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The European Confederation

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THE EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION

A lecture delivered
at the Naval War College
on 18 June 1962, by

Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan, U. S. A. (Ret.)

I came in here with a copy of this morning's *New York Times*. It contained an article calling attention to the fact that today, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate there is under consideration the arrangement entered into in the nature of a peace treaty between West Germany and the Allied Powers.

Also in the press this morning one finds that the Laborite Party in England is asking that the approval be delayed and suggesting that a place be found later in the United Nations for Communist China. In addition one finds that the news coming from France and West Germany indicates a determination on the part of the Soviets to prevent ratification of this treaty. Of course, if there is delay, there can be prevention. The great problem is to see how we can overcome this danger which threatens the effort for European Union.

We know that the idea of European unity is not new — it is as old as Europe itself. For many centuries, at least for six hundred years, the idea of European unity has challenged the thinking of the best minds in all the world.

In the early twenties of the present century, the interest of thoughtful people was stimulated by the writings of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, founder of the Pan-Europa Movement, and by the book, "The United States of Europe" which was written by Edouard Herriot, Prime Minister of France.

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In 1930, upon the initiative of Aristide Briand, then Prime Minister of France, the governments of Europe for the first time, as a group, considered the project of European union. This plan failed, not because it was too timid, but because it was too bold.

After that for many years the European union idea slept. It was reawakened by the same man who, during the years of Hitler's triumphs and Europe's martyrdom, had by his words and deeds personified for all the people of Europe the spirit of unity and freedom.

On March 22, 1943, Churchill outlined his conception of a United Europe which should be created after victory had been won. It is interesting to go back and consider what he said at that time. These are his words:

“One can imagine . . . there should come into being a Council of Europe . . . This council, when created, must eventually embrace the whole of Europe, and all the main branches of the European family must some day be partners in it.”

Very little notice was given to this statement and it was not until after the war in 1946, when he again raised the issue of the European union in his now famous speech at Zurich, that he obtained real attention. This speech began with a description of the greatness and also the tragedy of Europe. Then he went on to say:

“This noble continent is the home of all the great parent races of the Western World. It is the cradle of Western civilization . . . Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels which we have

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seen twice in our lifetime wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted, could as if by a miracle transform the whole scene. What is this sovereign remedy? It is to recreate the European family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell with safety and freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. Only then will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living."

Now this Zurich speech of Churchill brought back to mind the words of George Washington who in a letter to Lafayette in 1787, after the adoption of our Constitution, wrote:

"We have sowed seeds of liberty and of union that will spring up everywhere upon earth. Some day, taking its pattern from the United States, there will be founded a United States of Europe."

These were prophetic words, for the proposal of a United Europe today is a live and practical issue in world affairs.

In 1947, inspired by Churchill's Zurich speech, groups of private citizens in the different countries and men of the Resistance, working together, organized the European Movement. This was a group of ordinary citizens. Under the leadership of Churchill, Spaak, DeGasperi and Blum, who were selected as presidents of that movement, this group began only as a temporary committee to organize the meeting at the Hague. Afterwards it became a permanent organization, which continues today for the purpose

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of coordinating the efforts of various groups in the different countries of Europe.

The first act of this spontaneous and democratic effort was to convene a Congress of Europe at The Hague in May, 1948. This Congress brought together more than 800 leading figures in European political, economic and cultural life.

In August of 1948, as the direct result of citizen action, the governments concerned created by treaty a Council of Europe which met for the first time on August 8, 1949, at its capital in Strasbourg, France. This Council of Europe is a unique political institution that consists of a Committee of Foreign Ministers and a Consultative Assembly made up of 127 parliamentarians from the 15 member nations.

In cooperation with the European Movement, the work of the Assembly has lead to the creation of the Schuman Plan and the European Army Plan, now called the European Defense Community. It has also brought about a Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms which provides a supranational court to which an individual citizen can appeal to redress the violation of a human right as defined by the treaty. In these, and in other less spectacular work, the Council of Europe has made a real contribution to Europe's solution of its economic, social and political problems.

It would be wrong, as well as dangerous, to underestimate the difficulties of achieving the integration of Europe. We Americans ought to try to understand these difficulties because they have a great effect upon our security and upon our future. It is easier to emancipate fully evolved countries and transform them into independent states, either through the legal recognition of

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their development or by an act of revolution, than to induce sovereign states, which have for centuries enjoyed complete independence, to abandon of their own free will even a fraction of their independence to a supranational authority — be it Federal, or otherwise.

To propose a plan is to take a much greater risk than to simply put forward an idea. The economic and financial difficulties which are universally being experienced; the political disorder which is reflected in these countries by unstable governments and precarious majorities; the remaining traces of nationalism and traditionalism; and, finally, the international insecurity fanned by propaganda and skilfully provoked incidents — all this creates an atmosphere which is hardly helpful to constructive and arduous reform.

The possibility of European unity is greatly dependent upon the ratification of both the Schuman Plan and the European Army Plan by the parliaments of France and of Germany.

In World War II, Germany was defeated in Europe, but there is still a struggle to see who will take over Europe. Hitler failed. Is Stalin going to succeed? Can the Europeans themselves hold Europe?

In this struggle, Germany is the central issue. This is so because the side which she chooses will be decisive. German industrial and military power represents a tremendous force for good or for evil. If German energies can be harmonized with the purposes of the Western World, the problem of ensuring peace and a high standard of living should be capable of solution.

The Schuman Plan, both political and economic in conception, seems the only practicable means for releasing the tremen-

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dous industrial energies of the German people for the benefit of not only Germany but of the entire Western world. France has suffered too long and too often from German aggression ever to consent to the unsupervised revival of German industry and its inherent war potential. On the other side, Germany would not suffer a long-term restriction of production without a resultant deep grievance against the West.

The Schuman Plan breaks this impasse by placing all Western European coal and steel enterprises under the regulation of a common supranational body that assures France that German industry will not become the servant of German aggressive ambition. At the same time, it offers to German enterprise an equality of treatment with their competitors in other Western European countries. The parliaments of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland have ratified and can become an effective instrument in bringing about a constitutional federation.

The Plan of the European Army, however, has encountered more difficulties than did the Schuman Plan. The long negotiations for the European Army Plan, begun in Paris in 1951, were concluded only on the 8th of last month with the signature of the European Defense Community Treaty by the Foreign Ministers of France, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. These negotiations passed through many dangers and there are many more dangers to be encountered. Before it can come into effect, the Treaty must be ratified by the parliaments of all the signatories. That is the problem that is before us today.

The aim of this treaty is to bring together under joint supranational organizations the armed forces of participating States, to ensure European defense and preserve peace against present and future threats. The same 6 nations constituting the Schuman Plan

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also are sole members of the E.D.C. The creation of a Defense Community is considered an essential step towards the formation of a United Europe.

The essential political purpose of the treaty is to allow Germany to contribute to the Western defense effort without permitting the creation of the independent military power of the German Republic. This aim has been reached in the treaty by the fusion of the Army Forces of Germany with those of its continental neighbors. There will be no national army under its own general staff and its own War Ministry obeying the sole orders of its own government. On the contrary, there will be mixed contingents under a Combined General Staff and a Combined War Ministry dependent on combined arms, equipment and supply programs, fed by a common budget, and controlled by joint decisions on the highest level. The European nations hoped that Britain would be a party to this plan, but that has not worked out — although the European Army was proposed by Churchill.

Dr. Adenauer, the German Chancellor, has agreed to consider West Germany as a strategic area where it would be imprudent to manufacture certain types of weapons. Germany will not, therefore, be engaged in the manufacture of large aircraft, long range rockets or atomic bombs.

One of the best features of the defense treaty is the protocol which links the European Defense Community with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, because that link is very important. The two associations are bound to go to each other's aid in case of attack against any one of their members. Their councils may meet for consultation. Divisions of one nation may be placed under the Army Corps of another. Out of a total of 48 groups, 14 would be French, 12 German, and the rest divided between Italy, Luxem-

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bourg and Holland, as well as Belgium. This 6-nation army will come under the overall command of the 14-nation NATO, headed by General Ridgeway.

The European Defense Community Treaty, having already been initialled on May 28 by the 6 foreign Ministers, was then signed by them on May 30. It must now be ratified by the respective parliaments, including that of Germany.

We can be sure that every effort will be made internally by the Social Democrats, and externally by the Soviets, to block this ratification. Already our morning papers, in the news from Germany, disclose an exacting and feared political battle. Strong opposition comes from Social Communists and extreme right members of the parliament. This opposition is intensified by pressure on West Berlin by the East Germans and by the Soviets in offering new proposals of German unity calculated to tempt and divide the Germans from ratification. You see the effect of that if you just look at the headlines in *The Times* today where our Secretary of State, in order to reassure all concerned of the Big Three that nothing untoward was happening, had to meet yesterday again to say that they would remain in agreement.

Stalin seems ready to risk the dangers of a revived National Germany in order to prevent integration of Western Germany with the West. The European Defense Community is a method of integrating a German contribution without raising the danger of a German army.

The problem of keeping a United Germany in the Western camp and out of the Soviet camp is the most urgent problem facing the whole of the West. It can be done with the possibility of success only if Germany is united within the framework of a European Federation. Just as the Schuman Plan has a High Authority, and

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an Assembly to reflect the supranational character of the organization, so a Board of Commissioners and an Assembly fulfill the same purpose in the European Defense Community. Once these two plans are ratified, European union will be strengthened in its economic and military aspects.

There remains, however, the establishment of its political character. This has been the primary source of disagreement since the Council of Europe was established. Even at the first session of the Assembly in 1949 it was clear that there were strong differences of opinion between the Continental countries who wanted a Federation with a formal written constitution and the British and Scandinavians who wanted no constitution written but sought a functional approach, gradual and piecemeal, with the acceptance of a political authority at some undefined time. The refusal of the British to support the Schuman Plan; Churchill's motion for the establishment of the European Army, but the British government's refusal to join; their repeated statements that they could not federate because of their obligations to the Commonwealth — all this should have made clear to the Federalists of Europe that the British would not yield.

The Continental countries persisted in offering compromises, however, because they didn't want to lose the British alliance. The French wanted the British for protection against Germany, and the Germans wanted the British to protect them against France. It was the belief of the nations of the continent that in any matter of conflict between the British and the European Continental nations, the United States ultimately would come down on the side of the British. That was the feeling throughout Europe. Every one of our ambassadors in the various countries would tell you that was the feeling.

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For that reason Spaak, who certainly is one of the leading statesmen of Europe and who at that time was Chairman of the European Movement as well as Chairman of the Consultative Assembly, said he hesitated to go into a federation without Britain. But he said that if the United States would approve the federation without Britain, he would enter into such an arrangement. Finally, however, the Continental countries, forced to realize that Britain would not integrate with Europe because she was not willing to yield any part of her sovereignty, took the initiative and undertook to set up a Federation of Europe.

Spaak had concluded that there was no possibility of a compromise and that he had to choose between two political courses — either to yield to Great Britain, or to help build European union without her. He chose the second course. He resigned as President of the Consultative Assembly in order to make his fight for federation from the floor “only the better,” as he said, “to carry on the battle and to do something concrete to prove the usefulness of American aid.”

Basic to the success of these two great projects is the creation of a Continental-European Federation with a political authority. On January 22 of this year, in Paris, General Eisenhower urged that the countries of Continental Europe “call a constitutional convention to examine and actually cope with the problems of economic and political unity.”

On March 5 of this year Adenauer, Chancellor of the West German Republic, declared that Europe's only salvation was the forming of the United States of Europe and that a European constitution must be created as soon as possible. These statements indicate the rapidity in the last year with which Continental Europe is moving towards a political federation.

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Last week at Strasbourg, at the Council of Europe, Spaak introduced a resolution for a constituent assembly of representatives from the Schuman Plan nations to draft the constitution. As a matter of fact, since February a commission of jurists — 12 of the foremost legal and political figures from the 6 Schuman Plan nations — have been studying the problems involved in setting up a federation with limited powers where member states will continue to exercise many important functions and be responsible for the vital interests of their citizens.

A group in this country known as the American Committee on United Europe, has been able to raise funds to get research workers here in the United States to help those jurists with concrete, practical illustrations found in the experiences of federation.

In Europe today, public opinion is being mobilized. A popular referendum, based on petitions, has already been signed by 700 European parliamentarians. This referendum is strongly supported by the European Movement Youth Campaign and by the 12,000 mayors comprising the Council of European Municipalities.

Gentlemen, a very significant thing is that four days ago the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe held that it was essential that the establishment of the European Defense Community should be supported by the enactment of the constitution of a supranational authority. What will happen during the next 10 months will determine, therefore, whether Europe will become a strong partner in the Free World. You will notice that already, in coming back to the Council of Europe and in seeking to establish links between the Council of Europe and these countries, it shows what many of us always thought — that if these Continental nations would only go ahead and do the things they felt were nec-

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essary to do, that Great Britain would find it necessary to work with the Continental nations — if not directly, in a federation. At least working with that federation within the Council of Europe. It is probable that the Schuman Plan organization will be used as the instrument for the making of such a constitution.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LECTURER

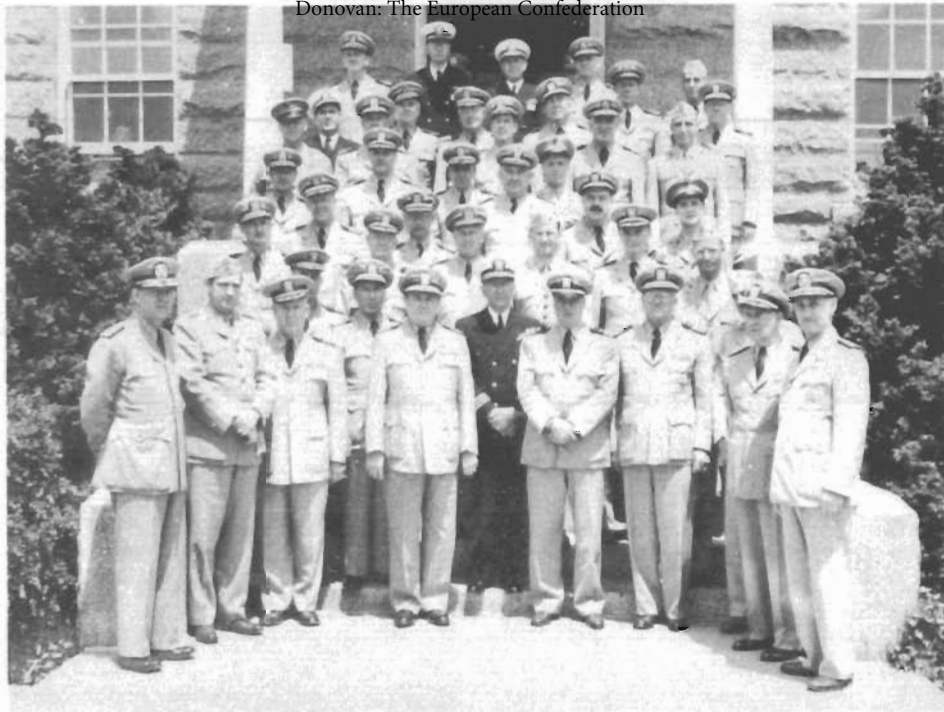
Major General Donovan was born at Buffalo, New York, in 1883. He received degrees from Columbia University, Niagara University, University of Notre Dame, and Syracuse University. He began the practice of law at Buffalo in 1907, and served as counsel for the New York State Fuel Administration. He was U. S. Attorney for the Western District of New York, and was Assistant Attorney General of the United States from 1924-1925.

In World War I he served as Captain of Troop 1, 1st Cavalry, New York National Guard; Assistant Chief of Staff, 27th Division, A. E. F., and became Colonel in command of the 165th Infantry Regiment (the old 69th, N. Y.). This was the "Fighting 69th" of the famous Rainbow Division. During his army service he was wounded three times.

Major General Donovan was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Honor and Croix de Guerre with palm and silver star (France), and the Croci di Guerra (Italy).

He was unofficial observer for the Secretary of the Navy to Great Britain and southeastern Europe during 1940-41. He was appointed Coordinator of Information in 1941, and Director of Strategic Services in 1942, which position he held until the O. S. S. was disestablished in October 1945. At present he is practicing law and is a frequent speaker at the Naval War College.

Donovan: The European Confederation



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