it is up to us alone that we take charge of the problems that belong to the internal affairs and that cannot be attributed to common activities. I take advantage of the present situation to stress this aspect.⁴¹¹

There will thus always be the national affairs that each state has to attend to itself. At the same time the member state has to take common European interests into account in its governmental tasks and procedures and have its citizens thus live their European citizenship. Similarly it needs to take care of the rules and procedures that are exclusively national and have its citizens live their national citizenship. The national citizenship should however always be in line

410. Schuman, *For Europe*, 30. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 40. "Nous ne sommes, nous ne serons jamais des négateurs de la patrie, oublieux des devoirs que nous avons envers elle. Mais au-dessus de chaque patrie nous reconnaissons de plus en plus distinctement l'existence d'un bien commun, supérieur à l'intérêt national, ce bien commun dans lequel se fondent et se confondent les intérêts individuels de nos pays".

411. Schuman, "Pour l'unité de l'Europe," 54. "Certains problèmes, Mesdames et Messieurs, ne peuvent être résolus que sous la propre responsabilité de chaque État. Nous, Français, savons que c'est à nous seuls qu'incombe la tâche de régler les problèmes de notre politique intérieure qui ne sont pas imputables à des activités communes, et je profite de la présente occasion pour le souligner."

with the European citizenship in order to be qualified a proper right of citizenship. For the citizen this might imply a process of adaptation.⁴¹²

3.4.3 Foundation of European unification

We are still at the start of things. We would do well to bridle our impatience. If not, we are likely to make the doubters more distrustful and what is more serious, endanger not only the experiment but also the whole idea of a united Europe.

At the signature of the Statutes of the Council of Europe, I recalled to everyone's mind that we do not yet have a definition of Europe as recognized by everybody. I believed that I was then able to claim that in thus laying the first bricks of an organization, Europe is now beginning to define herself, without the aid of scholars and academics, who I fear, will never be able to agree amongst themselves. ... I do not have any intention of drawing a geographical line of demarcation between Europe and 'non-Europe'. There is another valid way of setting limits: that which distinguishes those who have the European spirit and those who do not.

412. To indicate the topicality of the issue raised by Schuman, the following authors and titles of their books or articles, next to those briefly commented on in 2.1, are mentioned: Chistopher Caldwell, *Revolution in Europe*, (London: Allan Lane, 2009). Caldwell (1962) is a well-known American writer and journalist, who writes mainly on politics and Islam in Europe. Parallel to Schuman's stress on the need to integrate European common interests into national interests, Caldwell wonders if the integration of national and European norms and values proper to the European cultural heritage can be successful regarding minorities such as the Islamic people in Western countries if the natives of those same western countries do not live these same norms and values.

Melanie Phillips, *Londonistan, How Britain is creating a terror state within*, (London: Gibson Square, 2006). Phillips (1951) is a British journalist and author, whose studies refer mainly to Britain's educational and moral crisis. She focuses on the lack of knowledge of the British natives of their national and European cultural heritage. Phillips rejects the excessive positive attitude of the government towards the Islam and all kinds of sects.

Theodore Dalrymple, "What the new atheists don't see", (New York, *City Journal*, The Manhattan Institute, 2007). Theodore Dalrymple, pen-name for Anthony Daniels, is a British writer, physician and psychiatrist. He himself is an atheist, but not an anti-theist. He says: "to regret religion is to regret Western civilization".

See also: Paul B. Cliteur, *Tegen decadentie. De democratische rechtsstaat in verval* (Amsterdam, De Arbeiders Pers, 2004); Fokko T. Oldenhuis, *Een neutrale staat: kreet of credo?* (Heerenveen, Protestantse pers, 2009); Labuschagne and Sonnenschmidt, *Religion, Politics and Law, Philosophical Reflections on the Sources of Normative Order in Society* (leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 2009).

*The European spirit signifies being conscious of belonging to a cultural family and to have a willingness to serve that community in the spirit of total mutuality, without any hidden motives of hegemony or the selfish exploitation of others.*⁴¹³

Schuman's words spoken at the Council of Europe in 1949 show a considerable similarity to those of Pope Pius XII when the latter insisted on the common European values that needed to be at the base of European integration.⁴¹⁴ Schuman stressed the importance of a proper European foundation on which integration needs to come about in order to acquire its desired shape. He mentioned already that the European Community will only have a chance to succeed in a world in which people are no longer imprisoned in their own national interests and their short-sighted egoisms. Schuman believed this to be a matter of will and vision like any other political undertaking. According to Schuman the goodwill that is needed to make the integration succeed will be helped a lot by the common cultural roots that have given birth to a magnificent flourishing of national and regional cultures. Schuman's interpretation of civilization and of its importance is reflected clearly in his vision on European unification. He stressed the fact that:

This 'whole' cannot and must not remain an economic and technical enterprise: it needs a soul, the conscience of its historical affinities and of its responsibilities, in the present and in the future, and a political will at the service of the same human ideal.⁴¹⁵

413. Schuman, Speech at the Council of Europe, 1949.

414. See chapter 2.2.7.1.

415. Schuman, *For Europe*, 58; Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 66. "Et cet ensemble ne pourra et ne devra pas rester une entreprise économique et technique: il lui faut une âme, la conscience de ses affinités historiques et de ses responsabilités présents et futures, une volonté politique au service d'un même idéal humain." The definition of 'soul' given by the Catholic Church in those days, and thus known to Schuman, was written in the Catechism of Pope St. Pius X, Rome 1908 (and shortened version in 1930), Article I, n. 29. "The soul is the noblest part of man, because it is a spiritual substance, endowed with intelligence and will, capable of knowing God and of possessing Him for all eternity."

This recalls the importance Schuman gave to the European cultural heritage as a necessary and binding factor of the European integration process:

The union of the peoples of a Europe that is free thanks to this actual Christian civilization that has fed and educated us.⁴¹⁶

Knowing the importance Schuman gave to the European cultural heritage it is not surprising to know that Christianity plays according to him an important role in the unification of Europe and therefore also in its future. Schuman's personal life and the region he came from gave evidence as well of the importance of Christianity. This conviction has intrinsic consequences regarding human dignity and solidarity. Christian faith considers man to be always in connection with his transcendence and thus with his call from God.⁴¹⁷ For this the virtues of charity, humility and strength next to faith, hope and love need to be constantly present. Fanaticism is therefore out of the question. According to Schuman, this also means that:

Christian civilization should not be the product of a violent and immediate revolution, but of a progressive transformation, of a patient education, led by the great principles of charity, of sacrifice and of humility that are at the basis of the new society. It is not but after centuries of inner struggle and of purification that such a civilization could evolve towards the great ideal that is proposed. [...] Today Christianity, enriched by the lived experience along its own history, should help the peoples that are less evolved to adopt the same track of human regeneration. The colonizing nations have not always fully understood their role. The colonizer and the missionary were not always led by the same noble and generous inspiration. The economic capitalism lent itself too easily to methods of

416. (mt) Robert Schuman, Inauguration speech. See: Duchenne and Coutois, *Pardon du passé*, 162. "L'union des peuples de l'Europe libre grâce à cette véritable civilisation chrétienne qui nous a nourris et éduqués."

417. When it concerns Catholicism, as in Schuman's case, it is added that it regards man as a person who is called to give heed to his personal and divine call by God to become a saint.

egoistic exploitation and neglected the meaning of human responsibility.⁴¹⁸

The consequences of solidarity that Schuman mentions with regard to the former colonizing nations are more than mere abandonment of those colonies. He stressed the need for effective solidarity from former colonizing nations towards those former colonies. Setting the people free to govern themselves and take care of their own affairs was not the same as effective solidarity. According to Schuman, the colonizing nations needed to transfer to the colonized people the means and knowledge needed to attain the individual formation of themselves, their families and community, and the capacity to carry out those political and social responsibilities once they were liberated. Schuman commented that:

The colonizers did not realise the importance of human formation as they were too much involved in the technical aspects of progress. They neglected the moral dimension of their presence with which the technical progress should be in balance.

The colonizers should have explained to the colonized people the dimension of democracy and its implications for others as well so as to avoid injustice and chaos:

Democracy is not something improvised, but counts on a long history in which Christianity played a main role. [...] For this reason one should not let the people on their own just like that without the knowledge of what democracy really means and what its implications are as they will be vulnerable to arbitrariness and injustice.⁴¹⁹

418. See Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 57. "Le capitalisme économique se prêtait trop facilement à des méthodes d'exploitation égoïste et négligeait le sens de la responsabilité humaine qui a fini par être formulée dans le préambule de notre Constitution de 1946: La France entend conduire les peuples dont elle a pris la charge à la liberté de s'administrer eux-mêmes et de gérer démocratiquement leurs propres affaires."

419. Ibid, 59. "La démocratie surtout ne s'improvise pas. [...] Ce qui est plus grave, on a abandonné le pouvoir à des hommes qui n'ont fait aucun

These Schuman-quotes reflect that effective solidarity regarding the colonizing nations implied, just as among European states, solidarity consistent with the moral order that was based on Christianity and that was the fruit of the European cultural and spiritual heritage. An initially guided democracy would be one of the outcomes of this effective solidarity.

3.4.4 Democracy

We shall first of all have to agree on the term “democracy”. The main characteristics of the democratic state are the objectives it sets for itself and the means to achieving them. It is at the service of the people and acts in agreement with it. I cannot find a simpler and less scientific definition. It is closely akin to President Lincoln’s definition: “A people’s government by the people and for the people”. You might note that this does not question the form of the government. Modern democracy, in that sense, can be a constitutional monarchy as well as a republic. It is often true that the term “democracy” is reserved for republican states, to the exclusion of monarchies. I believe this is wrong. Certain monarchies, such as United Kingdom, Belgium and Holland, just to mention our nearest neighbours, are more clearly and more traditionally attached to democratic principles than certain republics, where the people have but little influence on the country’s orientation and on its political decisions. This observation will exempt me from debating the choice a democracy might make between various forms of government. We shall content ourselves with dismissing the ones we consider to be antidemocratic.⁴²⁰

apprentissage et qui seront exposés sans défense à toutes les tentations de l’arbitraire et de l’injustice.”

420. Schuman, *For Europe*, 42–43; Schuman, *Pour l’Europe*, 51–52. “Il faudra d’abord nous entendre sur le terme ‘démocratie’. Ce qui caractérise l’état démocratique ce sont les objectifs qu’il propose et les moyens par lesquels il cherche à les atteindre. Il est au service du peuple et il agit en accord avec lui. Je ne trouve pas de définition plus simple et moins scientifique. Elle rejoint celle du président Lincoln: ‘gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple’. Vous remarquerez qu’elle ne met pas en cause la forme du gouvernement. La démocratie moderne, dans le sens que je viens de dire, peut aussi bien être une monarchie constitutionnelle qu’une république. Souvent, il est vrai, le terme ‘démocratie’ est réservé à l’état républicain, à l’exclusion des monarchies. J’estime que c’est à tort ; certaines monarchies, comme la Grande Bretagne, la Belgique et la Hollande, pour

Why did Europe distinguish itself among the entire human family? Schuman points to the fact that this free Europe is formed by parliamentary democracies in which each state maintains its own democratic rights and rules, and surrenders part of its sovereignty to the Higher Authority that protects the common interests of all member states together.

Schuman was familiar with and most probably influenced by Maritain's thoughts on democracy, as was made clear in section 2.3.9. Schuman argued that democracy as we know it owes its existence to Christianity and not to the Greek democracy as is often believed, although its system will have had some application in today's democratic society. Greek democracy denied the equality of all people without exception and it applied itself only to the elite by birth. On the other hand, democracy cannot be separated from the Greek-Christian heritage which precedes it as pre-political foundation, as was observed by Cardinal Ratzinger just before being elected Pope. According to him, democracy is based on a pre-given natural law that precedes any positive law and that human rights play an essential role in this.⁴²¹ The idea of democracy pertains as such already to man's moral intuitions because it is a suitable form for an upright society.

According to Schuman it was Christianity that cleared the marred conscience stuck in the habit of inequality. It enlightened man's moral intuitions on the suitability of democracy so as to do away with the internalized society customs of inequality of men.

ne parler que de celles qui sont nos voisins les plus proches, sont plus franchement et plus traditionnellement attachées aux principes démocratiques que certaines républiques, où le peuple n'a que peu d'influence directe sur l'orientation et sur les décisions politiques du pays. Cette constatation me dispensera de discuter le choix qu'une démocratie peut faire entre plusieurs formes de gouvernement. Nous nous bornerons à écarter celles qui sont antidémocratiques dans le sens que j'aurai à préciser."

421. Jürgen Habermas and Joseph A. Ratzinger, *Dialectiek van de secularisering, over rede en religie*, (Kampen: Klement, 2009), 22.

Schuman himself acknowledged the existence of Greek democracy, but did not regard this as authentic democracy precisely for denying the equality of all men. He comments the following on democracy:

Democracy owes its existence to Christianity. It was born the day man was required to set the best example, during his life on earth [i.e. by respecting human dignity, individual rights and freedom and by exercising brotherly love towards his neighbour]. Before Christ, ideas such as this had never been expressed.⁴²² Thus, democracy is chronologically linked to Christianity as a doctrine. It gradually took shape with it, after a good deal of trial and error; sometimes at the expense of mistakes and lapses into barbarity. [...] Christianity taught us that all men are equal by nature, children of the same God, redeemed by Christ, regardless of race, colour, social status or profession. Thanks to him the dignity of labour was acknowledged, together with the idea that it was the duty of all men to work. He acknowledged the primacy of inner values which ennoble man. The universal law of love and charity made every man our neighbour, and social relations in the Christian world have been based on this ever since. All of his teachings, and the practical consequences that ensued changed the world forever: This revolution found inspiration in the gospel, which gradually shaped successive generations, sometimes after arduous struggle. Indeed, the progress made by Christian civilisation proved to be neither automatic nor one-sided: the influence of the past and the evil leanings of some corrupt characters have severely affected developments and continue to do so. [...]

During this long and dramatic process of Christian civilization, the most decisive democratic progress was not and is still not always achieved by total believers. Christian ideas survived in the people's subconscious and influenced men who gave up practising a dogmatic religion, but who were nevertheless inspired by its main principles. These principles have become

422. This statement is contradicted by Joseph McCabe (1867 – 1955), who said that e.g. Buddhism and Confucianism regarded moral law already centuries before Christ simply as a human and social law of conduct. See: Joseph McCabe, *The human Origin of morals*, (Girard (Kansas): Haldeman-Julius Company, 1926), chapter I.

See also: Joseph McCabe, *Sources of the Morality of the Gospels*, (London: Watts and Co. Printers, 1914); Remi Brague on the contrary holds that it were mainly the Judeo-Christian roots that imbued Western civilization . See: Remi Brague, *Eccentric Culture: A Theory of Western Civilization*, (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press) 2002. See also note 197.

the features of our civilisation, owing to which the XVIII century rationalists proclaimed and made popular human and citizen's rights, which are essentially Christian.⁴²³

Schuman stressed that modern democracy recognizes equal rights for everyone without exception. He indicated the great importance of Christianity and its consequences, such as the equality of nature of all men, the dignity of work, the need and obligation to work and the primacy of inner values as values that on their own ennoble man. Schuman further pointed out that the universal law of love and charity has turned each man into our neighbour and that on this law social relations in the Christian world are built. All this meant a revolution which is done under the inspiration 'in progress' of the

423. Schuman, *For Europe*, 43–45; Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 52–54. "La démocratie doit son existence au christianisme. Elle est née le jour où l'homme a été appelé à réaliser dans sa vie temporelle la dignité de la personne humaine, dans la liberté individuelle, dans le respect des droits de chacun et par la pratique de l'amour fraternel à l'égard de tous. Jamais avant le Christ pareilles idées n'avaient été formulées. La démocratie est ainsi liée au christianisme, doctrinalement et chronologiquement. Elle a pris corps avec lui, par étapes, à travers de longs tâtonnements, parfois au prix d'erreurs et de rechutes dans la barbarie.[...] Le christianisme a enseigné l'égalité de nature de tous les hommes, enfants d'un même Dieu, rachetés par le même Christ, sans distinction de race, de couleur, de classe et de profession. Il a fait reconnaître la dignité du travail et l'obligation pour tous de s'y soumettre. Il a reconnu la primauté des valeurs intérieures qui seules ennoblissent l'homme. La loi universelle de l'amour et de la charité a fait de tout homme notre prochain, et sur elle reposent depuis lors les relations sociales dans le monde chrétien. Tout cet enseignement et les conséquences pratiques qui en découlent ont bouleversé le monde. Cette révolution s'est opérée sous l'inspiration progressive de l'évangile qui a façonné les générations par un travail lent, parfois accompagné de luttes pénibles. En effet, les progrès de la civilisation chrétienne n'ont été ni automatiques ni à sens unique: les réminiscences du passé et les mauvais instincts d'une nature viciée ont pesé sur cette évolution et continuent à la contrarier. Si cela est vrai pour nous qui sommes des privilégiés, qui bénéficions d'un atavisme chrétien, combien est-ce plus sensible encore chez ceux qui viennent d'avoir les premiers contacts avec le christianisme. Dans ce long et dramatique processus de la civilisation chrétienne, ce n'étaient et ce ne sont d'ailleurs pas toujours les croyants intégraux qui ont fait faire à la démocratie les progrès les plus décisifs. Les notions chrétiennes ont survécu et agi dans le subconscient d'hommes qui avaient cessé de pratiquer une religion dogmatique, mais qui continuaient à s'inspirer de ses grands principes. Ceux-ci sont devenus et demeurent les caractéristiques de la civilisation contemporaine. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que les rationalistes du XVIII^{ème} siècle ont proclamé et popularisé les droits de l'homme et du citoyen qui sont d'essence chrétienne."

Gospel, which has prepared generations for a long and fatiguing labour, sometimes accompanied by terrible conflict and warfare. This progress of the civilization with Christian essence has never been automatic, nor has it always gone in the same direction. The remnants of the past and the bad instincts of a vicious nature have weighed heavily on that evolution and continue to work against it.

Schuman considered democracy as essentially Christian⁴²⁴ as it was based on the typically Christian element of equality of men, including equal rights before the law. He thought an anti-Christian democracy, which is a democracy that does not regard the equality of men, would be a caricature of democracy and would inevitably fall into tyranny or anarchy sooner or later.⁴²⁵ This echoes Bergson's statement, as we saw in the previous chapter when discussing Maritain's thoughts, which says that the moral authority and the high value of its doctrine are with the Church, which is also recognized by a very large number of people.⁴²⁶ Schuman added that Christianity is not only the practice of religious cults and of good deeds, but that it is above all a doctrine that needs to define the moral duty in all domains, at least in its general principles. The Church safeguards the individual's main interests: its freedom, its dignity, its development, and opposes all that goes against them.⁴²⁷

Schuman sees Europe as the place where democracy should find its total development precisely because it is the continent in

424. For De Tocqueville's thoughts on this topic and a discussion, see note 106.

425. See also: Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 60; Schuman, *For Europe*, 51-52.

426. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 60. "La démocratie est d'essence évangélique parce qu'elle a pour moteur l'amour. La démocratie sera chrétienne ou ne sera pas. Une démocratie antichrétienne sera une caricature qui sombrera dans la tyrannie ou dans l'anarchie.[...] Il s'agit de reconnaître l'immense autorité morale de l'Église qui est spontanément acceptée par un très grand nombre de citoyens, et la haute valeur de son enseignement qu'aucun autre système philosophique n'a pu atteindre jusqu'à présent."

427. See also: Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 63; Schuman, *For Europe*, 54.

which Christianity forms a pivotal part of cultural heritage. And as democracy is a logical consequence of universal moral intuitions enlightened by the Christian train of thought to remain true to its content, it is natural that it will be practiced especially in Europe and spread from there to other countries when and if those are ready for it.⁴²⁸

At the same time Schuman insists that Christianity is not and must not be integrated into a political system and therefore also not be identified with any form of government, however democratic it might be. He stresses the importance of separation of Church and State affairs in this regard, saying:

We must distinguish what belongs to Caesar and what belongs to God. Each of these powers has its own responsibilities. The Church has to make sure that natural laws and truths are respected: however, it should not become the judge of concrete choices which have to be made from a practical point of view in line with the opportunities of the moment or that arise due to psychological and historical developments. The responsible politician's task consists in reconciling these two ideas: the spiritual and the secular: Our lives often become confused because of the problems we face and the choices we have to make, especially in the passion of controversy. However, no conflict involving these two requirements is insolvable, since one is an immutable doctrine of principles and the other implies wise administration of changing situations that have to be considered in the lives of populations and individuals.⁴²⁹

428. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 66. "La mise en oeuvre de ce vaste programme d'une démocratie généralisée dans le sens chrétien du mot trouve son épanouissement dans la construction de l'Europe."

429. Schuman, *For Europe*, 46-47. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 55-56. "Il faut distinguer le domaine de César et celui de Dieu. Ces deux pouvoirs ont chacun des responsabilités propres. L'Eglise doit veiller au respect de la loi naturelle et des vérités révélées; son rôle, par contre, n'est pas de se faire juge des choix concrets qui devront se faire selon des points de vue pratique d'opportunité et selon les possibilités de fait qui découlent de l'évolution psychologique et historique. La tâche de l'homme politique responsable consiste à concilier, dans une synthèse parfois délicate mais nécessaire, ces deux ordres de considération, le spirituel et le profane. Notre vie est souvent obscurcie dans le dédale des problèmes et des options à faire et dans la passion des controverses. Mais il n'y a aucun conflit insoluble entre les deux impératifs, celui d'une doctrine immuable en ce qui concerne les principes et celui

Schuman thus explains that the separation of Church and State consists of their different tasks and that the two should complement each other. The task of the Church is to hold a moral mirror to the state. The task of the state is to take that mirror into account and to subsequently make its decisions. The Church has as ‘moral guard’ an independent position and is therefore not influenced by majorities or minorities. This also implies that the Church can never take over the tasks of the state nor impose its influence. As mentioned before, the state is the one that makes the decisions.

The above also indicates that upright - not ‘integralist’⁴³⁰ - laicization or secularity can be perfectly in accordance with a democratic government characterized, or not, by this kind of separation of Church and State.

d’une sage application des contingences changeantes dont il faut tenir compte dans la vie des peuples comme dans celle des individus.”

430. ‘Integralist’ laicization is a secularity that informs all fields, takes their religious elements out and fosters an anti-religious society. See M. Rhonheimer, *Cristianismo y laicidad. Historia y actualidad de una relación compleja*, (Madrid: Rialp, 2009). See also: Lautsi judgement ECHR 03.11.09, n. 30814/06 in Carla Zoethout, “Kruisbeelden op openbare scholen in Italië” in: *Tijdschrift voor Religie, Recht en Beleid* (1) (The Hague: Boom Juridische Uitgevers, 2010) and “El crucifijo puede estar en la escuela pública” in *Aceprensa*, Madrid, 2011. The fact that a religious symbol, such as the Crucifix in an Italian public school can lead to a courtcase in the European Court of Human Rights because a mother did not want her children to be confronted with a Catholic religious symbol in their classroom, indicates already that religious symbols can be a sensitive issue for those that do not believe. The initial decision of the European Court of Human Rights in 2009 was in favour of the mother’s objection; the final decision in 2011 however was similar to the one of the Italian Court of Justice that said that the Crucifix should be interpreted first and foremost as a symbol that belonged to the essence of Italian culture. The Italian court held that the Crucifix had more meanings than the religious meaning such as its humanistic message with its set of principles and values that belong to the foundation of our democracies. (“*Le message de la croix serait donc un message humaniste, pouvant être lu de manière indépendante de sa dimension religieuse, constitué d’un ensemble de principes et de valeurs formant la base de nos démocraties.*”)

3.4.5 Europe as master of its own destiny

*It is in Europe's interest to remain the master of its fate. Splitting Europe up has become an absurd anachronism.*⁴³¹

Robert Schuman

Schuman referred to the uniqueness of this time in history in which Europe is able to shape its own future and encouraged Europe to take advantage of this unique opportunity.⁴³² According to Schuman, Europe needed to be the master of its own destiny. However, each member state has its own history and that should be maintained:

What Europe wants is to uplift the rigidity of its borders. They should become the lines of contact where the material and cultural exchanges take place. They define the particular tasks, responsibilities and innovations proper to each country taking into account as well the problems all countries together - and even the continents - face and thus foster solidarity.⁴³³

Schuman also commented on the Christian roots of European civilization. He saw the Christian civilization as Europe's soul that needs to be revived and inform European society. According to Schuman, all countries belonging to European civilization have the calling to join the European community whenever they want, unless they lack an authentic democratic regime, product of the European cultural heritage. Schuman was, like Brugmans, convinced that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, which in those days were

431. Schuman, *For Europe*, 25; Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 33. "Il est de l'intérêt de l'Europe d'être maîtresse de sa destinée. Le morcellement de l'Europe est devenu un absurde anachronisme."

432. Schuman, *For Europe*, 143-144; Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 146. "L'Europe se cherche. Elle sait qu'elle a en ses mains son propre avenir. Jamais elle n'a été si près du but. Qu'elle ne laisse pas passer l'heure de son destin, l'unique chance de son salut."

433. Schuman, *For Europe*, 26-27 ; Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, 34-35. "Au lieu d'être des barrières qui séparent, elles devront devenir des lignes de contacts où s'organisent et s'intensifient les échanges matériels et culturels; elles délimiteront les tâches particulières de chaque pays, les responsabilités et les innovations qui lui seront propres, dans cet ensemble de problèmes qui enjambent les frontières et même les continents, qui font que tous les pays sont solidaires les uns des autres."

deprived of freedom by a totalitarian system, would no doubt join the European Community as soon as they could.⁴³⁴

Europe is searching for an identity; it is aware that it has its own future in hand. It has never been so close to the goal. May God not let Europe miss the hour of its destiny, its final chance of salvation.⁴³⁵

Serving humanity is a duty equal to the one dictated by our loyalty to the nation.⁴³⁶

We have to, we want to give Europe its radiance back, its strength, its independence, in other words its secular mission of guide and arbitrator.⁴³⁷

3.5 Schuman and the Plan in short

*I often think of 9 May 1950 and of your essential role [...] Your name is forever attached to the construction of the future of Europe and of the free world.*⁴³⁸

Monnet to Schuman

434. Lejeune, *Robert Schuman*, 172. “Tous les pays européens ont été pétris par la civilisation chrétienne. C’est cela l’âme de l’Europe qu’il faut faire revivre. Tous ces pays ont vocation de rejoindre la Communauté européenne, à condition qu’ils vivent sous un régime authentiquement démocratique. Alors ils pourront la rejoindre quand ils voudront. Quant aux pays d’Europe central et orientale aujourd’hui privés de liberté par un régime totalitaire, ils rejoindront l’Europe communautaire, n’en doutons pas, dès qu’ils le pourront.[...] Que cette idée d’une Europe réconciliée, unie et forte soit désormais le mot d’ordre pour les jeunes générations désireuses de servir une humanité enfin affranchie de la haine et de la peur, et qui réapprend, après de trop longs déchirements, la fraternité chrétienne.”

435. Schuman, *For Europe*, 143–144; Schuman, *Pour l’Europe*, 146. “L’Europe se cherche; elle sait qu’elle a en ses mains son propre avenir. Jamais elle n’a été si près du but. Dieu fasse qu’elle ne laisse passer l’heure de son destin, l’ultime chance de son salut.”

436. Schuman, *Pour l’Europe*, 131.

437. Schuman quoted in: Muñoz, 47. “Nous devons, nous voulons rendre à l’Europe son rayonnement, sa force, son indépendance, en d’autres termes la rendre à sa mission séculaire de guide et d’arbitre.”

438. Quoted in Roth, *Robert Schuman*, 513. Jean Monnet’s telegram sent to Robert Schuman from Roquebrune-Cap-Martin. “Je pense souvent au 9 mai 1950 et à votre rôle essentiel [...]. Votre nom est définitivement attaché à la construction d’avenir de l’Europe et du monde libre.”

Schuman's political circumstances made him help bring about world changing agreements, such as the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. He got to know and work with the Director of the French Planning Commission, Monnet, and fellow world leaders such as Acheson from the United States, Adenauer and De Gasperi. Schuman came to play a central role in world changing initiatives such as the Council of Europe, the Schuman Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community.

Schuman, Minister of Foreign Affairs, launched the Schuman Declaration on 9 May 1950 as the means to solve the 'German question'. Effective solidarity was the leitmotiv of the Declaration. Schuman's ideas were to solve the German problem by focusing on the French and German regions rich in coal and steel and by eliminating the many economic hindrances such as customs, price-agreements, subsidies etc. In order to make this possible an organisation was needed with a broad range of tasks that could reach beyond national states. Schuman's and Monnet's greatness lies in their turning this essentially simple idea into a project that was to be the base for negotiations for six European governments.

The negotiations took nine months. The Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community was, as mentioned previously, signed by the six governments on 18 April 1951. The treaty opened up the boundaries of national states.

The Declaration made clear that a united Europe could not be established at once, but should come about through concrete realisations of cooperation, which created an effective solidarity. The first concrete realisation was the Treaty of Paris, which procured the cooperation in the domain of coal and steel put under a common High Authority. The industries of coal and steel could in this way no longer serve purely national interests such as the weapon industry, which

could eventually lead to another war. The treaty implied equal rights and duties for the member states in the field of coal and steel. It provided a legal structure for a united Europe. This treaty was fully in contrast to the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. This time it was a Treaty among equal members and not a conqueror's dictate over the defeated. It was the birth of a new Europe, of the European Union in which there are no winners or losers, but only partners. National egoisms should belong to the past.⁴³⁹ Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg joined the project that followed and resulted in the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951.

The Schuman Declaration had made clear that it concerned a political integration in which democratic member states surrendered part of their sovereignty to a supranational institution in order to protect and foster the development of common interests. They would become interdependent. It also meant the recognition and protection of national interests unless they interfered with the sound development of common interests agreed on. It provided peace and security and made war materially impossible.

For all this to happen in the right way Schuman stressed the importance of a 'European spirit' that needed to permeate this European enterprise and that was to be found in the European cultural heritage with its Christian roots in which the human person played a pivotal role. Regarding European integration he pointed towards the necessity of living and practicing an effective solidarity and to do so step-by-step and very prudently living in upright fraternity. The ECSC

439. Robert Schuman, Magazine *Conférences des Ambassadeurs*, no. 51, (March 1951). "Le morcellement de l'Europe est devenu un anachronisme, un non-sens, une hérésie. La renonciation à tout régime d'isolement autarcique et protectionniste ainsi que la coordination des activités des pays européens. Ceux-ci doivent se libérer des égoïsmes à courte vue." National egoism thus refers to politics governed by protectionist national policies that are in detriment of common European interests.

was the first step. National self-interests should belong to the past, but a healthy national pride maintained and fostered so as to create an authentic unity in diversity. A unity and diversity in which there is mutual respect for the uniqueness of each state and the common interests are well taken care of. The common good should always enter the field of vision of each of its member states. No superstate would be created, but a union in which each state lives up to its proper uniqueness and feeds and is fed by its common home, the European community. It was such integration that Schuman and the other founding fathers strove towards and entrusted to Europe that would, according to Schuman, thus become the master of its own destiny.

Schuman was the main architect of the Schuman Declaration and not Monnet. However, as this chapter has made clear, Schuman needed Monnet, Adenauer and De Gasperi to put his ideas into practice. This means that the outcome of Schuman's timeless frame of reference for successful European unification (effective solidarity consistent with moral order based on Christianity), can and should be considered a main guideline for European unification issues.

Conclusion

The principal architect of European unification was Robert Schuman, not Jean Monnet, as is generally believed. In order to clarify Schuman's principal role and to really understand the fundamental principles, the *raison d'être* of European unification, it is important to know who its main architect, Schuman, was. This is what this research is concerned with. It is a scholarly exploration of Schuman's personality, his thoughts, his reasoning, his range of ideas, as far as they are relevant to the framing of the famous Schuman Declaration, which was the foundation of the European unification. This also helps to elucidate his frame a reference for European unification.

As the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Schuman initiated a revolutionary move in European history on 9 May 1950, when he launched the Schuman Declaration and made the birth of European unification become a reality. For his crucial preparatory work and input in the Schuman Declaration he, and not Monnet as is often suggested in handbooks on European history, can be considered the principal architect of this Declaration.

However, Schuman needed Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Alcide de Gasperi, Prime Minister of Italy, and Monnet, Head of the French Planning Commission, to make the Declaration a reality. Monnet was the one who put the draft of the Declaration on paper, but as the recently opened Schuman Archives made clear he could do so thanks to Schuman's preparatory work and the main input and ideas provided by Schuman's close collaborators Reuter and Clappier, who reproduced Schuman's thoughts.

Schuman's thoughts were surprisingly coherently backed by his personal background, his personality, and the political and intellectual circumstances of his time. Then, when studying

Schuman's biography, we observe that he is a pre-eminent person to work for European unification.

The fact that Schuman was a Lorrainer, that he practiced Catholic faith, that he had a strong and self-effacing personality and occupied crucial positions in French politics after the Second World War made him the right man at the right place at the right time for working towards European unification.

The contested Franco-German border region of Lorraine greatly contributed to Schuman's ideas on unification, because of Schuman's wish to come to a solution of this seemingly never-ending Franco-German problem of conflict that already went on, at regular intervals, since the Treaty of Verdun of 843 AD. He acknowledged that the sting of the border-conflict resided for centuries mainly in the coal and iron ore sector because these were valuable resources for the arms industry. The change of mindset that was needed and that he envisaged was the one that used those same minerals as means for reconciliation and sustainable peace instead of reasons for war. As France was the ally that occupied the Ruhr and Saar region after the Second World War, Schuman decided as Minister of Foreign Affairs to soon make the acquaintance with Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of West-Germany to try to solve the problems concerning the Franco-German border-regions.

Another relevant fact regarding the region of Alsace-Lorraine was that he experienced the change of nationalities, from German to French, after the First World War and that he was familiar with and appreciated both cultures, mentalities and languages. This facilitated his comprehension of French and German perspectives and interests.

A regional aspect that was conducive to Schuman's aspiration to come to European unification while safeguarding regional and national identities as much as possible was that his family had lived

for centuries in this area of conflict. Because of this Schuman considered himself to be foremost a Lorrainer even though he was born in Luxembourg and strove towards European unification,

The Catholicity of the region fostered Schuman's practicing the Roman Catholic faith. His faith played a major role in his striving towards European unification, as he wanted to comply constantly with what he experienced as God's will for him in private and in public life. Schuman's main aim in life was to correspond to this vocation and become 'a saint in a suit' (see note 39), which for him included his working as a politician towards European unification so as to attain peace and security in Europe.

Honesty, humility, piety, industriousness, sobriety, prudence, perseverance, self-effacement and courage characterized his personality and were recognized by those who got to know him, as testimonies make clear. His Catholicity was also expressed in his active membership of Catholic organizations and intellectual circles and in his heading Catholic youth groups. He held speeches on Catholic formation and education to large groups of young Catholic people. He showed integrity of life in that he practiced what he preached. In this regard he often insisted on the fact that Catholic faith was more than just faith and also implied the practice of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. He promoted an attitude of reconciliation with the French former German archenemy even before, during and after his captivity in 1942 during the Second World War and implemented a policy of reconciliation as soon as he had the possibility to do so when assuming Ministership.

Schuman's political career was highly conducive to his ability to realize his ideal of European unification and to manifest his capacity of achieving reconciliation. This became already clear when he entered French politics after the First World War. He showed

himself capable of integrating the laws of Alsace-Lorraine into the very different judicial system of the Central government to the contentment of both parties; in this way he introduced the 'Lex Schuman' right after the First World War when Alsace-Lorraine became French territory again. He also made clear through this 'Lex Schuman' that the interests of both the region and the state were to be taken into account when the two had to merge and proved that this could be done successfully despite different interests.

The fact that Schuman became successively Minister of Finance, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs contributed highly to the realization of his ideal of unification. He was very much aware of the need to solve the 'German question' and, thanks to his position as Prime Minister and later as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was able to put his policy of reconciliation with Germany into practice and to work with Adenauer and De Gasperi on the European unification project.

A serendipitous fact was that Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi all shared precisely the turbulent border-region background, the Catholic faith, the knowledge of German, and a significant role in their Christian Democratic parties. This facilitated the possibility for Schuman to realize his vision on European unification. Monnet then turned out to be instrumental for handing over his project to Schuman. This draft project of the Declaration though integrated Schuman's thoughts through Schuman's collaborators Reuter and Clappier.

However, the European unification idea was not exclusively Schuman's. There was an intellectual climate of contemporary intellectuals who also strove towards European unification. His thoughts showed strong similarities with these intellectuals who pleaded for European integration or at least a moral order for European states to attain to, such as Brugmans, De Rougemont, Pius

XII, Maritain, Guardini, Dawson, Eliot, Benda and Jaspers. Furthermore, all of these contemporary intellectuals stressed like Schuman the pivotal role of the individual in the unification process. The uniqueness of Schuman's European unification was hidden in the supranational structure, the stress on effective solidarity through concrete deeds among European states for the benefit of all concerned in the short or longer run and in the step-by-step method of unification. Schuman thereby emphasized the importance of the European cultural heritage with its leading Christian component that all European countries shared and that he regarded as the soul and *raison d'être* in this process of unification. The heritage formed the roots for proper European unification. Schuman distinguished himself as well from the contemporary intellectuals in that he was a politician and in that it was thanks to his post of Prime Minister and later of Minister of Foreign Affairs that he could act and implement the ideas on European unification on a governmental level, although he had to cope with severe opposition of Gaullists, Communists and others also within the government.

Schuman's striving towards unification was thus accompanied by a conducive background and by suitable circumstances, but the source of his wish to come to this unification was hidden in his spiritual drive to be a faithful instrument in God's hands and correspond to his vocation to holiness; this played the main role in his thoughts and undertakings. It made clear that the European unification he had in mind was based on a philosophy of life and implied therefore much more than merely the product of the urgent need for the political and economic unification of those days after the Second World War because of the threat of communism, a third world war, the miserable state of being of Europe and the offered financial aid of the Marshall Plan for fostering European economic cooperation.

Schuman envisioned unification based on and imbued by the European cultural and spiritual heritage, the so called 'European spirit', which was its *raison d'être* to use Schuman's own words.⁴⁴⁰

The European unification he envisioned was thus meant to achieve a political union at the service of the citizen⁴⁴¹ through economic integration, primarily because of and imbued by the 'European spirit'. This implied that the unifying process needed to be consistent with the moral order proper to Christianity, one of the main sources of the European spiritual heritage. In this entire process of unification, Schuman considered the citizen the subject of the European political community. He saw it therefore as the European Community's task to take good care of this citizen(s) and to provide the necessary political and economic guidelines, consistent with the moral order, so that brotherhood, prosperity and welfare of its subject(s) would be the outcome. Schuman further believed that enmities among European states were a phenomenon that belonged to the past when national egoisms still governed the continent and that from his days onwards the focus needed to be on common interests and integration.

Schuman believed that national interests were to be applauded as long as they did not conflict with common European interests and thus harmed effective solidarity among the European states involved. He was also convinced of the fact that effective solidarity would eventually contribute to the national interests of all states concerned.

440. The European cultural and spiritual heritage implied in those days for everyone the Greco-Roman tradition and the Judeo-Christian roots of European civilization whereby the latter informed the former. See also note 180.

441 'At the service of the citizen' implies along Schuman's line of thought, among others that the process of integration needs to take into account man's transcendental dimension, which is hidden in man's vocation to holiness. The fact that Schuman took his divine vocation seriously is sustained by the start of his process of beatification in 2004. It also means that the process should take the human psyche into account and not be hastily.

Schuman's three main ideas on unification incorporated in the Schuman Declaration are: its supranational aspect, effective solidarity through concrete deeds and the step-by-step method of integration. They form Schuman's frame of reference for European unification, on the understanding that all three are consistent with the Christian moral order belonging to the 'European spirit', the *raison d'être* of the European unification, hidden in the roots of the European cultural heritage.

This means that supranationality will be put into effect only when this is needed for common European interests. It also implies, as mentioned before, that national interests need to be safeguarded as long as they do not go against those common European interests. Effective solidarity signifies, as explained before, a solidarity expressed through concrete deeds of integration that contribute in the short or longer run to the benefit of all states concerned. The step-by-step method of integration refers to the (slow) pace of integration in accordance with the human psyche so as not to accelerate the integration process imprudently, which would have a counterproductive effect on the citizens. All three consistent with the Christian moral order implies that all three aspects have taken into account the moral mirror that Christianity upholds.⁴⁴² This means that the integration needs to always be primarily at the service of the citizen and not the other way around (see also note 441).

This crucial importance of the European cultural and spiritual dimension of the European unification process as integral part of the frame of reference must, according to Schuman, constantly be kept in

442. The task of the Church is to uphold a moral mirror to the state. The task of the state is to take the mirror into account and to take subsequently its decisions. The Church has as 'moral guard' an independent position. This also implies that the Church can never take over the tasks of the state nor impose its influence. The state is the one that takes the decisions. See also: 3.4.4.

mind when dealing with European unification issues. The stress on this *raison d'être* implied as well that a decision regarding the common European interests should never go against the common universal interests, but always take the latter into account.

Schuman's Europe provides a frame of reference with timeless guidelines for those involved in European affairs and therefore merits serious attention. Paul de Groote of the Euratom Commission confirmed this with his observation quoted in the Introduction of this thesis that Schuman was "the leader for our European conscience and the man who will always be the one who showed us the way from which we should never part."⁴⁴³

443. See note 5.

Epilogue

Milward, the author of *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, warns present and future Europeans who want to reconstruct Europe against forgetting that the European ideal of 9 May 1950 provided the longest period of peace and prosperity that ever existed on the European continent among the members of the European Union.

Let all those who wish to reconstruct the roof on fundamentally new principles think first that never except beneath that roof has western Europe known so long a peace nor a life so prosperous and so humane.⁴⁴⁴

Once we understand that Schuman played a crucial role in the Schuman Declaration, and that the European unification is based on a specific philosophy of life and is not just the product of a certain time and circumstances, his thoughts and timeless guidelines for successful European integration acquire another dimension and require serious consideration as frame of reference for European unification policies. Schuman wanted to achieve a political union at the service of the citizen through economic cooperation and integration that was consistent with the moral order proper to Christianity and that encouraged Christian brotherhood. His frame of reference was

444. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, 502.

The opening up of the Schuman Archives, of which the Archives of *Maison de Robert Schuman* opened in 2007, and the insight in Schuman's background disclose Schuman's preparation work for and main role in the European unification process and unravel to a large extent the 'mysterious' element which according to Milward accompanied the extraordinary and lasting boom of the Schuman Declaration in Western Europe. "No one knew when or why it [the boom] had started, and I soon discovered that neither did I. It was in fact not only one of the most unexpected events in western Europe's history, but remains one of the most unexplained." (Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, Preface, XV.) The material also fosters the assumption that Schuman's personal background predisposed him to European integration and that Schuman, not Monnet, was the main architect of European unification.

effective solidarity, supranationality and step-by-step method of integration all three consistent with this moral order. The European unification Schuman envisioned did not limit itself to the continent of Europe, but went beyond.

Because of the importance of Schuman's frame of reference for European policies, specialists in fields such as environment, trade, foreign aid, agriculture, transport, energy, finance and social services are encouraged to do follow-up research on the consequences of Schuman's frame of reference for the policies in their specific field. Those studies might bring to light not only the important work that has been done and is being done by the EU, but also the fundamental reasons why we are experiencing setbacks such as the financial crises of the last few years, and why an increasing number of people and states oppose or hinder the EU unification process. They could similarly suggest how to avoid those negative consequences and how to enjoy and develop the main purpose of European unification: effective solidarity consistent with the moral order based on Christianity among citizens and states within and beyond European frontiers. In short, a Europe at the service of the citizen as Schuman had it in mind.

Another issue it might shed light on is that being in favour or against the EU is not a matter of having to choose between working towards a United States of Europe, a federal Europe, or to procure a Europe that has fallen apart into states that protect their own national sovereignty and limit their co-operation with other countries to an exclusively intergovernmental level. Schuman's frame of reference makes clear that Schuman's Europe is a Europe that comes into being step by step over several generations so as to become the Europe he envisioned. Schuman's Europe is therefore not equal to a federal Europe and also not to a disintegrated Europe as would be the case if

Europe were to fall apart. This in turn does not mean that we should retract the results of unification achieved until now for having been put into practice too hastily. This should especially not be the case regarding the newest member states and the promises done to them by the EU. That would go against its main principle which lies in its living up to its *raison d'être*, the European cultural and spiritual heritage. But, following Schuman's line of thought, it does mean that the speed of unification should be more consistent with the human psyche and thus slow down while taking good care of what is achieved until now.

A thorough reflection on Schuman's frame of reference might lead to surprising insights that will greatly benefit European citizens as it will procure a Europe that is experienced as a Europe at the service of the citizen, even by citizens not involved in arranging and consoling European policies.

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Appendix

Déclaration Schuman

Schuman's speech⁴⁴⁵

Déclaration liminaire

Messieurs, Il n'est plus question de vaines paroles, mais d'un acte, d'un acte hardi, d'un acte constructif. La France a agi et les conséquences de son action peuvent être immenses. Nous espérons qu'elles le seront. Elle a agi essentiellement pour la paix. Pour que la paix puisse vraiment courir sa chance, il faut, d'abord, qu'il y ait une Europe. Cinq ans, presque jour pour jour, après la capitulation sans conditions de l'Allemagne, la France accomplit le premier acte décisif de la construction européenne et y associe l'Allemagne. Les conditions européennes doivent s'en trouver entièrement transformées. Cette transformation rendra possibles d'autres actions communes impossibles jusqu'à ce jour. L'Europe naîtra de tout cela, une Europe solidement unie et fortement charpentée. Une Europe où le niveau de vie s'élèvera grâce au groupement des productions et à l'extension des marchés qui provoqueront l'abaissement des prix.

Une Europe où la Ruhr, la Sarre et les bassins français travailleront de concert et feront profiter de leur travail pacifique, suivi par des observateurs des Nations Unies, tous les Européens, sans distinction qu'ils soient de l'Est ou de l'Ouest, et tous les territoires, notamment l'Afrique qui attendent du Vieux Continent leur développement et leur prospérité.

Voici cette décision, avec les considérations qui l'ont inspirée.

La déclaration du 9 mai 1950

“La paix mondiale ne saurait être sauvegardée sans des efforts créateurs à la mesure des dangers qui la menacent.

La contribution qu'une Europe organisée et vivante peut apporter à la civilisation est indispensable au maintien des relations pacifiques. En se faisant depuis plus de vingt ans le champion d'une Europe unie, la France a toujours eu pour objet essentiel de servir la paix. L'Europe n'a pas été faite, nous avons eu la guerre.

445. Full text in French. Déclaration du 9 mai 1950 Fondation Robert Schuman, "Question d'europe" n°204 , 9 May 2011.

L'Europe ne se fera pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble : elle se fera par des réalisations concrètes, créant d'abord une solidarité de fait. Le rassemblement des nations européennes exige que l'opposition séculaire de la France et de l'Allemagne soit éliminée : l'action entreprise doit toucher au premier chef la France et l'Allemagne.

Dans ce but, le gouvernement français propose de porter immédiatement l'action sur un point limité, mais décisif:

Le Gouvernement français propose de placer l'ensemble de la production franco-allemande du charbon et d'acier sous une Haute Autorité commune, dans une organisation ouverte à la participation des autres pays d'Europe.

La mise en commun des productions de charbon et d'acier assurera immédiatement l'établissement de bases communes de développement économique, première étape de la Fédération européenne, et changera le destin des régions longtemps vouées à la fabrication des armes de guerre dont elles ont été les plus constantes victimes.

La solidarité de production qui sera ainsi nouée manifesterà que toute guerre entre la France et l'Allemagne devient non seulement impensable, mais matériellement impossible. L'établissement de cette unité puissante de production ouverte à tous les pays qui voudront y participer, aboutissant à fournir à tous les pays qu'elle rassemblera les éléments fondamentaux de la production industrielle aux mêmes conditions, jettera les fondements réels de leur unification économique.

Cette production sera offerte à l'ensemble du monde, sans distinction ni exclusion, pour contribuer au relèvement du niveau de vie et au progrès des œuvres de paix. L'Europe pourra, avec des moyens accrus, poursuivre la réalisation de l'une de ses tâches essentielles : le développement du continent africain.

Ainsi sera réalisée simplement et rapidement la fusion d'intérêts indispensable à l'établissement d'une communauté économique et introduit le ferment d'une communauté plus large et plus profonde entre des pays longtemps opposés par des divisions sanglantes.

Par la mise en commun de production de base et l'institution d'une Haute Autorité nouvelle, dont les décisions lieront la France, l'Allemagne et les pays qui y adhéreront, cette proposition réalisera

les premières assises concrètes d'une Fédération européenne indispensable à la préservation de la paix.

Pour poursuivre la réalisation des objectifs ainsi définis, le gouvernement français est prêt à ouvrir des négociations sur les bases suivantes.

La mission impartie à la Haute Autorité commune sera d'assurer dans les délais les plus rapides: la modernisation de la production et l'amélioration de sa qualité; la fourniture à des conditions identiques du charbon et de l'acier sur le marché français et sur le marché allemand, ainsi que sur ceux des pays adhérents; le développement de l'exportation commune vers les autres pays; l'égalisation dans les progrès des conditions de vie de la main-d'œuvre de ces industries.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs à partir des conditions très disparates dans lesquelles sont placées actuellement les productions de pays adhérents, à titre transitoire, certaines dispositions devront être mises en œuvre, comportant l'application d'un plan de production et d'investissements, l'institution de mécanismes de péréquation des prix, la création d'un fonds de reconversion facilitant la rationalisation de la production. La circulation du charbon et de l'acier entre les pays adhérents sera immédiatement affranchie de tout droit de douane et ne pourra être affectée par des tarifs de transport différentiels. Progressivement se dégageront les conditions assurant spontanément la répartition la plus rationnelle de la production au niveau de productivité le plus élevé.

A l'opposé d'un cartel international tendant à la répartition et à l'exploitation des marchés nationaux par des pratiques restrictives et le maintien de profits élevés, l'organisation projetée assurera la fusion des marchés et l'expansion de la production.

Les principes et les engagements essentiels ci-dessus définis feront l'objet d'un traité signé entre les Etats. Les négociations indispensables pour préciser les mesures d'application seront poursuivies avec l'assistance d'un arbitre désigné d'un commun accord: celui-ci aura charge de veiller à ce que les accords soient conformes aux principes et, en cas d'opposition irréductible, fixera la solution qui sera adoptée. La Haute Autorité commune chargée du fonctionnement de tout le régime sera composée de personnalités indépendantes désignées sur une base paritaire par les Gouvernements; un Président sera choisi d'un commun accord par les autres pays adhérents. Des dispositions appropriées assureront les voies de recours nécessaires contre les décisions de la Haute Autorité.

Un représentant des Nations Unies auprès de cette Autorité sera chargé de faire deux fois par an un rapport public à l'O.N.U. rendant compte du fonctionnement de l'organisme nouveau notamment en ce qui concerne la sauvegarde de ses fins pacifiques.

L'institution de la Haute Autorité ne préjuge en rien du régime de propriété des entreprises. Dans l'exercice de sa mission, la Haute Autorité commune tiendra compte des pouvoirs conférés à l'Autorité internationale de la Ruhr et des obligations de toute nature imposées à l'Allemagne, tant que celles-ci subsisteront.”

Schuman Declaration

Schuman's speech⁴⁴⁶

Preliminary Declaration

It is no longer a question of vain words but of a bold act, a constructive act. France has acted and the consequences of its action can be immense. We hope they will be. France has acted primarily for peace and to give peace a real chance.

For this it is necessary that Europe should exist. Five years, almost to the day, after the unconditional surrender of Germany, France is accomplishing the first decisive act for European construction and is associating Germany with this. Conditions in Europe are going to be entirely changed because of it. This transformation will facilitate other action which has been impossible until this day.

Europe will be born from this, a Europe which is solidly united and constructed around a strong framework. It will be a Europe where the standard of living will rise by grouping together production and expanding markets, thus encouraging the lowering of prices.

In this Europe, the Ruhr, the Saar and the French industrial basins will work together for common goals and their progress will be followed by observers from the United Nations. All Europeans without distinction, whether from east or west, and all the overseas territories, especially Africa, which awaits development and prosperity from this old continent, will gain benefits from their labour of peace.

The Declaration of 9 May 1950

“World peace cannot be safeguarded if constructive efforts are not made commensurate with the dangers that threaten it. An organized and revitalized Europe can make a contribution to civilization which is indispensable for maintaining such peaceful relations. France has always held the cause of peace as her main aim in taking upon herself

446 Full text in English. Schuman Project, (Brussels: Bron Communications, 2000-01-01).

the role for more than twenty years of championing a united Europe. That European task was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made at once, nor according to a single master plan of construction. It will be built by concrete achievements, which create de facto dependence, mutual interests and the desire for common action.

The gathering of the nations of Europe demands the elimination of the age-old antagonism of France and Germany. The first concern of any action undertaken must involve these two countries.

With this objective in mind, the French government proposes to direct its action on one limited but decisive point:

The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately assure the establishment of common bases for economic development as a first step for the European Federation. It will change the destiny of regions that have long been devoted to manufacturing munitions of war, of which they have been most constantly the victims.

This merging of our interests in coal and steel production and our joint action will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not only unthinkable but materially impossible. The establishment of this powerful unity for production, open to all countries willing to take part, and eventually capable of providing all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will cast the real foundation for their economic unification.

This production would be offered to the world as a whole, without distinction or exception, with the aim of raising living standards and promoting peace as well as fulfilling one of Europe's essential tasks — the development of the African continent.

In this way, simply and speedily, the fusion of interests which is vital for the establishment of a common economic system will be realized. Thus the leaven will be introduced which will permeate and build a wider and deeper community between countries that had continually opposed each other in bloody divisions.

By pooling basic industrial production and setting-up a new High Authority whose decisions will be binding on France, Germany and other member countries, these proposals will bring to reality the first

solid groundwork for a European Federation vital to the preservation of world peace.

In order to further the realisation of the objectives it has thus defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following basis:

The High Authority would be charged with the mission of assuring in the briefest delay the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to French and German markets and those of other member countries; the development of common exports to other countries; and the equalization of improvement in the living conditions of workers in these industries.

In order to attain these goals starting from the very varied conditions in which the production of the member countries are situated, transitory measures should be instituted such as a production and investment plan, compensating mechanisms for the equalization of prices, and a restructuring fund to facilitate the rationalisation of production. The movement of coal and steel between member states will immediately be freed of all customs duties and it will not be permitted for it to be constrained by differential transport rates. Conditions will be progressively created which will spontaneously assure the most rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to an international cartel which aims at dividing and exploiting national markets by restrictive practices in order to maintain high profit margins, the proposed organization will assure the merger of markets and the expansion of production.

The principles and fundamental commitments defined above will be the subject of a treaty signed between the states. The negotiations necessary to define the measures to be applied will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator, designated by common agreement. The latter will be charged to ensure that the agreements are in line with the principles and, in the case of unresolvable differences, will determine the solution to be adopted. The joint High Authority, responsible for the functioning of the whole regime, will be composed of independent personalities designated on an equal basis by the governments. A President will be chosen by common accord of the governments. His decisions will be binding on France, Germany and the other member countries. Appropriate measures will assure the means of appeal necessary against the decisions of the High Authority. A

representative of the United Nations to the High Authority will be charged to make a public report twice a year to the United Nations Organisation, reporting on the functioning of the new body, in particular about the safeguarding of its peaceful objectives.

The institution of the High Authority does not prejudice in any way the ownership of enterprises. In the furtherance of its mission, the joint High Authority will take into account the powers conferred on the International Authority for the Ruhr and the obligations of all types imposed on Germany as long as they continue.”

Summary

The thesis *Schuman's Europe; his frame of reference* by Margriet Krijtenburg, is about Robert Schuman, Founding Father of the European Union, and his thoughts about European unification. The thesis makes clear that it was Schuman and not Jean Monnet, as is often believed, who can be considered the principal architect of the Schuman Declaration. The study of Schuman's lifetime and thoughts is important for a proper understanding of the European unification and its *raison d'être*. His background, personality, intellectual and political circumstances are therefore studied for as far as they are relevant to the framing of the Schuman Declaration, to a proper understanding of the European unification as such and to elucidating Schuman's frame of reference for European unification.

Although Schuman was born in Luxembourg, he inherited his father's attachment and sense of belonging to Lorraine. He therefore felt his roots to be in the turbulent Franco-German border region of Lorraine, which was eagerly desired by the two archenemies France and Germany. Schuman was familiar with the hardships that living in this area brought with it, as well as with the German and French mentalities that mingled in this territory which condensed a large part of western European history.

The Catholic faith and loyalty to Rome, which characterized the people of the region, was embodied by Robert Schuman, who himself was raised a Catholic and inherited his mother's strong faith. The fact that during his studies in Germany he became a lifelong member of the Catholic Student Union *Unitas* and of the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, which wanted Catholicism to have its place in the scientific world, as well as the fact that Schuman was a member of Catholic intellectual circles, confirmed that he acknowledged the compatibility of faith and reason.

Another confirmation of his attachment to Lorraine is that Schuman decided to settle down in Metz, Lorraine, once he had finished his studies in German civil law. He soon became a highly esteemed lawyer, who went for daily Mass, was faithful to the teachings of the Church and became an expert in Thomism. He accepted his appointment as head of the Catholic youth organizations by the bishop of Metz, and was also involved in other Catholic organizations and gatherings until his death.

During the First World War Schuman was not called to the army. After that war, Lorraine became a part of France again, a fact which he applauded, but which also meant that he had to familiarize himself with French law, as he held a doctorate in German civil law.

The people of Lorraine continually re-elected Schuman from 1919 onwards as representative of their region in the French National Assembly, with the exception of the period he occupied posts as (Prime) Minister. The 'Lex Schuman', a law introduced by Schuman that aligned the interests of the Central Administration and of the region of Alsace-Lorraine right after the First World War, already reflected his reconciliatory attitude and the unique way in which he solved politically sensitive issues. It expressed the desire and ability to reconcile interests, people and even countries that originally were inimical or opposed to reconciliation. This attitude was also perfectly in line with, and could even be called an expression of, Thomas Aquinas's philosophy of political synergy.

The intellectual climate that surrounded Schuman and which also emphasized, like Schuman, the crucial role of Christianity in the re-building of Europe, was full of thoughts on reconciliation and the unification of Europe. Julien Benda, Christopher Dawson, Karl Jaspers, Romano Guardini, Pope Pius XII, T.S. Eliot and Jacques Maritain all explicitly stressed the important role of Christianity in

rebuilding Europe. They all rejected the ideology of Nazism. All of them, except for Julien Benda, as well as De Rougemont and Brugmans highlighted the pivotal role of the individual and his transcendence in all economic, political and social aspects of society for now and for the future. Both De Rougemont and Brugmans advocated a federalist approach in every area, and as soon as possible. Brugmans also spoke, like Schuman, about the need for unification between Western and Eastern Europe. He mentioned as well the need to come to a cooperation of France and Germany in the fields of coal and steel.

All of these thinkers spoke directly or indirectly about the need for a moral order, which should imbue the political, economic and social order. This moral order is based on Christianity. Dawson, Pius XII and Maritain, a neoThomist, argued explicitly that faith sheds light on reason. Maritain called for integrity and for man's need to heed his call to sanctity in the middle of the world. He emphasized the need for religious freedom and the superiority of the individual to the political community. Maritain, like Pius XII, underlined the importance of natural law common to all men, which he regarded as the source of human rights. He suggested a democratic political way of governing based on a Christian foundation that would come to what he called a Neo-Christendom. Guardini and Jacques Maritain were acquaintances of Schuman, with whom he spent time in Maria Laach where they had recollections and other Catholic gatherings. The federalists De Rougemont and Brugmans, but also Pius XII speak explicitly of the need for supra-nationality when rebuilding Europe. Schuman meditated on the thoughts of Pope Pius XII on Europe, although the Pope made clear that the Church does not mingle in temporal issues and that his thoughts must therefore not be regarded as essential guidelines.

Schuman's idea of European unification might not seem completely original, as there have been many thinkers and politicians who developed theories and suggested practical methods for uniting the European continent. But the supranational aspect, the solidarity of facts, the step-by-step method of integration, the emphasis on protection of national identities as long as these did not interfere with common European interests and the stress on the soul of Europe which was the European cultural heritage, made the Schuman Plan a unique initiative, fundamentally different from previous thoughts about a united Europe and other forms of cooperation.⁴⁴⁷

A look at Schuman's political career just before and after the Second World War helps to understand more profoundly the intent, coming into being and impact of the Schuman Declaration. Schuman was first appointed to a ministerial post by Reynauld in March 1940. He became the Under-Secretary of Refugees. It was to be only for a few months, as Reynauld's government fell and Pétain soon took over. Pétain transferred the government to Vichy as the Germans had occupied Paris. He offered Schuman the post of Director of the Secretariat of Refugees, but Schuman rejected and resigned from the Pétain government. He was called back to Vichy as a member of Parliament to sign the proposal to give full power to the Pétain government and thus stop the Germans from thinking that Alsace-Lorraine wanted to return to Germany. It turned out to be a trick. When Schuman went back to Metz to burn papers that should not fall into German hands he was the first parliamentarian to be captured by the Gestapo. After seven months in jail and several refusals to become a *Gauleiter* and thus acquire freedom, Schuman was sent to Neustadt - Pfaltz, on house arrest. He escaped a year later and hid in dozens of places in France. He gave several speeches in which he expressed his

447 Such as the Benelux, OEEC and NATO.

certainty that the Germans could never win the war. He based his opinion on secret information he had obtained in Neustadt. It was also during those days in 1942 that Schuman started to speak of the need for reconciliation and for European unification through a supranational structure.

Once the war was over, the people of Lorraine elected Schuman to be their representative in French government again. The authorities of Lorraine, however, first required De Gaulle to refute Schuman's supposed collaboration with the Germans, because Schuman had signed for Pétain's government, in order to permit Schuman to enter politics again. De Gaulle refuted the accusation and Schuman could return to politics. These would be restless years in which governments continuously came and went and never lasted more than eight months.

Schuman's reconciliation policy was vehemently opposed by both Gaullists and Communists. Next to their continual opposition, Schuman, as Minister of Finance, had to face a time of severe economic crisis and a severe Communist strike. He was able to handle the situation and bring France back on its feet, a fact that proved his skills as a Minister and helped to explain why he became Prime Minister soon after. He asked for Pope Pius XII's blessing, as it would be a hard task to fulfil. Despite the official refutation of the accusations, the Communists and Gaullists kept on accusing Schuman of having collaborated with the Germans as a German officer during the First World War, which he never did, and of having given full powers to the Vichy regime of Pétain.

As Prime Minister Schuman welcomed the Marshall Plan offered by the United States of America, announced in 1947 and put into effect in April 1948. The plan aimed to give economic and financial support to assure a stable European economy and political

order and to prevent Europe from falling into communist hands. Schuman deeply regretted Molotov's, and thus the Soviet, rejection of the Marshall Plan and the consequent start of the Cold War.

Schuman encouraged the organization of the Congress of The Hague in May 1948 and sent representatives of his government to contribute to its aim of unifying Europe. He applauded the results that came during the following years, such as the Council of Europe and the College of Bruges. By then, Schuman's government had fallen on the removal of the ban on funding of religious schools, which Schuman had proposed. Schuman was then appointed the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, a post that he would hold for five years in seven different governments. It was a time in which the effects of the Cold War were felt and the 'German question' urgently needed to be solved. Schuman signed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for France in April 1949, which was fervently opposed by the Communists, who did not want to cooperate with the United States.

The urgency of the 'German question' led Schuman to look for ways to put his reconciliation plan into effect. He met up with Adenauer, who a month later would become the Chancellor of West-Germany, and discussed with him the possibility to come to an agreement regarding the agitated regions of the Saar and Ruhr, greatly desired, like Alsace-Lorraine, for their riches in coal and steel, the raw materials essential for the arms industry. Economically and financially these regions were under French command but they were politically independent and recognized German regions. Schuman also got in touch with the Italian Prime-Minister, De Gasperi, in order to try and solve the German problem through a broader European unification made possible by the cooperation of Italy, which also had significant interests in coal and steel. The similarities of Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi, all three men of contested border regions, of a strong

Catholic faith, who spoke German as their native language, and all three protagonists of Democratic parties, facilitated the unification process considerably.

Jean Monnet, Director of the French Planning Commission who searched eagerly for a European solution of the German problem as well, came to Schuman with a proposal, but not after having heard Schuman's associates Paul Reuter and Bernard Clappier, who delivered the key ideas to this project which were Schuman's as has come to light more than thirty years later through the Schuman Archives. The credit that is often given to Monnet as the principal architect of the Schuman Declaration should for this reason and for the study on Schuman and his thoughts about European unification as such shift to Schuman.

The supranational structure, about which Schuman was already thinking in 1942, was finally put in place. After a few days of intensive work, political diplomacy within the government and Adenauer's consent, the Schuman Declaration, the birth of what later would become the European Union, was launched in Paris on 9 May 1950. The 'German question' was thus solved in a European way.

The Schuman Plan was a 'saut dans l'inconnu', a 'leap in the dark', and a revolutionary move in European history. It was also called the 'Schuman bomb' because of the considerable impact it made worldwide. Effective solidarity, solidarity through specific deeds, was its *adagium*, the European cultural heritage was its soul or *raison d'être*. The functionalist step-by-step integration with respect for national identities and interests as long as they did not go in detriment of common European interests was its method, and unity in diversity its outcome. Through effective solidarity in the economic field among democratic countries that shared a common European, that is, Greco-Roman and Jewish-Christian, heritage, a political union

could be achieved consistent with Christian morals. European citizenship and national citizenship would mingle as a region mingles and adapts itself where needed to the state it belongs to. Six countries committed themselves to the Plan, which led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community on 18 April 1951. These countries were France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Europe would no longer be a collection of independent states, but become an ever more integrated entity characterized by unity in diversity. The Schuman Plan was a revolutionary plan that became the cornerstone of the Europe to be.

Schuman's biography, including the geographical, cultural, spiritual, intellectual and political context, shows his preparatory work for European unification and crucial input in the Declaration called after his name. Schuman thus turned out to be the pre-eminent candidate to work towards European unification and the principal architect of the Schuman Declaration. His frame of reference for European unification consists of supranationality (with respect for national identities and interests as long as these do not go against common European interests), effective solidarity and a step-by-step method of integration. According to Schuman, all three need to be consistent with a moral order based on Christianity, which shows that the European unification was based on a philosophy of life. This frame of reference provides timeless guidelines for European cooperation in the interest of the citizen and could inspire all those who are working towards further European integration.

Résumé

La thèse *L'Europe de Schuman ; son cadre de référence* par Margriet Krijtenburg, traite de Robert Schuman, le père fondateur de l'Union européenne, et de ses pensées sur l'unification européenne. Elle démontre que c'est Schuman et non pas Jean Monnet, comme on le prétend généralement, qui peut être considéré comme le principal architecte de la Déclaration Schuman. Pour bien comprendre l'unification européenne et sa raison d'être, il est nécessaire de se pencher auparavant sur la vie et les pensées de Schuman ainsi que sur son milieu socioculturel, sa personnalité, le climat intellectuel et politique de son époque qui constituent tous des éléments nécessaires pour cadrer la Déclaration Schuman, bien comprendre l'unification européenne en tant que telle et élucider le cadre de référence de l'unification européenne.

Bien que né au Luxembourg, Schuman hérite de son père son attachement et son sentiment d'appartenance à la Lorraine. Pour lui, ses racines se trouvent en Lorraine, la région conflictuelle frontalière franco-allemande, ardemment désirée par les deux ennemis par excellence, la France et l'Allemagne. Schuman s'est familiarisé à la dureté de la vie de cette région ainsi qu'au mélange des mentalités allemandes et françaises de ce territoire qui constitue un condensé important de l'histoire de l'Europe de l'Ouest.

Robert Schuman, lui-même élevé dans la religion catholique et ayant hérité de la foi profonde de sa mère, incarne la foi catholique et la loyauté à l'autorité papale de Rome qui caractérisent les Lorrains. Son adhésion à vie, au cours de ses études en Allemagne, à l'union des étudiants catholiques *Unitas* et à la *Görres-Gesellschaft*, qui œuvrent pour donner sa place au Catholicisme dans le monde

scientifique, ainsi qu'à des cercles intellectuels catholiques confirment qu'il reconnaît la compatibilité de la foi et de la raison.

La décision de Schuman de s'installer à Metz, en Lorraine, lorsqu'il a terminé ses études de droit civil allemand est une nouvelle confirmation de son attachement à la Lorraine. Il devient rapidement un avocat très estimé, qui assiste tous les jours à la messe, est loyal aux enseignements de l'Église et est devenu un spécialiste du thomisme. Il accepte sa nomination comme chef des organisations de la jeunesse catholique par l'évêque de Metz. Il restera également engagé dans d'autres organisations et rassemblements catholiques jusqu'à sa mort.

Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, Schuman n'est pas appelé sous les drapeaux. Après la guerre, la Lorraine réintègre la nation française, une action qu'il applaudit, même si cela signifie qu'il doit se familiariser avec la législation française, puisqu'il possède un diplôme d'études supérieures de droit civil allemand.

Les Lorrains rééliront continuellement Schuman, dès 1919, en tant que député de la Moselle au Parlement français, à l'exception de la période pendant laquelle il occupe les fonctions de ministre ou Premier ministre. La 'Lex Schuman', une loi introduite par Schuman, qui aligne les intérêts de l'Administration centrale et de l'Alsace-Lorraine juste après la Première Guerre mondiale, reflète son attitude de réconciliateur et la manière unique qu'il a de résoudre des problèmes politiques sensibles. Il y exprime sa compétence et son désir de réconcilier les intérêts, les gens et même les nations à l'origine hostiles ou opposées à la réconciliation. Cette attitude, parfaitement en ligne avec la philosophie de synergie politique de saint Thomas d'Aquin, peut même être appelée l'expression de cette philosophie.

Le climat intellectuel dans lequel baigne Schuman et qui souligne, tout comme Schuman, le rôle crucial du christianisme dans la reconstruction de l'Europe, abonde de pensées de réconciliation et d'unification de l'Europe. Julien Benda, Christopher Dawson, Karl Jaspers, Romano Guardini, le pape Pie XII, T.S. Eliot et Jacques Maritain insistent explicitement sur le rôle du christianisme dans la reconstruction de l'Europe. Ils rejettent tous l'idéologie du Nazisme. Tous aussi, sauf Julien Benda, avec De Rougemont et Brugmans, soulignent le rôle de pivot joué par l'individu et sa transcendance dans les aspects économique, politique et social de la société de l'époque et future. De Rougemont et Brugmans défendent une approche fédéraliste dans tous les domaines, devant être mise en œuvre le plus rapidement possible. Brugmans parle aussi, tout comme Schuman, du besoin d'une unification entre l'Europe de l'Ouest et de l'Est. Il mentionne également la nécessité d'obtenir une coopération entre la France et l'Allemagne dans le domaine de la production du charbon et de l'acier.

Tous ces penseurs parlent directement ou indirectement de la nécessité d'un ordre moral, basé sur le christianisme, devant imprégner l'ordre politique, économique et social. Dawson, Pie XII et le neo-thomiste Maritain déclarent explicitement que la foi éclaire la raison. Maritain exige l'intégrité et la nécessité pour l'homme de tenir compte de son appel à la sainteté au sein du monde. Il souligne la nécessité de la liberté religieuse et la supériorité de l'individu par rapport à la communauté politique. Maritain, tout comme Pie XII, souligne l'importance d'une loi naturelle commune pour tous les hommes qu'il considère comme la source des droits de l'homme. Il suggère une gouvernance démocratico-politique basée sur un fondement chrétien devant devenir ce qu'il appelle le neo-christianisme. Romano Guardini et Jacques Maritain sont des

connaissances de Schuman avec qui il a séjourné à Maria Laach pour des commémorations et autres rassemblements catholiques. Les fédéralistes De Rougemont et Brugmans, mais aussi Pie XII, parlent explicitement de la nécessité d'une supranationalité pour la reconstruction de l'Europe. Schuman médite les pensées du pape Pie XII sur l'Europe, même si le pape indique clairement que l'Église ne se mêle pas de problèmes temporels et que ses pensées ne doivent pas, de ce fait, être considérées comme des lignes directrices essentielles.

L'idée d'unification européenne de Schuman peut ne pas paraître vraiment originale, puisque nombreux sont les penseurs et politiciens qui ont développé des théories et suggéré des méthodes pratiques pour unifier le continent européen. Mais l'aspect supranational, la solidarité des faits, la méthode d'intégration progressive, l'accent placé sur la protection des identités nationales, tant qu'elles n'interfèrent pas avec les intérêts communs européens, et sur l'âme de l'Europe, son héritage culturel européen, font du Plan Schuman une initiative unique, fondamentalement différente des idées précédentes sur une Europe unie et d'autres formes de coopération.⁴⁴⁸

Si on considère la carrière politique de Schuman juste avant et après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, on obtient une compréhension plus profonde du dessein, du processus d'élaboration et de l'impact de la Déclaration Schuman. Ce dernier est d'abord nommé à un poste ministériel par Reynauld en mars 1940. Il devient sous-secrétaire d'État aux Réfugiés du gouvernement Reynaud qui chute après quelques mois et auquel succède rapidement celui du maréchal Pétain. Ce dernier transfère le gouvernement à Vichy car Paris est occupé par les Allemands. Le maréchal propose à Schuman le poste de Directeur du Secrétariat d'État aux Réfugiés que Schuman refuse et qui démissionne du gouvernement Pétain. Il est rappelé à Vichy en tant

448 Comme le Benelux, l'OECE et l'OTAN.

que membre du Parlement pour signer une proposition destinée à donner les pleins pouvoirs au gouvernement Pétain et à mettre un terme à l'idée des Allemands que l'Alsace-Lorraine veut retourner dans le giron allemand. Ce rappel s'avère être un piège. Quand Schuman retourne à Metz pour brûler des papiers qui ne doivent pas tomber aux mains des Allemands, il est le premier parlementaire à être arrêté par la Gestapo. Après plusieurs mois passés en prison et avoir à plusieurs reprises refusé de devenir *Gauleiter* et obtenir ainsi sa liberté, Schuman est envoyé en avril 1941 à Neustadt, dans l'actuelle Rhénanie-Palatinat, en maison d'arrêt. Il s'évade un an plus tard et se cache dans une douzaine d'endroits en France. Schuman prononce plusieurs discours dans lesquels il exprime sa certitude que les Allemands ne gagneront jamais la guerre. Il base cette opinion sur des informations secrètes obtenues à Neustadt. C'est également à cette période, en 1942, que Schuman commence à parler de la nécessité d'une réconciliation et d'une unification européenne par le biais d'une structure supranationale.

Lorsque la guerre est terminée, les Lorrains réélisent Schuman comme représentant au gouvernement français. Les autorités de la Lorraine demandent cependant d'abord au général De Gaulle de réfuter la supposée collaboration de Schuman avec les Allemands, Schuman ayant signé pour le gouvernement de Pétain, de façon à permettre à Schuman de réintégrer la scène politique. De Gaulle réfute l'accusation et Schuman reprend sa carrière politique. Les années qui succèdent sont agitées, on assiste à un va et vient incessant de gouvernements qui ne restent pas plus de huit mois en place.

Les gaullistes et les communistes sont fortement opposés à la politique de réconciliation de Schuman qui n'est pas uniquement confronté à leur continuelle opposition mais qui a aussi à faire face, en tant que ministre des Finances, à une crise économique sévère et une

grève massive des communistes. Il réussit à mener à bien la situation et à remettre la France sur pied. Ceci prouve ses compétences de ministre et nous aide à comprendre pourquoi il devient alors rapidement Premier ministre. Vu la difficulté de la tâche qui lui est confiée, Schuman demande la bénédiction du pape Pie XII. Malgré la réfutation officielle des accusations, les communistes et les gaullistes continuent d'accuser Schuman d'avoir collaborer avec les Allemands en tant qu'officier allemand pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, ce qu'il n'a jamais fait, et d'avoir donné les pleins pouvoirs au régime de Vichy de Pétain.

En tant que Premier ministre, Schuman accueille chaleureusement le Plan Marshall proposé par les États-Unis d'Amérique, annoncé en 1947 et entré en vigueur au mois d'avril 1948. L'objectif du plan est d'apporter un soutien économique et financier pour assurer une économie et un ordre politique européens stables et d'éviter à l'Europe de tomber aux mains des communistes. Schuman regrette fortement le rejet de Molotov, donc soviétique, du Plan Marshall et le début consécutif de la Guerre froide.

Schuman encourage l'organisation du Congrès de La Haye en mai 1948 et envoie des représentants de son gouvernement pour contribuer à son but d'unification de l'Europe. Il applaudit les résultats obtenus les années suivantes, tels que le Conseil de l'Europe et le Collège de Bruges. Entre temps, le gouvernement Schuman est tombé du fait de la suppression de l'interdiction du financement des écoles religieuses, proposée par Schuman. Il est ensuite nommé ministre des Affaires étrangères, une fonction qu'il occupera pendant cinq ans dans sept gouvernements différents. C'est une époque pendant laquelle les effets de la Guerre froide se font ressentir et la 'question allemande' doit être résolue en urgence. Schuman signe pour la France l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord en avril

1949, auquel sont fortement opposés les communistes qui ne veulent pas coopérer avec les États-Unis.

L'urgence de la 'question allemande' oblige Schuman à chercher des moyens de mettre en vigueur son projet de réconciliation. Il rencontre Adenauer, qui deviendra un mois plus tard le chancelier d'Allemagne de l'Ouest, et discute avec lui des possibilités de trouver un accord en ce qui concerne les régions conflictuelles de la Sarre et de la Ruhr, fortement convoitées, comme l'Alsace-Lorraine, pour leurs richesses en charbon et acier, des matières premières essentielles à l'industrie de l'armement. Ces régions, qui se trouvent économiquement et financièrement sous commandement français, sont cependant politiquement indépendantes et reconnues comme des régions allemandes. Schuman contacte aussi le Premier ministre italien, De Gasperi, afin d'essayer de résoudre le problème allemand au moyen d'une unification européenne élargie que la coopération de l'Italie dont les intérêts dans le charbon et l'acier sont significatifs rend possible. Le fait que Schuman, Adenauer et De Gasperi aient tous trois en commun leur appartenance à une région frontalière conflictuelle, une croyance profonde en la religion catholique et l'allemand comme langue maternelle et qu'ils soient tous les trois des protagonistes de partis démocratiques, facilite considérablement le processus d'unification.

Jean Monnet, le directeur de la commission française du Plan, qui lui aussi recherche ardemment une solution européenne du problème allemand, vient voir Schuman avec une proposition, non sans avoir auparavant écouté les associés de Schuman, Paul Reuter et Bernard Clappier, qui ont fourni les idées fondamentales de ce projet. Selon les informations retrouvées dans les archives de Schuman, ces idées s'avèrent plus de trente ans plus tard être celles de Schuman. C'est pour cette raison et pour les résultats obtenus lors de l'étude de

Schuman et de ses pensées sur l'unification européenne que le crédit souvent accordé à Monnet en tant que principal architecte de la Déclaration Schuman devrait être reporté sur Schuman.

La structure supranationale, à laquelle Schuman pensait déjà en 1942, est finalement mise en place. Après plusieurs jours de travail intensif, de diplomatie politique au sein du gouvernement et le consentement d'Adenauer, la Déclaration Schuman, à l'origine de ce qui deviendra plus tard l'Union européenne, entre en vigueur à Paris le 9 mai 1950. À la 'question allemande' est donc trouvée une solution européenne.

Le Plan Schuman est un 'saut dans l'inconnu', une action révolutionnaire dans l'histoire de l'Europe. Appelée aussi la 'bombe Schuman', du fait de l'impact considérable qu'il a dans le monde entier, son adage est la solidarité effective obtenue au moyen d'actions spécifiques. Son âme ou sa raison d'être est l'héritage culturel européen. Sa méthode est l'intégration fonctionnelle progressive dans le respect des identités et des intérêts nationaux tant qu'ils ne portent pas atteinte aux intérêts communs européens. Son résultat est l'unité dans la diversité. Par le biais de la solidarité effective dans le domaine économique entre des pays démocratiques partageant un héritage européen commun, c'est-à-dire chrétien gréco-romain et juif, une union politique compatible avec la morale chrétienne est réalisable. La citoyenneté européenne et la citoyenneté nationale se mêleront comme une région se mêle et s'adapte quand c'est nécessaire dans le pays auquel elle appartient. Six pays, la France, l'Allemagne, l'Italie, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas et le Luxembourg, s'engagent à suivre le Plan, entraînant ainsi l'établissement de la Communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier, le 18 avril 1951. L'Europe ne sera donc plus un rassemblement d'États indépendants mais deviendra une entité plus intégrée caractérisée par l'unité dans la diversité. Le projet

révolutionnaire qu'est le Plan Schuman est devenu la pierre d'angle de la future Europe.

La biographie de Schuman, avec le contexte géographique, culturel, spirituel, intellectuel et politique, montre son travail de préparation de l'unification européenne et sa contribution cruciale à la Déclaration qui porte son nom. Schuman s'avère donc être le prééminent prétendant de l'œuvre vers l'unification européenne et le principal architecte de la Déclaration. Son cadre de référence pour l'unification, consistant en la supranationalité (dans le respect des identités et intérêts nationaux tant qu'ils ne portent pas atteinte aux intérêts européens communs), la solidarité effective et une méthode d'intégration progressive - devant toutes trois répondre, selon Schuman, à un ordre moral basé sur le christianisme -, montre que l'unification européenne est basée sur une philosophie de la vie. Ce cadre de référence fournit des lignes directrices durables pour une unification européenne au service du citoyen et devrait être pris à cœur par tous ceux qui sont concernés par les questions d'unification européenne.

Zusammenfassung

Die Dissertation *Schumans Europa; sein Referenzrahmen* von Margriet Krijtenburg, beschäftigt sich mit Robert Schuman, dem Gründungsvater der Europäischen Union, und seinen Gedanken zur europäischen Einigung. Die Arbeit macht deutlich, dass Schuman und nicht, wie oft angenommen, Jean Monnet als führender Architekt der Schuman-Erklärung zu gelten hat. Die Beschäftigung mit dem Leben und den Gedanken Schumans ist wichtig für ein angemessenes Verständnis der europäischen Einigung und ihrer *raison d'être*. Daher werden sein Hintergrund, seine Persönlichkeit sowie seine intellektuellen und politischen Grundlagen untersucht, soweit sie für die Konzeption der Schuman-Erklärung, für ein angemessenes Verständnis der europäischen Einigung als solcher und zur Verdeutlichung von Schumans Referenzrahmen für die europäische Einigung relevant sind.

Ogleich in Luxemburg geboren, hatte Schuman das gleiche Gefühl der Verbundenheit und Zugehörigkeit zu Lothringen wie sein Vater. Er fühlte sich in der konflikträchtigen deutsch-französischen Grenzregion Lothringen verwurzelt, die von den beiden Erzfeinden Deutschland und Frankreich hart umkämpft wurde. Schuman war mit den Schwierigkeiten vertraut, die das Leben in dieser Region mit sich brachte. Er kannte sowohl die deutsche wie die französische Mentalität, die sich in diesem Gebiet durchdrangen, wo ein erheblicher Teil der Geschichte Westeuropas seine Verdichtung fand.

Der katholische Glaube und die Loyalität zu Rom, durch die sich die Bevölkerung dieser Region auszeichnet, wurden auch von Robert Schuman verkörpert, der selbst im katholischen Glauben erzogen und von der starken Religiosität seiner Mutter geprägt worden war. Die Tatsache, dass er während seines Studiums in Deutschland

auf Lebenszeit Mitglied des katholischen Studentenvereins *Unitas* und der *Görres-Gesellschaft* wurde, die dem Katholizismus seinen Platz in der Welt der Wissenschaften geben wollten, sowie die Tatsache, dass Schuman Mitglied katholischer intellektueller Kreise war, belegt seine Überzeugung von der Vereinbarkeit von Glaube und Vernunft.

Ein weiterer Beleg seiner Verbundenheit mit Lothringen ist der Entschluss Schumans, sich nach Beendigung seines Studiums der deutschen Rechtswissenschaften im lothringischen Metz niederzulassen. Schon bald erwarb er sich ein hohes Ansehen als Anwalt, der täglich zur Messe ging, die Lehre der Kirche befolgte und ein Experte für Thomismus wurde. Er nahm seine Berufung zum Vorsitzenden der katholischen Jugendverbände durch den Bischof von Metz an und war lebenslang auch in anderen katholischen Organisationen und Zusammenkünften tätig.

Im Ersten Weltkrieg wurde Schuman nicht zur Armee eingezogen. Nach dem Krieg wurde Lothringen wieder Teil Frankreichs, eine Tatsache, die er begrüßte, die jedoch auch zur Folge hatte, dass er, der Doktor der deutschen Rechtswissenschaften war, sich mit dem französischen Recht vertraut machen musste.

Die Bevölkerung Lothringens wählte Schuman ab 1919 wiederholt zum Vertreter ihrer Region in der französischen Nationalversammlung, mit Ausnahme der Zeit, in der er Premierminister bzw. Minister war. Die 'Lex Schuman', ein von Schuman eingeführtes Gesetz zum Ausgleich der Interessen der Zentralverwaltung und der Region Elsass-Lothringens unmittelbar nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg spiegelte bereits seine versöhnliche Haltung wider und zeigt beispielhaft, wie er auf einzigartige Weise heikle Fragen einer politischen Lösung zuführte. Es ist Ausdruck seines Wunsches und seiner Fähigkeit, Interessen auszugleichen und Menschen und sogar Länder miteinander zu versöhnen, die

ursprünglich einer Aussöhnung feindselig oder ablehnend gegenüber standen. Diese Haltung entsprach zudem idealtypisch der Philosophie Thomas von Aquins einer politischen Synergie und kann sogar als Ausdruck dieser Philosophie bezeichnet werden.

Das geistige Klima, das Schuman umgab, und das, ebenso wie Schuman, dem Christentum eine entscheidende Rolle beim Wiederaufbau Europas zuwies, war vom Gedanken der Aussöhnung und der Einigung Europas erfüllt. Julien Benda, Christopher Dawson, Karl Jaspers, Romano Guardini, Papst Pius XII., T.S. Eliot und Jacques Maritain betonten allesamt ausdrücklich die Bedeutung der Rolle des Christentums beim Wiederaufbau Europas. Sie alle verwarfen die Ideologie des Nationalsozialismus und unterstrichen – mit Ausnahme von Julien Benda, genau wie de Rougemont und Brugmans die entscheidende Rolle des Individuums und seine Transzendenz in allen wirtschaftlichen, politischen und sozialen Aspekten der Gesellschaft in der Gegenwart wie auch in der Zukunft. Sowohl de Rougemont als auch Brugmans plädierten für einen föderalistischen Ansatz, und zwar in allen Bereichen und möglichst bald. Brugmans sprach ebenso wie Schuman auch von der Notwendigkeit einer Einigung zwischen dem Westen und dem Osten Europas. Und er formulierte die Notwendigkeit einer Zusammenarbeit zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich auf den Gebieten Kohle und Stahl.

Alle diese Denker äußerten sich direkt oder indirekt zur Notwendigkeit einer sittlichen Ordnung, die die politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Ordnung zu durchdringen habe. Diese sittliche Ordnung beruhe auf dem Christentum. Dawson, Pius XII. und Maritain, ein Neo-Thomist, vertraten ausdrücklich die Position, dass der Glaube den Verstand erleuchte. Maritain forderte vom Menschen, integer zu sein und seiner Berufung zur Heiligkeit mitten in der Welt

nachzukommen. Er unterstrich die Notwendigkeit religiöser Freiheit und den Vorrang des Individuums vor dem politischen Gemeinwesen. Maritain betonte genau wie Pius XII. die Bedeutung des für alle Menschen geltenden Naturrechts, das er als Quelle der Menschenrechte ansah. Er schlug ein demokratisches politisches Regierungshandeln auf der Basis eines christlichen Fundaments vor, das zu einem, wie er es nannte, Neo-Christentum führen würde. Guardini und Jacques Maritain waren Bekannte von Schuman, mit denen er in Maria Laach zu Erinnerungen und anderen katholischen Versammlungen zusammentraf. Die Föderalisten de Rougemont und Brugmans, aber auch Pius XII, sprechen explizit von der Notwendigkeit einer Supranationalität beim Wiederaufbau Europas. Schuman stellte Überlegungen zu den Gedanken von Papst Pius XII. über Europa an, obwohl der Papst deutlich machte, dass sich die Kirche nicht in aktuelle Zeitfragen einmische und dass seine Gedanken daher nicht als grundlegende Leitlinien anzusehen seien.

Schumans Idee einer europäischen Einigung mag vielleicht nicht unbedingt originell erscheinen, hatten doch schon zuvor zahlreiche Denker und Politiker Theorien entwickelt und praktische Verfahrensvorschläge zur Vereinigung des europäischen Kontinents unterbreitet. Allerdings machten der supranationale Aspekt, die Solidarität der Tatsachen, das schrittweise Integrationsverfahren, sein Fokus auf den Schutz nationaler Identitäten – solange diese nicht gemeinsamen europäischen Interessen entgegenstanden – und die Betonung der Seele Europas, die das europäischen kulturelle Erbe ausmachte, Schumans Plan zu einer einzigartigen Initiative, die sich grundlegend von früheren Gedanken zu einem vereinten Europe und anderen Formen der Zusammenarbeit unterschied.⁴⁴⁹

449 Wie etwa die Benelux-Gemeinschaft, die OEEC und NATO.

Ein Blick auf Schumans politischen Werdegang kurz vor und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg führt zu einem tieferen Verständnis der Entstehung und der Auswirkungen der Schuman-Erklärung. Zunächst wurde Schuman im März 1940 von Reynauld in dessen Regierung berufen. Er bekleidete das Amt des Staatssekretärs für das Flüchtlingswesen, allerdings nur für einige Monate, da die Regierung Reynauld stürzte und Pétain an die Macht kam. Pétain verlegte die Regierung nach Vichy, da die Deutschen Paris besetzt hatten. Er bot Schuman den Posten eines Ministerialdirektors für das Flüchtlingswesen an. Schuman lehnte jedoch ab und schied aus der Regierung Pétain aus. Er wurde als Parlamentsabgeordneter nach Vichy zurückberufen, um den Vorschlag einer umfassenden Ermächtigung der Regierung Pétain zu unterzeichnen und damit den Deutschen zu verdeutlichen, dass in Elsass-Lothringen keine Rückkehr nach Deutschland wünschte. Dies erwies sich jedoch als Täuschung. Als Schuman nach Metz zurückkehrte, um Papiere zu verbrennen, die nicht in deutsche Hände fallen sollten, war er der erste Abgeordnete, der von der Gestapo verhaftet wurde. Nach siebenmonatiger Gefangenschaft und seiner mehrfachen Weigerung, den Posten eines Gauleiters zu übernehmen und damit seine Freiheit zu erlangen, wurde Schuman nach Neustadt in der Pfalz verlegt, wo er unter Hausarrest gestellt wurde. Nach einem Jahr entkam er und fand an Dutzenden von Orten in Frankreich Unterschlupf. Er hielt mehrere Reden, in denen er seine Gewissheit zum Ausdruck brachte, dass die Deutschen den Krieg niemals gewinnen könnten. Seine Meinung basierte auf geheimen Informationen, die ihm in Neustadt zugänglich geworden waren. In jenen Tagen im Jahr 1942 sprach sich Schuman erstmals über die Notwendigkeit einer Aussöhnung und einer europäischen Einigung mittels einer überstaatlichen Struktur aus.

Nach dem Ende des Krieges wählte die Bevölkerung von Lothringen Schuman erneut zu ihrem Vertreter in der französischen Regierung. Die Behörden Lothringens forderten jedoch zunächst von de Gaulle, Schumans vermeintliche Kollaboration mit den Deutschen zu widerlegen (Schuman hatte eine Unterschrift für die Regierung Pétain geleistet), um ihm eine Rückkehr in die Politik zu erlauben. De Gaulle entkräftete die Vorwürfe und Schuman konnte in die Politik zurückkehren. Es wurden unruhige Jahre, in denen Regierungen kamen und gingen und niemals länger als acht Monate Bestand hatten.

Schumans Aussöhnungspolitik wurde sowohl von den Gaullisten als auch von den Kommunisten vehement bekämpft. Neben deren fortwährender Opposition sah sich Schuman als Finanzminister mit einer schweren Wirtschaftskrise und einem massiven Streik der Kommunisten konfrontiert. Es gelang ihm jedoch, die Lage in den Griff zu bekommen und Frankreich wieder auf die Beine zu bringen, was seine Fähigkeiten als Minister unter Beweis stellte und verständlich macht, weshalb er bald danach Premierminister wurde. Er bat Papst Pius XII. um seinen Segen, da er sich vor schwere Aufgaben gestellt sah. Trotz der offiziellen Widerlegung der Beschuldigungen fuhren Kommunisten und Gaullisten fort, Schuman – zu Unrecht – zu beschuldigen, als deutscher Offizier im Ersten Weltkrieg mit den Deutschen kollaboriert und dem Vichy-Regime von Pétain uneingeschränkte Befugnisse erteilt zu haben.

Als Premierminister begrüßte Schuman den 1947 angekündigten Marshallplan der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, der im April 1948 in Kraft trat. Der Plan hatte die Vergabe von Wirtschafts- und Finanzhilfen zum Ziel, um damit die wirtschaftliche und politische Stabilität in Europa zu sichern und Europa nicht in kommunistische Hände fallen zu lassen. Schuman bedauerte zutiefst

Molotows, und damit die sowjetische, Ablehnung des Marshallplans und den darauf folgenden Beginn des Kalten Krieges.

Schuman unterstützte die Durchführung des Haager Europa-Kongresses im Mai 1948 und entsandte Vertreter seiner Regierung, um einen Beitrag zum Ziel einer Einigung Europas zu leisten. Er begrüßte die Ergebnisse, die sich in den Folgejahren einstellten, wie den Europarat und das College of Europe in Brügge. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt war die Schuman-Regierung über die von Schuman vorgeschlagene Aufhebung des Finanzierungsverbots von Konfessionsschulen gestürzt. Danach wurde Schuman zum neuen Außenminister ernannt. Er bekleidete diese Position fünf Jahre lang in sieben verschiedenen Regierungen. Es war eine Zeit, in der die Auswirkungen des Kalten Krieges spürbar waren und die „deutsche Frage“ dringend einer Lösung bedurfte. Im April 1949 unterzeichnete Schuman den Nordatlantikpakt für Frankreich, dem sich die Kommunisten, die eine Zusammenarbeit mit den Vereinigten Staaten ablehnten, vehement widersetzen.

Die Dringlichkeit der deutschen Frage ließ Schuman nach Wegen zur Umsetzung seines Aussöhnungsplanes suchen. Er traf sich mit Adenauer, der einen Monat später Kanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland werden sollte, und besprach mit ihm die Möglichkeiten eines Übereinkommens über die umstrittenen Regionen an der Saar und an der Ruhr, die, ähnlich wie Elsass-Lothringen, wegen ihres Reichtums an Kohle und Stahl, den Rohstoffen für die Waffenindustrie, äußerst begehrt waren. Diese Regionen unterstanden zwar wirtschaftlich und finanziell dem französischen Kommando, waren jedoch politisch unabhängig und galten als deutsche Gebiete. Schuman nahm Kontakt mit dem italienischen Premierminister de Gasperi auf, um das deutsche Problem über eine breitere europäische Einigung unter Einbeziehung Italiens, das ebenfalls ein großes

Interesse an Kohle und Stahl hatte, einer Lösung zuzuführen. Die Gemeinsamkeiten von Schuman, Adenauer und de Gasperi – alle drei stammten aus konfliktträchtigen Grenzregionen, zeichneten sich durch eine tiefe katholische Frömmigkeit aus, hatten als Muttersprache Deutsch und waren Protagonisten demokratischer Parteien, erleichterten den Einigungsprozess erheblich.

Jean Monnet, Leiter des französischen Planungsamtes, der ebenfalls unermüdlich auf der Suche nach einer europäischen Lösung des deutschen Problems war, kam mit einem Vorschlag zu Schuman, allerdings erst, nachdem er Schumans Mitstreiter Paul Reuter und Bernard Clappier angehört hatte, die die entscheidenden Gedanken für dieses Projekt lieferten. Im Grunde handelte es sich dabei jedoch um ein Projekt Schumans, wie sich mehr als dreißig Jahre später nach Sichtung der Schuman-Archive herausstellte. Aus diesem Grund und nach dem Studium von Schumans Leben und seiner Gedanken zur europäischen Einigung als solcher kommt das Verdienst, das oft Monnet als entscheidendem Architekten der Schuman-Erklärung zugesprochen wird, Schuman zu.

Die supranationale Struktur, über die Schuman schon 1942 nachgedacht hatte, wurde schließlich auf den Weg gebracht. Nach einigen Tagen intensiver Arbeit, politischer Diplomatie innerhalb der Regierung und Adenauers Zustimmung wurde am 9. Mai 1950 in Paris die Schuman-Erklärung abgegeben. Dies war die Geburtsstunde der späteren Europäischen Union. Damit war die „deutsche Frage“ auf europäischer Ebene gelöst worden.

Der Schuman-Plan war ein ‘saut dans l’inconnu’, ein Sprung ins Ungewisse, und ein revolutionärer Schritt in der europäischen Geschichte. Wegen seiner beträchtlichen weltweiten Auswirkungen wurde der Plan auch die *Schuman bombe* genannt. Effektive Solidarität, Solidarität durch konkrete Taten, war sein *Adagium*, das

europäische kulturelle Erbe war seine Seele oder sein *raison d'être*. Die funktionalistische, schrittweise Integration unter Achtung nationaler Identitäten und Interessen, solange sie nicht zum Nachteil gemeinsamer europäischer Interessen gereichten, war seine Methode, und Einheit in der Vielfalt sein Ergebnis. Durch eine effektive Solidarität auf Wirtschaftsgebiet unter demokratischen Ländern, die ein gemeinsames europäisches, das heißt griechisch-römisches und jüdisch-christliches, Erbe teilten, sollte eine von christlichen Werten geprägte politische Union geschaffen werden. Europäische Staatsbürgerschaft und nationale Staatsbürgerschaft würden sich durchdringen, so wie sich eine Region und der Staat, dem sie angehört, durchdringen und sich die Region dort wo erforderlich an diesen Staat anpasst. Sechs Länder unterstützten den Plan, der zur Gründung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft für Kohle und Stahl am 18. April 1951 führte. Diese Länder waren Frankreich, Deutschland, Italien, die Niederlande, Belgien und Luxemburg. Europa würde nicht länger nur mehr eine Ansammlung unabhängiger Staaten sein, sondern sich zu einem immer stärker integrierten Ganzen entwickeln und sich durch Einheit in der Vielfalt auszeichnen. Bei dem Schuman-Plan handelte es sich um einen revolutionären Plan, der zum Eckpfeiler des künftigen Europas wurde.

Schumans Biographie sowie der geographische, kulturelle, spirituelle, intellektuelle und politische Kontext verdeutlichen, welche Vorbereitungsarbeiten Schuman für die europäische Einigung geleistet hat, und belegen seinen entscheidenden Beitrag zu der nach ihm benannten Erklärung. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass Schuman eine herausragende Position unter denen einnahm, die auf eine europäische Einigung hinarbeiteten, und dass er als der entscheidende Architekt der Schuman-Erklärung anzusehen ist. Sein Referenzrahmen für eine europäische Einigung besteht aus Überstaatlichkeit (unter Achtung

nationaler Identitäten und Interessen, solange diese nicht gegen gemeinsame europäische Interessen verstoßen), effektiver Solidarität und einem schrittweisen Integrationsverfahren. Alle drei müssen Schuman zufolge im Einklang mit einer sittlichen Ordnung auf der Grundlage des Christentums stehen. Sein Referenzrahmen zeigt, dass die europäische Einigung auf einer Weltanschauung beruht. Dieser Referenzrahmen enthält eine zeitübergreifende Vision der europäischen Zusammenarbeit im Interesse des Bürgers. Vielen, deren Arbeit im Dienste Europas steht, könnte er eine Inspiration bieten.

Samenvatting

Het proefschrift van Margriet Krijtenburg, getiteld '*Schumans Europa. Zijn referentiekader*', gaat over Robert Schuman, de grondlegger van de Europese Unie, en zijn gedachten over de Europese eenwording. Het laat zien dat Schuman als de daadwerkelijke architect van de Schuman Verklaring beschouwd moet worden en niet Jean Monnet, zoals tot nu toe algemeen wordt aangenomen. Schumans leven en gedachten worden uiteengezet om een dieper inzicht te krijgen in het waarom van de Europese eenwording. Het proefschrift gaat in op zijn achtergrond en persoonlijkheid en op de intellectuele en politieke omstandigheden van zijn tijd, voorzover deze aspecten van belang zijn voor de totstandkoming van de Schuman Verklaring. Ze dragen ertoe bij om Schumans referentiekader voor de Europese eenwording helder in beeld te krijgen.

Hoewel in Luxemburg geboren, was hij net als zijn Lotharingse vader gehecht aan Lotharingen, het eeuwenlang betwiste Frans-Duitse grensgebied met Frans-Duitse mentaliteit.

Het katholieke geloof en de trouw aan Rome waren kenmerkend voor de bevolking uit die streek en weerspiegelden zich ook duidelijk in Robert Schuman, die katholiek was opgevoed en het sterke geloof van zijn moeder had meegekregen. Hij verkeerde veelal in katholieke intellectuele kringen. Zo was hij zijn hele leven lid van de katholieke thomistische studentenvereniging *Unitas* en van het *Görres-Gesellschaft*, dat streefde naar een katholieke wetenschapsbeoefening.

Dat Lotharingen veel voor hem betekende, blijkt ook uit het feit dat hij zich als advocaat in Metz vestigde nadat hij zijn rechtenstudie in Duitsland had afgerond. Hij werd al snel een zeer

gewaardeerd advocaat. Hij ging dagelijks naar de mis, was trouw aan de leer van de Kerk en was uitstekend thuis in het thomisme. Hij aanvaardde zijn benoeming tot hoofd van de katholieke jeugdorganisaties door de bisschop van Metz en nam tot aan zijn dood ook deel aan bijeenkomsten van andere katholieke organisaties.

Schuman werd tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog niet opgeroepen voor het leger. Hij juichte het van harte toe dat Elzas-Lotharingen na deze oorlog weer terugging naar Frankrijk, al betekende dit wel voor hem dat hij zich het Franse burgerlijk recht eigen moest maken, aangezien hij in het Duitse recht zijn doctoraat had behaald.

Vanaf 1919 werd Schuman bij elke verkiezing opnieuw door de bevolking van Lotharingen als de afgevaardigde van hun streek in het Franse parlement gekozen. Vlak daarvoor had hij in opdracht van de Franse regering de 'Lex Schuman' tot stand gebracht, die ten doel had de wetgeving van Elzas-Lotharingen en de centrale nationale wetgeving op elkaar af te stemmen. Deze 'Lex Schuman', die beide partijen tot tevredenheid stemde, gaf al blijk van zijn competenties om tegenstellingen te overbruggen en politiek gevoelige zaken op te lossen. Het liet zien dat hij in staat was om tegenstrijdige belangen te verenigen en dat hij erin slaagde om mensen en zelfs landen die elkaar aanvankelijk vijandig gezind waren, met elkaar te verzoenen. Deze manier van handelen was helemaal in lijn met het thomistisch denken over politieke synergie.

Schuman bewoog zich in een intellectueel klimaat waarin christendom, verzoening en Europese eenwording centraal stonden. Julien Benda, Christopher Dawson, Karl Jaspers, Romano Guardini, Paus Pius XII, T.S. Eliot en Jacques Maritain legden allen de nadruk op de fundamentele rol van het christendom en verwierpen allen het nazisme. Al deze denkers, behalve Julien Benda, De Rougemont en

Brugmans, stelden de mens en zijn transcendentie centraal in alle economische, politieke en maatschappelijke aangelegenheden. Daarnaast stonden met name De Rougemont en Brugmans een federale aanpak voor op alle gebieden, een project dat in hun ogen zo snel mogelijk moest worden aangevat en waarin de burger een centrale rol zou moeten vervullen. Brugmans sprak, net als Schuman, over de noodzaak om West- en Oost- Europa spoedig te herenigen. En verder benadrukte hij het belang voor Frankrijk en Duitsland om tot een samenwerking te komen op het gebied van kolen en staal.

Al deze denkers gaven direct of indirect te kennen dat de morele orde, gestoeld op het christendom, noodzakelijk was als basis voor de politieke, economische en sociale orde. Dawson, Pius XII en Maritain, een neothomist, beklemtoonden daarbij ook dat het geloof en verstand met elkaar verenigbaar waren en, voegde laatstgenoemde eraan toe, dat het geloof het verstand verlichtte. Maritain riep de mens op tot eenheid van leven en tot het gehoor geven aan ieders roeping tot heiligheid midden in de wereld. Hij benadrukte het belang van godsdienstvrijheid en van het feit dat het bij een politieke gemeenschap allereerst om de mens ging. Maritain legde, net als Pius XII, de nadruk op het belang van de natuurwet die alle mensen eigen was en die hij als de bron van de mensenrechten zag. Hij stelde een democratische, politieke manier van regeren voor die gebaseerd was op het christendom en die zou leiden tot wat hij neochristendom noemde. Guardini en Jacques Maritain waren vrienden van Schuman, met wie hij tijd doorbracht in Maria Laach, waar ze katholieke bezinningen en andere katholieke bijeenkomsten hadden. De hierboven genoemde federalisten, De Rougemont en Brugmans, maar ook Pius XII benadrukten expliciet het supranationale aspect bij de wederopbouw van Europa. Schuman overdacht de woorden van Pius XII over Europa, ook al had de paus duidelijk gemaakt dat de Kerk

zich niet bemoeide met tijdelijke aangelegenheden en dat zijn gedachten daarom niet als noodzakelijke richtlijnen beschouwd moesten worden.

Schumans gedachten over Europese eenwording kunnen als weinig oorspronkelijk gezien worden wanneer men de vele denkers en politici in aanmerking neemt die in het verleden theorieën en praktische methodes hebben ontwikkeld om tot eenwording van het Europese continent te komen. Wat het Schuman Plan echter uniek maakt en fundamenteel verschillend van voorafgaande ideeën over Europese eenwording en andere vormen van samenwerking⁴⁵⁰ zijn: het supranationale aspect, de effectieve solidariteit, de stap-voor-stap methode voor integratie, de nadruk op bescherming van de nationale identiteiten zolang deze de gemeenschappelijke Europese interesses niet in de weg staan en de nadruk op de ziel van Europa die bij het Europees cultureel erfgoed ligt.

Een blik op Schumans politieke carrière van vlak voor en vlak na de Tweede Wereldoorlog helpt om de bedoeling, het tot stand komen en de impact van de Schuman Verklaring beter te begrijpen. In maart 1940 werd Schuman door Paul Reynauld voor het eerst in het kabinet benoemd als staatssecretaris voor Vluchtelingenzaken. Dit duurde slechts enkele maanden aangezien Reynaulds regering viel en Pétain meteen daarop het stokje overnam. Pétain verplaatste de regering naar Vichy, omdat de Duitsers Parijs hadden ingenomen. Hij bood Schuman de post aan van directeur van het Secretariaat voor Vluchtelingenzaken, maar Schuman sloeg het aanbod af en nam ontslag uit Pétains regering. Als parlamentslid werd hij echter teruggeroepen naar Vichy om daar het voorstel te ondertekenen dat de volmacht aan Pétains regering zou geven. Dit zou nodig zijn om te voorkomen dat de Duitsers zouden denken dat Elzas-Lotharingen

450 Zoals de Benelux, OESO en de NAVO.

weer bij Duitsland wilde horen. Het bleek echter een list te zijn om voor Pétains regering een volledige volmacht te krijgen. En zo kon het gebeuren dat Schuman bij zijn terugkeer naar Metz het eerste parlamentslid was dat door de Gestapo gevangen genomen werd. Na zeven maanden gevangenisstraf en na verscheidene malen geweigerd te hebben om *Gauleiter* te worden en daarmee zijn vrijheid terug te krijgen, werd Schuman voor huisarrest naar Neustadt–Pfaltz gestuurd. Een jaar later wist hij te ontsnappen en slaagde hij erin op verschillende plaatsen in Frankrijk onder te duiken. Hij gaf presentaties waarin hij duidelijk maakte dat hij ervan overtuigd was dat de Duitsers de oorlog nooit konden winnen. Hij baseerde zijn mening op geheime informatie waar hij in Neustadt achter was gekomen. Het was ook in die tijd, in 1942, dat Schuman al begon te spreken over de noodzaak van verzoening en Europese eenwording met een supranationale structuur.

Toen de oorlog voorbij was, werd Schuman opnieuw als afgevaardigde van Lotharingen gekozen in het Franse parlement. De autoriteiten van Lotharingen wilden echter dat De Gaulle Schuman eerst zou vrijspreken van mogelijk collaboreren met de Duitsers, omdat Schuman nu eenmaal voor Pétains regering getekend had. De Gaulle trok de beschuldiging tegen Schuman in en hierdoor kon Schuman opnieuw politieke functies bekleden. Dit zouden onrustige jaren worden waarin de ene regering de andere opvolgde en geen regeringsperiode langer dan acht maanden duurde.

Schumans verzoeningspolitiek werd flink tegengewerkt door zowel de gaullisten als de communisten. Daarnaast had Schuman als Minister van Financiën ook te maken met een tijd van ernstige crisis en felle stakingen van de kant van de communisten. Hij slaagde er echter in om de situatie het hoofd te bieden en om Frankrijk weer overeind te helpen. Door zijn bekwaamheid als minister was het niet

verwonderlijk dat hij bij het vallen van zijn regering meteen daarna tot premier van de volgende regering benoemd werd. Hij vroeg paus Pius XII om zijn zegen te geven voor de zware taak die hem te wachten stond. Ondanks dat de beschuldiging van vermeende collaboratie met de Duitsers officieel was herroepen, bleven de communisten en gaullisten Schuman daar toch telkens opnieuw van beschuldigen, ook tijdens de komende regeringsperiodes.

Als premier verwelkomde Schuman het door de Verenigde Staten aangeboden Marshall Plan. Het was in 1947 aangekondigd en werd in april 1948 van kracht. Het Plan beoogde economische en financiële steun te geven om verzekerd te zijn van een stabiele Europese economie en politieke orde. Het moest ook voorkomen dat Europa in communistische handen zou vallen. Schuman betreurde het zeer dat Molotov, en daarmee de Sovjetunie, het Marshall Plan verwierp en daarmee het begin van de Koude Oorlog inluidde.

Schuman steunde het initiatief voor het Congres van Den Haag in mei 1948 van harte. Hij zond vertegenwoordigers van zijn regering om bij te dragen aan het doel om tot Europese eenwording te komen. Hij prees de resultaten die in de daaropvolgende jaren tot stand kwamen, zoals de Raad van Europa en het Europa College te Brugge. Schumans regering viel over zijn voorstel tot opheffing van het verbod op het financieren van bijzondere scholen. Meteen daarna werd Schuman echter tot Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken benoemd, een ambt dat hij vijf jaar lang in zeven verschillende regeringen zou bekleden. Het was een tijd waarin de gevolgen van de Koude Oorlog merkbaar waren en het 'Duitse vraagstuk' snel opgelost diende te worden. Schuman ondertekende in deze jaren ook de Noord Atlantische Verdragsorganisatie voor Frankrijk (april 1949), ondanks de felle tegenstand van de gaullisten en communisten die tegen samenwerking met de Amerikanen waren.

De urgentie van het ‘Duitse vraagstuk’ bracht Schuman ertoe om naar manieren te zoeken om zijn verzoeningspolitiek in praktijk te brengen. Hij organiseerde een ontmoeting met Adenauer. Deze zou een maand later de Duitse Bondskanselier worden. Schuman besprak met hem de mogelijkheden om tot overeenstemming te komen over het onrustige Saar- en Ruhrgebied, dat net als Elzas-Lotharingen fel begeerd werd vanwege de kolen en staal, de essentiële grondstoffen voor de wapenindustrie. Economisch en financieel vielen deze streken onder Frans gezag, maar politiek gezien waren ze onafhankelijk en erkend als Duitse regio’s. Schuman zocht ook contact met de Italiaanse premier, De Gasperi, om het ‘Duitse vraagstuk’ langs de weg van een bredere Europese eenwording op te lossen. Dit zou mogelijk worden als Italië mee zou doen. Op het persoonlijke vlak waren er grote overeenkomsten tussen Schuman, Adenauer en De Gasperi, die het eenwordingsproces aanzienlijk vergemakkelijkten. Alle drie kwamen uit betwiste grensstreken, hadden een sterk katholiek geloof en spraken Duits als moedertaal. Daarnaast waren zij alle drie hoofdrolspelers in de democratische partij van hun eigen land.

Jean Monnet, directeur van het Franse Planbureau, zocht eveneens naarstig naar een Europese oplossing voor het ‘Duitse vraagstuk’ en legde Schuman een plan voor om dit te bereiken. Hij deed dit echter na eerst Schumans directe medewerkers, Paul Reuter en Bernard Clappier, gehoord te hebben. Dezen reikten hem de basisideeën aan die hij voor dit project kon gebruiken, maar die feitelijk Schumans ideeën waren, zoals dertig jaar later uit onderzoek van Schumans archieven aan het licht kwam. Monnet, die vaak als belangrijkste architect van de Schuman Verklaring gezien wordt, zou alleen al om deze reden zijn plaats als voornaamste ontwerper af moeten staan aan Schuman. De kennis van Schumans persoon,

achtergrond en gedachten over Europese eenwording dragen bij aan deze theorie.

De supranationale structuur waar Schuman in 1942 al over sprak, was eindelijk werkelijkheid geworden. Na een aantal dagen intensief werken, politieke diplomatie binnen de regering en Adenauers toestemming, werd de Schuman Verklaring op 9 mei 1950 afgekondigd. Het was de geboorte van wat later de Europese Unie zou worden. Het ‘Duitse vraagstuk’ was daarmee op een Europese manier opgelost.

Het Schuman Plan was een ‘*saut dans l’inconnu*’, ‘een sprong in het duister’ en een revolutionaire gebeurtenis in de Europese geschiedenis. Het werd ook wel de ‘Schuman bom’ genoemd, omdat het wereldwijd een aanzienlijke impact had. Effectieve solidariteit, een solidariteit geuit in concrete daden was het *adagium*, het Europees cultureel erfgoed was zijn ziel of *raison d’être*. De functionalistische stap-voor-stap methode voor integratie betekende dat de nationale identiteiten en belangen gerespecteerd zouden worden zolang deze niet ingingen tegen de gemeenschappelijke Europese belangen. Eenheid in diversiteit zou het resultaat zijn. Effectieve solidariteit op economisch gebied tussen democratische landen met een gemeenschappelijk, Griek-Romeins en Joods-Christelijk, erfgoed, zou tot een politieke unie leiden die rekening hield met de christelijke moraal. Europees burgerschap en nationaal burgerschap zouden zich waar nodig aan elkaar aanpassen en in elkaar opgaan zoals de regio zich waar nodig aanpast aan en opgaat in de staat waar deze toe behoort. Zes landen stemden in met het Plan dat op 18 april 1951 leidde tot de Europese Gemeenschap voor Kolen en Staal. Deze landen waren Frankrijk, Duitsland, Italië, België, Nederland en Luxemburg. Europa zou niet langer een opeenstapeling van onafhankelijke staten zijn, maar een steeds meer geïntegreerde entiteit,

die gekenmerkt werd door eenheid in diversiteit. Het Schuman Plan was een revolutionair plan dat de hoeksteen werd van het toekomstige Europa.

Schumans levensloop, in samenhang met zijn geografische, culturele, intellectuele en politieke achtergrond, laat zijn voorbereidend werk voor de Europese eenwording en zijn doorslaggevende invloed op de Schuman Verklaring zien. Schuman werd daarmee de uitgelezen persoon om naar Europese eenwording toe te werken en de Schuman Verklaring tot stand te brengen. Zijn referentiekader voor Europese eenwording bestaat uit supranationaliteit (met respect voor nationale identiteiten en belangen, zolang deze niet strijdig zijn met gemeenschappelijke Europese belangen), effectieve solidariteit en een stap-voor-stap methode voor integratie. Alle drie dienen ze volgens Schuman te beantwoorden aan een morele orde die gebaseerd is op het christendom. Zijn referentiekader laat zien dat de Europese eenwording gebaseerd is op een levensbeschouwing. Dit referentiekader bevat een tijdloze visie op Europese samenwerking in het belang van de burger. Het zou velen bij het werken aan Europa kunnen inspireren.

Biography

Margriet Krijtenburg was born in Harlingen on 14 July 1959. She studied Spanish philology at the University of Utrecht and wrote her doctoral thesis in Salamanca about the Spanish philosopher and writer Unamuno. To understand his thoughts she began to study his faith, Catholicism, and became Roman Catholic. In 1983 Margriet obtained her Master Degree in Spanish Philology. She started teaching and simultaneously studied English and European Studies at the University of Amsterdam. She obtained two Master degrees in 1987 and 1988. Her doctoral thesis for European Studies was entitled “European Union, a new Utopia?” and was supervised by Professor Max Weisglas. Her doctoral thesis for English was on Shakespeare’s *Richard III*. In 1992 she left for Rome where she studied philosophy and theology for two and a half years. At the beginning of 1995 she went to India where she stayed for eight years and worked among others as Director of the University Exchange Programme India-Europe. Back in The Netherlands she taught European Integration and Spanish at Windesheim University (Zwolle), Fontys University (Venlo) and since 2004 at the Academy of European Studies & Communication Management of The Hague University. In September 2008 Margriet began to work on her dissertation at Leiden University – Campus The Hague, Centre for Regional Knowledge Development, as the first PhD-candidate of the dual dissertation programme. The subject of her dissertation is Schuman’s Europe and his frame of reference for European unification. Margriet has given several presentations on her research, including one at Schuman’s own home, the *Maison de Robert Schuman*, in Scy-Chazelles (Metz). Her supervisor is Professor dr. Paul Cliteur, Professor of Jurisprudence, Leiden Law School, Leiden University. Margriet is married and has had foster children for several years.