

THE  
**Federalist**

May 1973

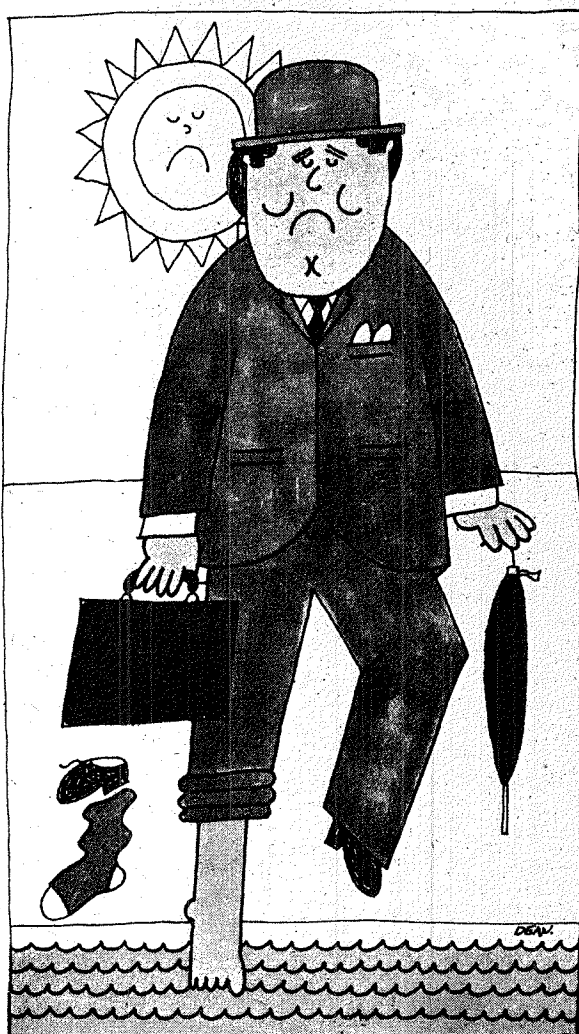
No 1

**It's a long way  
to come  
for a drink**



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The *Federalist* is a magazine edited by a board of young federalists of both political parties and of neither. It aims to stimulate the debate on federalism in Britain and Europe and to offer ideas about the political development of the Community. It also hopes to take the boredom out of Europe. All articles represent the opinion of the Editorial Board.

The *Federalist*, 1a Whitehall Place, London SW1. 01 8396622.

# It's a long way to come for a drink

For too long in this country federalism has been a word in hiding — a word banished from our political vocabulary for the ultimate sin of being thought un-British, foreign. It was never argued that there was anything intrinsically wrong with the concept — we were too busy using it as a makeshift expedient to meet the problems of withdrawal from empire — just that it was not applicable to Britain's own "peculiar circumstances". Federalism was definitely only good enough for foreigners.

It was talk of "peculiar circumstances" which, for 25 years, stopped us from playing any worthwhile role in Europe. Our entry into the Community marked the end of that particular little piece of national delusion. But unless we start, and quickly, to get down to the details of the kind of Europe we want — and this means grasping the federalist nettle — then there will be another 25 years of wasted opportunity.

It is because no one seems very eager to do this grasping — at least not without the aid of heavy duty kid gloves and a barge pole — that *The Federalist* is being published. Our aim is two-fold: to expose how the thinking of the so-called grand architects of the "New Europe" (which still looks depressingly like the old, nationalistic Europe with a bureaucracy super-imposed from above) has become timid and flabby and to urge, cajole and maybe even shame our political leaders into getting off their platitudes and compromises and start taking some pretty determined steps down the federalist path.

These two objectives involve an unusual alliance of outlook: cynicism and idealism. We are cynical of those whose talk of building a united Europe is considerably more conspicuous than any action they have taken which could bring the great day any nearer. In this respect it is no accident that the publication of our first edition coincides with the first day of the Congress of Europe. It is this kind of prestigious irrelevance, with its anaemic resolutions and well-worn platitudes, which, more than anything else, symbolises the current malaise amongst pro-Europeans.

Yet we are also idealistic enough to

believe that the cloudy compromises, the jolly beanfeasts for the few, the vague schemes and the uncertain delvings offered to us by timid politicians should not be allowed to obscure the grandeur and the relevance of the whole European endeavour. And so we are not content simply to scorn and ridicule the events which started in London on May 11th. We have gone on to detail what the Congress should be talking about in a long exposition of how a federal European union could become a reality.

Our programme has three main planks:

(1) A directly elected European parliament.

(2) European political parties

(3) A constitutional convention to lay down the guidelines for the development of a federal Europe.

It has been the tragedy of the decade that, in this Europe of the elites, the distant have become anti-European and the young have hardly been able to contain their indifference to the whole venture.

Both groups are repelled by the prospect of a grey unitary Europe governed by an unresponsive and irresponsible bureaucracy in Brussels. We believe that federalism is the answer to these very real fears. There is a great need to devolve power upwards to the European level to allow Europeans to act with one voice.

But the other side of this coin is the need to drag powers away from a greedy Whitehall or Westminster and give them back to the regions.

A devolution of power can also overcome the alienation of a generation which increasingly refuses to make the identification with national politics or an "ism" and prefers itself to devote to community politics or community service.

The delegates at the Congress need a good stiff dash of federalist thinking in their champagne glasses if the affair is to have any more significance than a self-congratulatory jamboree.

It would still be a long way to come for a drink — but, if they got down to hammering out the problems of building a federal Europe, at least they would have earned it.

# Wanted: genuine founding fathers to build a federal Europe

## (Delegates to the Congress of Europe need not apply)

If we accept the need for increasing political control and popular scrutiny of decisions in the European Economic Community there are three alternative systems which could wield such a countervailing power.

At one extreme we have the present situation which is basically confederalist: the leaders of the nation states, or their representatives in the Council of Ministers, get together periodically to take the decisions, arguing that they have a certain legitimacy because they have a mandate from their people. Unfortunately the decision-making processes of the Community are so complex that they cannot, as full-time leaders of national governments, exercise anything like full-time European responsibility. Moreover, their mandate is inapplicable on European issues and the more powers that are delegated from the national government via national ministers to Brussels committees and even parliamentary committees the weaker becomes the chain of political control and the less legitimate their decisions.

At the other extreme there is the possibility of a unitary state by-passing the nation state with a European government, with parliament and judiciary, directly selected by the European people as a whole, without any respect for national or regional reservations about policy. This system is technically democratic but the objections to it are twofold — none of the present member states would accept it and the internal strains of a uniform European state, ignoring national and regional disparities, would be intolerable. The entity would eventually collapse.

*The Federalist* takes the middle course. We believe that only a federal Europe, recognising national and regional disparities, but giving overall direction of the Community to institutions democratically elected at the European level, is the only realistic political blueprint for the Community.

The time has come for federalists to start committing themselves to what sort of federation they wish to see. How would they distribute the powers? What role would they envisage for regional governments? Here we set out a possible structure.

The basic structure is quite straightforward (see inset). Powers are

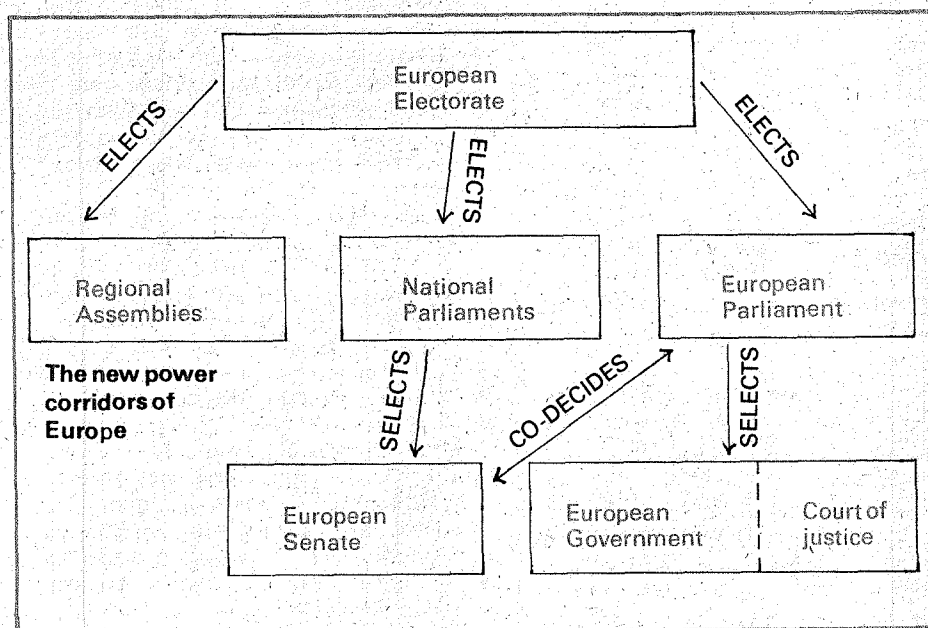
evolved to a European government at the Community level consisting of a directly elected Parliament nominating from its majority an executive, which would emerge from the Commission and which is at present a chrysalis government. Legislative and budgetary controls would be shared to begin with by a Senate, evolving from the present Council of Ministers, and still nominated by the national governments. The electorate would elect the national parliament which would retain a considerable number of functions. Regional assemblies would also be elected. *The Federalist* would like to see this three-tier system of power emerging over the next two decades.

### Middle power Brussels

Let us look a little at the competence of each tier. The thought of a massive European government with a gigantic budget and widespread powers is a daunting one even for convinced Europeans. But there is no reason why this should happen. *The Federalist* supports the idea put forward by Mr John Pinder of Political and Economic Planning that, for the foreseeable future, the powers and budget of the European state should be roughly equivalent in scope to those of one of the middle powers of the world (like France and Britain), rather than of the two

superpowers. The budget is the key here. If the budgetary load is spread widely between the three tiers then the threat of an overweening centralised European state is greatly diminished. That would indicate that the centre, rather than being the final authority on expenditure decisions would share revenue raising and revenue distribution with the national and regional governments. If one takes the example of social expenditure for the poorer regions, for example, the most satisfactory system could be one of matching grants-in-aid between region and European government. This distributes money from richer to poorer areas without permitting the poorer region to use government aid as a means of lowering local taxes. The scope of centralised intervention is minimised. This is what we mean by "creative federalism". The American revenue-sharing initiative is unsatisfactory because it is being used there simply as a means of saving the government and the taxpayer money.

There is clearly a considerable range of competences for the European level: defence and foreign policy (and if the community is to exercise real influence in the world and be a real political community no-one would dispute that the centre should have these powers), and monetary, agricultural, industrial and social policy. These policies need not be





exclusively formulated at the centre. Initiatives and proposals could come from the regional assemblies and the national parliaments. The administration of these policies would clearly tend to be at regional or national level.

### Westminster worries

All this would leave the national government with powers considerably reduced in scale. This is why federalism has not scored massive popularity with Westminster MPs. But it would be wrong for Europeans to worry too much about loss of sovereignty for their Westminsters and the Bundestags so long as they regain their sovereignty over decisions at the European level.

However long term an horizon we select, there will still be a role for Westminster. First, administration of justice (and it would be folly for Europeans to imagine that this can be significantly harmonised), the levying of direct taxation, the selection of the Council of Ministers and for at least the next thirty or forty years and most importantly — the administration and policy-formation of the social services and education. Complete harmonisation here is impossible and unnecessary, for the foreseeable future, because of the great differences in tradition and attitudes about the services in the various countries. In the long run it may be that within overall guidelines the Community's policy here could be decided and executed at the regional level. But for a twentieth century European federation these policy areas will remain within the competence of the national government.

### The regional dimension

What about the regions? Radicals in politics have until recently tended to be suspicious about regional devolution because they saw it as a way for "non-progressive" communities to retard the pace of change within a society as a whole. And the Deep South in America, with its civil rights' record and welfare programmes — such as they are — adds credence to this viewpoint. But the political culture in Europe is, in our view, sufficiently advanced and sufficiently homogeneous that the dangers of allowing regions a degree of political autonomy are not great. Furthermore the growing dissatisfaction with the politics of the nation state and the demands for regional autonomy, for example, in Scotland and Wales, show that regionalism is a major political force which politicians, national or European cannot afford to ignore. There are several straws in the wind: the Crowther/Kilbrandon commission on the constitution reporting later this year will almost undoubtedly recommend

regional assemblies for Scotland and Wales. Mr Harold Wilson, patron of the European Movement, has recently been making genuflections in the direction of federalism... not merely at the political level but also industrially. The Scottish Labour party, the last refuge of conservatism in Britain, recently demanded as a renegotiation stance for the EEC, separate representation for Scotland in Brussels.

*The Federalist* believes it would be wrong and dangerous for the European political Community to ignore regional sentiments. That being so it becomes imperative for the community to involve the regions in decision-making. Consultative assemblies would be an absurd sham which everyone could see through. Regional assemblies and their executives should be involved in policy decisions with Brussels and in genuine revenue sharing projects. Anyone reading, for example, the Wilson Memoirs will see the absurdly high proportion of what we might describe as minutiae decisions — like plant location — taken not merely by the national government but by the Prime Minister himself. We may well improve the quality of decision-making and clarify priorities by having a re-apportionment of powers between the levels. Let Brussels and Westminster decide the parameters and set the general direction and let the regional assemblies get involved in the detailed execution of policies. Gradually the regions will attract the talent and expertise because talent and expertise follow power.

Neither *The Federalist* nor anyone else can be dogmatic about the distribution of powers or regional borders but we know the general direction we are heading in — towards a federal United States of Europe. There will be adjustments to the general blueprint for tiers of government as new exigencies emerge and new emphasis may be thrown on European government or on regional government. But the only possible democratic union in Europe is a federal one.

## In free Europe 300m people have no vote

The key to the kind of European Community which *The Federalist* wants to see is in our support for the direct election of the European parliament. Other objectives — European political parties, common social, economic and foreign policies — will all follow on from this. But if the parliament is not elected and decisions continue to be taken in a glorified Congress of Vienna calling itself the Council of Europe then a united Europe will remain a chimera for ever. This is why direct elections are the

central demand of European federalists — although direct elections are not solely a federalist cry.

It may well be — to take, off course, a purely hypothetical example — that 80% of the people of the Community are against higher food prices but that at the insistence of the French Government they are put up. No wonder, then that the citizen regards decisions from Brussels as he would the dictates of a foreign power. And if this continues public resentment will grow and its force could block economic and monetary union.

There can never be a united Europe until the ordinary citizen is made to feel part of the European decision making process. Yet public opinion is often invoked as an argument against direct elections. It is argued that integration is going too fast and that people do not want direct elections. But this cannot be the case when the public opinion polls have shown that in the original six countries the great majority want to have a say in the membership of a body which should be, increasingly, acting and speaking in their name. All this is in addition to the mundane practical point that the Strasbourg parliament is already taking up 130 days a year, not far short of Westminster, and that no one can properly perform the duties involved in membership of two different parliaments. In the recent French and German elections there have been some spectacular defeats for members of the Strasbourg delegations.

### Honest dictators

The only real argument against direct elections comes, in fact, from those who see things exactly as we do — those who realise that with a democratic parliament progress in unification will be seen not so much as a loss of sovereignty but as an extension of power to the people in a European one — and those people do not want that to happen. For as soon as citizens feel that what is in Strasbourg is *their* parliament they will demand that it is time that decisions on food prices and juggernaut lorries — matters which affect them — be transferred from the national representatives of national governments on the Council of Ministers to the truly European institution. When that happens the cause of federalism will take a major step forward.

Direct elections are provided for in Article 138(3) of the Treaty of Rome, but with the proviso that there must be unanimous agreement in the Council of Ministers. Clearly the gaullist French Government will never agree and so this path will remain blocked in the foreseeable future. An alternative

## Educating Edward

An open letter to the Prime Minister.

Dear Prime Minister,

There seems little chance that you will budge from your opposition to unilateral direct elections to the European parliament. We would find it easier to stomach if your arguments had any basis in fact.

Accusations that the present selection of representatives is blatantly undemocratic usually causes you to launch into your Godkin lecture routine. You tell us that what was good enough for the US Senate, "the most powerful legislative body in the world", will be good enough for Strasbourg. Your point is that the Senate did not have direct elections until 1911 and your lesson for the European parliament is that it should get the powers first and the elections will somehow emerge afterwards — rather like a pre-1963 Conservative party leader.

Well, Balliol PPE graduate or not, we feel the analogy is a very weak one. First, there is no European equivalent to the House of Representatives, which was the democratic counter to the Senate's built in conservatism. The whole idea behind the Senate was that it should be a body with enough power to mitigate the dangers of having a "popular assembly". The aim of strengthening the European parliament is to counteract the undemocratic Council of Ministers. Secondly, the Senate did not win its powers after many years of struggle with anyone. It was given a whole battery of powers — over foreign policy and appointments, for example — in the constitution.

But let us suppose that the parliament did gradually acquire the powers in the way you describe. Then the leaders of the national parties would show an even greater reluctance to relinquish the enormous patronage at their disposal which nominating members gives them for fear of creating a vigorous and independent assembly with a separate legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

If Europe is ever to mean anything to its peoples other than a complicating trading post which pushes prices up, if we are ever to progress to a real political community where the decisions are taken openly and democratically, and not over St. Emilion 1967 behind the locked doors of the Elysees Palace, then direct elections must be pressured for and pressured for now.

A bientot.  
*The Federalist.*

method, which as the Dehousse report pointed out is quite legal under the present treaty, is for national parliaments to organise, unilaterally, the direct election of their own contingent. This was, in essence, Mr Michael Stewart's plan. *The Federalist* believes that as many national parliaments as possible should do this at once.

Britain, with its great traditions of parliamentary democracy, should be taking the lead in this issue. It is a bitter disappointment that Mr Heath appears to be obstinately preventing this from happening. Instead it looks as if Holland will set the ball rolling.

One advantage of this strategy is that it postpones the arguments about a uniform system until direct elections are already in operation. The proposals for direct elections in the early 1960s, following the Dehousse report, founded on the problem of a uniform procedure. Reading between the lines, the Vedel report of 1972 seems to have been inhibited from making any firm recommendation for the same reasons. The arguments about, for example, whether or not there should be proportional representation can thus be postponed, each country arranging elections according to its own traditions. This line also circumvents the difficulties of electorates adapting to new voting systems — a favourite point with opponents of direct elections.

Another argument of the anti-democracy lobby — that few would turn out to vote — is also easily avoided by holding the European elections on the same day as national general elections. Later there could be separate elections at regular intervals, say every four years, or two years, with half retiring each time.

One of the major benefits of a directly elected European parliament is that it could spend the creation of European political parties (see next article).

## Europe needs bigger parties

Mr Heath is fond of remarking that Europe should speak with one voice. It has not been heard yet and won't be until a European executive and elected parliament have been on the scene for several years. What few people seem willing to face up to is that a strong European government will require the formation of European political parties with a common broad philosophy and a united political programme. The alternative is what we have in the Council of Ministers at present: the

formation and collapse of alliances between different national interests.

Community government will stay weak as long as decisions are made on a day to day basis by a process of "do ut des" between people subject to purely national pressures. If a European government is to have a much wider area of choice in its decision making than do the present divided national governments and is to be economically and militarily independent of the superpowers then it cannot be formed out of ten or eleven national parties.

### From the inside

The British Labour and Conservative parties are coalitions of political groups which realise that they have a greater influence on government policy inside the existing parties on the left and right than if they formed separate parties. There is no reason why similar coalitions should not take place in the European parliament. Certainly some European parties must be formed if ordinary party members are ever to feel that they have any influence, alongside the ministers and diplomats, on party policy at the European level.

Of course inside a European federation, where powers would be divided between European, national and regional governments, the party divisions which might be relevant at one level might be irrelevant at another. In Italy for example, there might be a need for an anti-clerical Liberal party to compete with the Christian Democrats. Such a division would not be necessary at the European level where religious considerations would be relatively unimportant. Again, the major Irish parties, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, may differ on internal matters inside Ireland but this would be no reason for them to join separate groups or parties in the European parliament where in the matters considered at the European level they may find themselves in agreement. Some social democrats may find natural allies with the far from radical Italian communists on a number of issues, and in Germany there should be no need to continue the division in the Federal Republic, between the Social Democrats and the extremist communists, at the European level.

### Pure history

Many of the present divisions inside the European parliament exist for purely historical reasons. The Liberals sit together, on the extreme right, even though there is nothing more than a name to unite them. Italian and Benelux Liberals would certainly find themselves

at home in a broad centre-right grouping. The progressive/radical Liberals from Britain, West Germany and Scandinavia could then form a cohesive group on their own sitting to the left of the present Christian Democrats. The present division between Gaullists, Conservatives and Christian-Democrats is illogical since they support the same interests and have similar policies in their respective countries. They are the parties of "stability". Sitting together as one group they could prove a very powerful force in the parliament.

### Barriers in the mind

The barriers to the formation of European political parties or groupings are ignorance and prejudice rather than the impossibility of forming a common programme for two or possibly three ideological groups in the parliament. The greatest problem is labels. Left, Right, Centre, Conservative, Liberal and Communist all mean different things in different countries. As long as Conservatives call themselves Conservatives they will be mistrusted by the Christian Democrats. There are plenty other examples of this mistrust and the lesson is that parties must look behind each others names and labels to the philosophy and policies they represent. Only then will European political parties become a reality. *The Federalist* believes that there are three obvious parties to be formed at the European level and the sooner the better: (1) the parties of the centre-right (2) the social democrats, socialists and Italian communists (3) the progressive and radical liberals.

One of the few glimmers of hope in this field has come from the students of the centre-right parties in Europe. They have organised themselves into the European Democrat party and drawn up a charter of common beliefs and aims. They are trying to spread this concept to their respective parent parties but, except in the case of a few far-sighted individuals they have met with only vague sentiments of agreement and no promise of concrete action. If the students had their way then before long we would be seeing party labels in Britain, being written, Conservative (European Democrat), European Democrat (Conservative) and finally European Democrat. If such a prospect was on the cards then it would be no time before the British Labour party and other social democrat and socialist parties were rushing together to form the European Socialists. We would then be well on the way to having a real European party and a real European consciousness amongst the voters.

## Federalist philanderings

*Men have dreamed of uniting Europe peacefully for centuries, but today's European federalists have their origin in the several proposals for a "United States of Europe" which were made in the inter-war years. The most famous perhaps of these is the plan for a European federation produced by Count Coudenhove-Kalergi (and his followers in Pan Europe) in the mid-20s. That his plan included Mussolini's Italy indicated his ignorance of the democratic implications of a real federal government.*

### British initiative

*It was a British group, Federal Union, at its strongest just before, during and just after the war which worked out many of the ideas which have guided federalists since that time. Groups of people on the continent, many of them in the Resistance, discovered these ideas, some independently, some via contacts with other groups in Switzerland. The main lesson to be learnt from the war was, in their view, that a simple restoration of sovereign nation-states, as had taken place after the first world war, would lead to another disaster. It would inevitably lead to the rebirth of economic and political nationalism and a new international conflict.*

*A network of contacts was built up between the federalist groups in Europe and after meetings in Geneva in 1944 and Paris in 1945 preparations were made to unite the groups in one organisation. This took place in 1947 in Montreux when the Union of European Federalists (UEF) was founded.*

*The early days of the federalists were spent in combatting the attempts of national political establishments to channel the movement for European unity into the construction of international organisations such as the Council of Europe. It was this expedient which allowed the national governments to ignore the key question of sovereignty. As we know, the national governments won.*

*In 1955 after the establishment of the Coal and Steel Community (which required a very limited pooling of sovereignty) the debacle of the European Defence Community (which*

*would have required considerable pooling of sovereignty) the federalists split up into two groups. Many still believed that national governments were seriously interested in European unity. They simply had to be pushed to see the error of their ways and the ridiculous logic of the position which the divided nation-states of western Europe found themselves in. Others felt that history had shown that national governments and purely national political forces would not bring about a European federation. What was needed was a mass movement of the European people to force national governments to give in.*

*The UEF split into two: The Action Europeenne Federaliste (AEF), most of whose members were in northern Europe, believing that the federalists should act as a pressure group on national political establishments, and the Mouvement Federaliste Europeen (MFE), with most of its members in southern Europe, believing that the federalists should form a mass movement. The next seventeen years were spent in disputes of an esoteric and personal nature rather than of any great practical significance. At Nancy, in April 1972 the two movements agreed to reunite and a successful congress of reunification took place in Brussels last month.*

*The reconstituted UEF, well balanced politically and geographically, is now in a position to become a productive source of federalist ideas and action inside the international European Movement — something which it very badly needs.*

### Getting down to it

*In recent years the federalists have been working hard on organising unilateral direct elections to the European parliament inside their respective countries. In Italy the necessary half a million signatures were collected to enable the federalists to sponsor a bill in the Italian parliament to establish direct elections in Italy.*

*It is action like this, rather than the arid ideological battles which have dominated and torn European federalists apart in the past, which **The Federalist** believes is now needed in Europe more than ever if we are to get the Community out of the impasse in which it now finds itself.*

# Congress of Europe: plummeting the depths

On this page we print our prediction of what the first plenary session of the Congress of Europe will be like. It is our way of saying that Europe has had enough of these prestigious beanfeasts. But there is a serious intention behind our ridicule. The European Movements are getting flabby. They have got into a rut of congresses of the familiar platitudes and the same old faces who have been attending these affairs for the past 25 years. The result is that they have little more than a ceremonial role — and it is just this sort of thing which is doing more harm than good to the European cause. The lavishness of these beanfeasts does more to alienate the ordinary people from a European identity than a dozen Michael Foots.

We believe that such congresses could have a much more important role. The time is now ripe for Europeans to set out what sort of Europe they wish to create and to decide the timetable. We believe the declaration to be passed at

the end of the Congress, should be an agenda for a decade (see this page) instead of the meaningless bromide it will be. All our suggestions are possible if the debate on the shape of the political community for western Europe begins now.

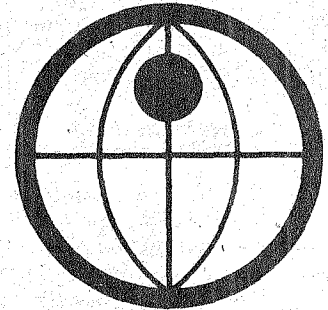
The programme is not merely possible. It is necessary if the people are to accept the European Community as a way of changing their lives for the better. For our societies in western Europe are not so docile and stable that the people will indefinitely accept a remote, bureaucratic, anti-democratic structure governing them. It is time to create a political arm to redress the balance with the economic power which exists at the European level at present.

If there is no response from Brussels, from Strasbourg and from Luxembourg, as well as from the national governments, then the people will turn from the European idea altogether.

## What the draft should say . . .

**The Congress of Europe, 1973, believing the present structure of the European Economic Community to be inadequate to satisfy the aspirations of the European peoples, calls on the European governments to draw up an agenda for a decade to further the creation of a federal European union by implementing this programme:**

1. **By 1978, a constitutional convention to revise the Treaty of Rome, forming a European Political Community, with**
  - (a) Full budgetary and legislative control by the European Parliament.
  - (b) European-wide political parties fighting on a common platform on European policies by 1980.
  - (c) Direct selection of the Commission by the Parliament.
  - (d) Direct Elections, in the member-states, for the European Parliament by 1980 at the latest.
2. **A redistributive regional grants policy from a social fund of at least £1000m funded from European-wide indirect taxation, by 1976.**
3. **By 1975, common aid and trade policies, for the Third World, abandoning the reverse preference system.**
4. **Common defence policy by 1976.**
5. **Monetary union and common currency by 1980.**
6. **Common policy on relations with all the European totalitarian states by 1975.**
7. **Abandonment of the present common agricultural policy, particularly of the inflationary subsidy to the European farmers by 1976.**
8. **A European company law by 1980.**
9. **A European energy policy by 1974.**
10. **A European environmental policy by 1975.**



## CONGRESS OF EUROPE

**An historic occasion . . .  
let's have a drink**

It is not very often that a newspaper is able to give a detailed account of events before they happen. However this does become possible when dealing with the Congress of Europe for everything is usually decided and written beforehand. Therefore, thanks to this quaint little quirk of European democracy, we are able to bring you an accurate transcript of the opening plenary session on Friday morning, May 11th. If all the participants are well rehearsed, and after 25 years of swanning around the European conference circuit they should be, this Congress stands a good chance of being one of the most extravagant and tedious non-events since the "Fanlop for Europe".

**10.00-10.05 Rt Hon The Lord Mayor of London**

This is a truly historic occasion in a truly historic setting and I am flattered that you have called on such a truly historic figure as myself to open the Congress. A truly historic 1000 years have gone by . . .

**10.06-10.07 Rt Hon John Davies MBMP**

This is a truly historic occasion for it is the first time I have been able to con an audience into listening to me drone on about Europe . . .

**10.07-10.08 Professor Walter Hallstein** (President of the International European Movement since Attila the Hun swept over central Europe).

This is a truly historic occasion of the sort I have been attending for the past 25 years and as long as the money holds out I'll be truly historicising at big business's expense for the next 25 years.



**10.08-10.09 Rt Hon Roy Jenkins MP**

Greetings. This is an twuly histowic occasion . . . now I know that it is one of the conceits of politics to say that all occasions like this are histowic, but this one weally is, weally.

**10.10-10.11 Francois-Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission.**

Bonjour, messieurs, mesdames. Cette reunion que nous avons ici, c'est tellement historique. Et maintenant nous devons nous poser la question, Europe-pour quoi faire? Pour moi, L'Europe doit avoir un visage humain et une ame commerciale (Wild applause).

**10.12-10.12 Mr Cornelius**

**Berkhouwer**, President of the European Parliament: (Loud shouts of "Who is he?").

This is a really historic occasion. We have a great task here . . . and also a great challenge, one which is as exciting as it is specific. One that should not daunt us but one in which we must not fail (chokes on his own Europap).

**10.13-10.15 Mr Vic Feather, President of the European Trade Unions.**

Eee, this is a grand show.

I just want to explain why my unions, who of course are opposed to joining the Common Market and have forced the Labour party to boycott all European institutions, are now members of the European trade union movement. Well, Robin, its quite simple. As I said in my speech at Scunthorpe in 1842 . . .

**10.16-10.24 Rt Hon Edward Heath MP, MBE.**

Bonjour. Well, men, stand at ease. Jolly good. I'd just like to say what we in H. M.'s government think about this Europe business. We all think its jolly important. We are going in to get on and teach these foreigners and nignogs a thing or two. Woops, sorry, wrong speech — (Tears up paper marked "Address to the Monday Club").

**10.25 Pope Paul VI** presents the Europe Prize to all the Presidents of the European movement.

The Pope had to be used for, as most of the Presidents are dead, it was the only way the prizes could reach them.

**10.29 Mr Peter Ustinov**

This has been a very historic occasion. But we have serious work to get down to. And so, after giving you a three hour story of my life, I'll do a few more witty impersonations . . . .

\* \* \*

**A day in the life**

When superstar Peter Ustinov was asked to send a few biographical details on himself for the Congress of Europe, he submitted a fourteen-page transcript of his wit, wisdom, works and wonders.

## Where have all the young people gone

Whenever good Europeans gather together then sooner or later the name of "youth" will be invoked. It is a fundamental feature of European Movement conferences and this year's Congress of Europe will prove no exception. Delegates will talk of how Europe must unite for the sake of the younger generation, how it is up to youth to face the challenge of Europe and of how they, the adults, have scarified their lives to ensure that today's youth will never have to endure what they have endured — a European civil war. All very fine sentiments indeed. The problem is that this youth will be more talked about than in evidence for there is a certain elusive quality about youth at European Movement conferences.

At the Europe/America conference in Amsterdam (see report, page 14) about 10 out of the 300 odd delegates were under the age of 30. Just two, both from the UK, were under the age of 25. The Congress of Europe held in Bonn last year was little better. Proceedings were most certainly by and for those long in the tooth.

This year, we are told, things will be much better and the organisers have

talked in terms of a third of the delegates at the Congress coming from the "younger generation". *The Federalist* decided to do a little checking up on these claims by finding out how many young people each country intended to send. Our reports indicate a sudden ageing of the younger generation. We will be lucky if 90 of the 900 delegates have been born after 1945.

### Shock troops

By contrast youth seems to be only too welcome when it comes to providing the shock troops and cheer leaders for the marches and meticulously organised "spontaneous demonstrations of public feeling" for which the EM is famous. In Strasbourg last year several hundred young people were gathered to make up the numbers for a demo organised outside the European parliament and in Britain youth groups associated with the EM were always called out on duty for the usually abortive and embarrassing pro-market marches. It is difficult to see what purpose they served other than to get good pictures in the papers. Despite all their bold rhetoric, as far as the EM is concerned, youth should be seen only in small quantities and certainly, never heard unless it is mouthing some mindless chant thought up by some of its ad. men.

## ... and what the draft will say

*This is the draft declaration for the Congress of Europe, taking into account the work of the various study groups during this weekend (and written in February over a working breakfast in the Waldorf).*

*This historic Congress considers the work before us, which we do for the sake of the European peoples, to be important and challenging.*

### 1. The Future of Democracy in Europe

*We consider that democracy in Europe has a future. But democracy must be made more responsible to the aspirations of the people. To this end we propose more Congresses of the peoples of Europe like this one, representing all the people from Habib-DeLoncle to Lord Kennet.*

### 2. Existing Traditions and the Expectations of the Young

*We attach great importance to education. Young people are extremely important in all this. So we must hold more Congresses like this which really appeal to the highest*

*aspirations of young people, and manifest Europe's spiritual values at their finest. And maybe next time we could even invite some young people.*

### 3. Enjoying New Europe — (not to be confused with the magazine).

*We consider the Environment to be extremely important. Pollution must be controlled provided individual liberty is protected. The Arts and the Mass Media must be improved and made responsible to the freedom of the artist and journalist must be safeguarded.*

### 4. The Europeans and the World

*Trade and money are extremely important in the world today. We must do all we can to reduce poverty in the world, paying particular attention to the problems of the Third World. Europe must be a force for peace in the world but must be able to defend itself*

*This Congress reaffirms its faith in peace, claret, liberty, claret, love, and human happiness (and claret) and to further these causes looks forward to the next binge this time next year. (hic!)*

## Europe and the dictators

# Ooh you are awful . . . but we like you

The 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, first established by John of Gaunt will be celebrated by Prince Philip visiting Lisbon, Dr Caetano, the Portuguese prime minister, visiting London, ships of the Royal Navy calling in at Portuguese ports and cultural events in both capitals. All this will commemorate Portugal's status as Britain's oldest ally and testify to the web of mutual economic and military ties linking the two countries.

On this page we detail the two features which Portugal has in common with the Soviet Union. Firstly, as the oldest dictatorship in western Europe, the Portuguese government denies its citizens most of the freedoms which are denied to the inhabitants of the oldest dictatorship in eastern Europe. Secondly, along with Russia, it is one of the few remaining imperialist powers left in the world, maintaining one of the last colonial systems in a repressive and brutal way. It would therefore seem that there is little that the British would want to celebrate publicly.

The whole affair demonstrates the urgent need for the European community to work out a common policy towards totalitarian states. Recent months have given several examples of what this common policy should not be. It may give the Labour party a nice warm, moral glow inside to stop its MPs from going to Lisbon to take part in the celebrations — and, in the same week as this blow for justice and freedom was struck, announce that six party stalwarts are off on a goodwill mission to Russia — but it does not do much for consistency. Nor has Mr Wilson, after his remarks about forgetting the rape of Czechoslovakia in 1968, much to offer us in this field.

These inanities have helped obscure the British government's deplorable stand on Portugal. It really is incredible that HMG thinks the

matter is solved when their spokesman, Mr Anthony Royle, reaches a new pinnacle in disingenuity by stating in the House of Commons on March 22nd that the Government "endorses the principle of self determination of all colonial peoples", and then goes on to make this endorsement meaningless by adding "We believe its implementation including timing and method, is a matter for the administering power".

## Home sweet home

Portugal is not a democracy: the National Assembly is elected by limited suffrage. It can only debate and recommend legislation. There is only one party, Dr Caetano's ANP (National Popular Action). In 1965 General Delgado, who had made a bid for the Presidency against Salazar in 1959, was assassinated, after having been exiled. Dr Mario Soares, leader of the Socialist opposition, was exiled under Salazar, was allowed to return in 1968, and then in 1970 was exiled again. When Dr Caetano came to power there was an attempt to present a more liberal image, but with growing unrest, Dr Caetano declared a state of subversion in November, 1971. Strikes are illegal, and the government has removed union leaders and closed down the offices of the bank workers' union.

### Civilisation

Racial discrimination is practised, though technically it is outlawed. Schools are divided into those of the "civilised" and those for the "non-civilised". The first are state-controlled, and the latter largely operated by the Church, whose resources are quite inadequate. Black children are hampered by the difficulties in learning Portuguese, by schooling which is inadequate to get them up to "civilised" levels, and by the generally poor economic back-grounds they come from. Consequently, illiteracy among territorial Africans is over 95%. Health services are virtually non-existent. A recent estimate by the Director of the Labour Institute in Angola (contained in a secret report) put the average African

wage at about £9 per month. Whites earn about six times as much. Allegations of slave labour and illegal wage contract systems have been made before the United Nations. Every African must carry a labour and tax record, much like the "passbook" in South Africa. The catalogue of allegations presented to the UN Human Rights Commission includes mass arrests of Africans, forced labour (notably for South African mines), the existence of concentration camps, bombing of African villages with napalm, the murder of alleged terrorist collaborators, torture of prisoners, destruction of crops, and mass executions.

## We are all just good friends . . .

Britain benefits from close links. Portugal is underdeveloped, and British investment can cash in on low costs, especially wages. We are heavily dependent on imported primary products, from Portugal, on a free trade basis. Portugal absorbs a high level of manufactured goods from Britain, and because of their joint membership of NATO, Britain supplies Portugal with arms. As the guerilla resistance in Portugal's overseas territories intensified, the strategic advantages to Britain of Portugal's membership of NATO are therefore supplemented by financial ones.

The economic links have been strengthened by the creation of the Anglo-Portuguese Industrial Co-operation Committee, set up under the leadership of the Minister for Trade and Consumer Affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe. The first British delegation visited Portugal recently under the chairmanship of Lord Limerick. Institutional links go back to the formation of EFTA, which established a limited free trade area. In July last year, the Brussels Agreement signed between the enlarged EEC and five EFTA countries, including Portugal, continued the free trade agreements set up under EFTA. The original six members of the EEC also undertook to reduce tariffs against Portugal in industrial goods, but Portugal, because of its

underdevelopment, will be allowed to reduce its tariff barriers more slowly. In addition, Portugal is empowered to impose an ad valorem tax on imports from the EEC in order to protect new industries, as well as being allowed certain agricultural and import concessions. Portugal therefore enjoys more preferential treatment than other developing countries. It hopes to become a full member of the Community.

## Defferre: pour quoi faire?

One of the most disgusting aspects of this year's Congress of Europe is the choice of M. Gaston Defferre as chairman for the closing session. But then maybe the organisers think he has just the right qualities to bulldoze an anaemic resolution through the final session of this prestigious irrelevance. M. Defferre should have no trouble in living up to their expectations. Consider this lesson in autocracy which he gave to delegates when he chaired the final session of the last Congress in Bonn.

### Childish

His aim was simple: to steer through the draft communique without any amendment. The draft was supposed to be based on the conclusions of the discussion groups which had met during the conference. However for what we were assured were "technical reasons" the draft was produced before the group on institutions had completed its work and so contained none of its conclusions. A British Labour MP who had been on this group quite naturally proposed that these should now be inserted by way of amendment. M. Defferre told him not to be so childish and refused to put the amendment to the vote.

### Defferre's diatribe

Next, the Italian federalists wanted to add in a request that the European parliament produce a constitution for Europe. This time M. Defferre did allow the matter to go to the vote — but only after he had departed from the normal traditions of impartial chairing to make a long speech on what dire consequences would ensue if they passed the amendment. Needless to say, no speeches in favour of the amendment were allowed.

As he continued on his high-handed way a group of British and Young European Federalist delegates sent

forward a motion criticising these railroading techniques. Now it is customary, at least in democratic societies, that when there is a challenge to the chair the incumbent passes over the chair to another while the challenge is debated and voted upon. No marks for guessing that this was not a custom which appealed to the bold M. Defferre. Instead he launched into long diatribe describing what a fine job he was doing. This was followed by a similar speech from Mr Hallstein (who seemed equally committed to the draft communique). At this stage a point of order was made pointing out that since there had been two speeches against the motion there should now be one in favour—hardly a revolutionary or disruptive demand. It was nevertheless refused. In fact another crony of M. Defferre's, this time M. Lefevre, made a third speech against the motion. Under this pressure the majority of spineless delegates were coerced into defeating the censure.

### Low farce

And so it went on — until at the end the whole charade descended into low farce. A special resolution attacking the Greek regime for its anti-democratic policies was moved. Mr Duncan Sandys, the British Tory MP, moved that it be not put since it did not also condemn totalitarianism in eastern Europe. To get round this difficulty Mr. George Thomson proposed an amendment to include a reference to these east European regimes. This innocuous and perfectly sensible suggestion was, for some reason, anathema to the Defferre gang. M. Lefevre tried to swing opinion against it by the truly remarkable argument that since the Congress was being held in the Bundestag, the German parliament, it would prejudice the *ostpolitik* if it was passed. Not surprisingly this did not convince many people and so Mr Hirsch, yet another sidekick of M. Defferre's, moved that the question be now put. Why he had done this became obvious when M. Defferre announced that it was a well-known rule that if this was moved (quite irrespective of whether it was carried) no amendment could be voted on, but only the substantive motion as it originally stood could be put to the vote. This would have been outrageous behaviour at the best of times but to treat a man of Mr Thomson's distinction in this way ought to have been beyond even M. Defferre. If the same motion attacking Greece comes up again this year *The Federalist* recommends that the condemnation of undemocratic and authoritarian tendencies should be extended not only to eastern Europe but also to M. Gaston Defferre.

## It only takes one to tango

Last month the Community took a vital decision: it would ask the European housewife, paying 27 pence a lb for butter, to subsidise the Russian housewife who would pay only 8p a lb thanks to her western counterpart's generosity. In this area, unlike any other country, the Soviet Union is to receive a specific subsidy from Europe at a time when many are saying that Europe should be using its massive economic power to bring pressure to bear on eastern Europe to change its primeval ways.

The scandal however is not only the decision itself, its international repercussions and the light it casts on the "success" of the Common Agricultural Policy, but the way it was taken. As one Commissioner, a vice-president of the Commission, put it, "The first I knew about it was when I read it in the newspapers".

So if the Commission took no collective decision, who did? Certainly not the Council of Ministers, who set the general policy direction of the Community. It now appears that the decision was taken within Mr Lardinois' Commission of Agriculture by some permanent representative, accountable to no one. Perhaps Mr Lardinois did not know himself until he read the newspapers (and that is one thing they all do at the Berlaymont).

Let's take an analogy. Let us suppose someone in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries had a bright idea (go on, imagine hard) which had massive implications for the domestic agriculture policy and involved major changes in the relations with a former hostile super-power. Before doing anything he would have to tell his minister and win his approval and before the minister could do anything he would have to take the proposal to cabinet for collective approval and before the government could do anything with its "decision", on a matter of this importance, it would have to win parliamentary approval.

This particular decision could not be more wrong-footed. Fundamentally undemocratic, the decision shows first the need for massive political control and supervision of the Commission and the Council. Secondly, it is the final testament to the abysmal failure of CAP which encourages obscene wastage on this scale, and, incidentally, which acts as a spur in such secretive and totalitarian decisions. CAP must speedily be abolished.

## The Labour party and Europe

# No more canonisations

The pro-Europeans in the British Labour party suffer from a major difficulty. They have been told by the press for so long that they represent all that is best and most noble in British politics that they are beginning to believe it. The martyrdom of the blessed Roy Jenkins is now a legend. St. Dick seems to be getting his reward before heaven.

The heroic *soixante-neuf* seem destined to live on in The Times almanack of heroes. Apart from anything else, they are socially distinct from the lesser mortals in the party. They are articulate, intelligent, witty and civilised. Because they are Europeans they like wine and hence get on well with journalists.

And the greatest sign of their sophistication is that they have earned the unanimous plaudits of the British press for practically nothing. It is true that on October 28th, 1971, sixty nine voted against their party and twenty other slightly less valiant souls abstained. But since then, this happy band of brothers has been diminishing both numerically and spiritually. The banner of European socialism has been left more and more in the slightly less than sturdy grip of Mrs Freda Corbett, MP for Peckham, the doyenne of the abstainers. The rest have decided to "swallow, swallow and swallow again" to save the positions they cherish. Was it really an act or heroic principle to vote with the Conservatives on October 28th, 1971 for the second reading of the Bill and six months later to vote against them on the third reading when the only changes that had been made had come at the behest of the Labour party?

Perhaps looking to see if the halos are still in place is irrelevant. Maybe we should be harkening to the ways in which the Labour Europeans are enriching the European debate. But with the distinguished exception of the "Stewart plan", (for direct elections to the European parliament) the thinking of the Labour Committee for Europe has been noted only for its sterility. They have concentrated so much energy on safeguarding their rears, on the daily business of tactics and of maximising press coverage for the tortures to which they were put by their constituents that they have thought little about the Europe they would like to see.

And here we come to some further difficulties for the LCE. It has always been true that the only intelligent case against Europe has been the "Tribunite" one:

that British entry into the Common Market precludes the possibility of the achievement of their rather arid vision of state monopoly and disentanglement from the problems of the rest of the world. If Labour pro-Europeans start advocating positive policies in Europe, it will soon be apparent that the European socialist millenium is not the one Mr Stanley Orme dreams about at night, and the split will be healed even less quickly.

The second difficulty is that some of the arguments that Labour pro-Europeans have been using for so long are intellectually dishonest, not least those concerning the multinationals which are (a) not as wicked as was hoped, and (b) not much easier to control at the European level than they were at the British one.

The third difficulty is that criticism of Europe may involve some criticism of Labour Commissioner Mr George Thomson, who occupies a place in the Labour pro-European benediction second only to Mr Roy Jenkins.

But Mr Stanley Orme or no Mr Stanley Orme, they can no longer shy away from policy formation if they are to justify their existence.

## The Tory party and Europe

### Who needs ideals when you've got feeling and deference

The current issue of Tory European, the magazine of the Conservative Group for Europe, carries the proud headline "The Party of Europe". Sadly, this pompous boast is in stark contrast to the editorial which backpeddles and hedges on federalism and makes it embarrassingly clear that the Tory party has barely even begun to think about the kind of Europe it wants to see. The natural deference of the Tory party has responded to the relentless determination of Mr Heath to get into Europe by giving him unstinting and unthinking support, except in a few cases. However, so concerned have the Tories been on taking the country into Europe that they have given almost no thought to what should happen once this was achieved.

The problem for the Tory party is that most of its members went into Europe for all the wrong reasons. This is going to make it difficult for its leaders to take

much initiative in pointing Britain down the right road for Europe, which is a federalist one. If Tory leaders started to spell out the implications of federalism — and some of them are federalists — then the European hopes and illusions of the party faithful would start to wear very thin.

There is little evidence to be found in the Tory party of the 1930s to suggest that 40 years later it would be leading Britain into Europe. But then the Empire was still around in these days and Europe was only seen as a threat, never an opportunity. Churchill's Strasbourg speech on European unity did something to penetrate the dull mists of the Tory subconscious but it was never quite clear if Churchill was including Britain in his grand vision and certainly, as far as most of the party was concerned, Europe was still strictly for foreigners.

The fifties saw the Tory party becoming increasingly morose as it supervised the decay of Empire and watched the gathering economic gloom as Britain's trading position became less and less competitive.

Then one day the flexible figure of Mr Harold Macmillan was seen floating from leather chair to leather chair in the Carlton club reassuring the magic inner circle of the party that his decision to apply for membership of a community across the sea really was the answer to Britain's troubles. And, with the sixties, the Tory motives for Europe became clearer and clearer to anyone who cared to look beyond his Conservative Political Centre pamphlet.

For very many rank and file Tories, Europe was to become an empire substitute. They had always been used to the Tory party at the helm of the most powerful nation in the world. Suez was to bring home to them the stark reality of Britain's status in the post-war world.

However the Tories woke up to the possibility of operating on the world stage, this time with the power of Europe behind them, and this seemed to be the insurance they were looking for that never again would a Nassar defy us or the USA stab us in the back.

This solution also appealed to those Tories who were a product of an education system still geared to producing imperial administrators and to whom the thought of Britain declining into an island Switzerland was anathema.

And so all the trendy Tory public school boys who had joined the Bow Group, representing the more liberal wing of the party, were able to join with those who had a more gut feeling and together they embraced Europe.

And this brings us to the anti-Americanism inherent in the Tory



attitude towards Europe. The left of the party thought that US foreign policy would be more humane if run by the Bow Group. The right was blunter. Americans had presided over the dissolution of the Empire with rather too much enthusiasm and were now behaving as inefficient and naive imperialists (it was the adjectives, not the noun which appalled them). This gut Tory jealousy of the USA merges into a feeling of European cultural superiority. The right of the party had no time for a "civilian super-power" (the dream of many Europeans) but a "civilised super-power" seemed the answer to America's rough edges and Europe seemed to fill the bill.

The views of business coincided with the party's feeling that Britain needed entry to give it the prosperity to maintain the present social structure and stave off demands for fundamental changes. Allied with this was the view that Britain needed a "cold shock" treatment: this implies, with calvanistic logic, that the national fibre needed a good dose of competition if it was not to decay further.

Taken together it all makes for a rather ragbag collection of outdated motives for the self-styled "Party of Europe".

A small handful of people, such as Mr Heath, Mr Sandys and Mr Kirk have done some long term thinking but the mass of the party is content to muddle through something it does not understand. It has no policies and no clarity of vision. They are even being slow off the mark in organising right-wing activities at a European level.

There is only one fundamental reason of crucial importance in explaining Tory enthusiasm for Europe that we have missed out: the Labour party came out against it. Many Conservatives interpreted Mr Wilson's call to party unity as applying to them and rallied round Mr Heath. Mr Wilson has been a great europising influence in the Tory party for three years but he cannot always be relied upon to provide this service. It is really the Tory party, and not just Britain, which will soon be faced with the "cold shock" of reality.

## Tory tentacles on the Europe front

The behind the scenes power of Conservative Central Office has been strangling the first glimmer of independent action by that august and ineffectual body, the Conservative Group for Europe. Sir Richard Webster is the director of organisation at Tory headquarters. In "organising" the Tory party to suit the party managers he undoubtedly does a very thorough job.

But one of his difficulties is that he has no direct power except over the Tory bureaucrats he employs. Over the voluntary side of the party he can only spread the tentacles of Tory Central Office by subtle influence — in particular through the control of money. An interesting example of how he does this is afforded by his recent treatment of the CGE.

### Freedom appalls

Last year the CGE made direct grants of about £1,000 a time to the YCs, the Womens Advisory Committee and the Federation of Conservative Students. About six months ago Sir Richard woke up to the fact that this meant that these bodies were now able to organise international exchange programmes quite independently of him. Appalled at this weakening of his own power base he called in Mr Jim Spicer, the jovial director of the CGE and told him that dire and terrible things would happen if the CGE went on disbursing CGE money on a CGE basis. An agreement was reached between Mr Spicer and the Tory boss that in future Sir Richard would be given control of all CGE money passing to constituent parts of the Tory party.

Then Sir Richard was given a shock when, just as everything seemed to be sewn up, he learnt that the CGE was about to launch a fund-raising campaign. This posed another threat: firms which gave money to the CGE might subsequently be less generous to Central Office. Once again the poor Mr Spicer had his arm twisted. The CGE fund raising campaign has not taken place.

Sir Michael Fraser the deputy chairman of the party, may also be involved in these "techniques of persuasion". Last year the European Movement offered a sum of money to the CGE and the Labour Committee for Europe (believed to be around £1,500 per year each) for research into European political parties. This had such a worryingly and nasty federalist ring about it that it took the CGE three months to decide to accept the money. Now they have done so but no one can decide how they intend to spend the money. Dr John Butterfield, the vice-chancellor of Nottingham University, who has some imaginative ideas for a research unit to work in this field, cannot get any proper reply to his very helpful offers. It is a fair bet that the CGE will not be making the decision as to what to do with the money. It is thought that Sir Michael wants an extra body for the Tory party's propaganda machine, euphemistically called the Conservative Research Department.

## Youth shows the way

*At Cambridge this April a conference of some significance, for the development of European political parties, was convened by the British Young European Federalists. Representatives were invited from the youth and student sections of every political party in Western Europe.*

*The conference showed that although many parties had imagined them "uniquely national" (in the meaningless gaullist sense), as soon as European issues were discussed they grouped themselves rapidly enough into an ideological basis. Delegates from Fianna Fail, for example, were under strict instructions to keep clear both of Fine Gael and the British Tories, but on being confronted in the evening plenary sessions by the massed ranks of the European left, found that the only sensible thing was for all three to sit together: as a result of the conference the Fianna Fail leadership will be informed what nonsense its international relations policy is.*

*Two strong groups emerged — a European Socialist group and a centre-right European Democrat group. There was also a small liberal group. The development of the European Democrat group was particularly interesting. Some of the parties involved — British and Scandinavian Conservatives, German and Belgian Christian Democrats, French Giscardians and Belgian Liberals — had already signed the "Charter of the European Democrat party" urging their senior parties to unite. Others — Gaullists, Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, Italian and Dutch Christian Democrats — had declined to do so. Now they all joined the European Democrat group.*

*The internal arguments in the socialist group were, as usual, predictably sharp and wide-ranging. The interesting point was that this group with participants ranging from Belgian social democrats to Italian communists and Parti Socialists Unité militants from France, maintained a united front in the plenary sessions, feeling free to put forward radical socialist attacks on the "Europe of capital". There were certainly divisions on the left but no more so than at the average Labour party conference.*

*This conference, the first of its kind ever staged, sends a clear message to the leaders of every political party in western Europe: if you don't unite in like-thinking alliances, your youth will do it for you.*

## Europe and America

# We are all isolationists

1976. The contenders for the Presidency of the United States, ex-Governor John Connally (of "A Time for Toughness" fame), and matinee idol Massachusetts senator Teddy Kennedy, both pledge massive troop withdrawals from Western Europe.

1980. Extra cost to the United States import bill due to rocketing oil prices . . . \$10,000 m. per year. The European bill is higher still.

The projections are facile only in the sense that they are predictable. They represent the sombre backcloth for the extravagant failure of the Europe-America conference at Amsterdam in March. As a non-meeting of second rate minds it was a scoffing tribute to the idea of an Atlantic community.

Here was a chance to bring together informed and influential Europeans and Americans to discuss with some urgency the rapid deterioration in Atlantic relations as well as the emergence, in the form of OPEC, of a major threat to the economies of the civilised nations of the west. And what happened? It was bungled. The organisers seemed to imagine that all that was necessary for a successful meeting was to bring along the rent-a-rack gang from the international European Movement and a hotpotch of superannuated new dealers and oil lobbyists from the States, and stir. Result: a comedy of misunderstandings.

The anti-European lobby in the States had their worst fears confirmed. Here was the new Europe . . . greedy, selfish and inward-looking, taking the Americans for granted as usual . . . and dominated by the French with their 1973 gaullism . . . without its charm. Only Mr George Ball, in the speech of the conference, laid it on the line: European integration as anything other than a protection racket to profit the French, is a myth. We still want it both ways, we want America and we want to kick her.

The details of the conference, the anecdotes, the menus need not concern us here. Although we should perhaps remark that unless Prof. Walter Hallstein contains his thuggery when next he chairs a European Movement meeting he will find his credit as "distinguished European statesman" completely exhausted, and himself recognised as the passe European Movement hack he is.

What should concentrate our minds is the tragic failure of an attempt to bring together the Atlanticists on a regular basis to act as a pressure group on

bullheaded isolationist governments on both sides of the Atlantic. It is true that a vaguely Atlanticist motion passed the final session, despite the heavy handed bungling of Prof. Hallstein; but this Rostow-Rey motion was so trivially meaningless that it in no way acts as a spur to further meetings. But more critically, the money simply won't be there. IBM were not impressed, and nor was anyone else. They won't cough up.

This ageing ragbag of the international conference circuit lacks the vitality to promote new ideas or found new movements. Significantly there were only two participants (out of five hundred) under the age of 25 and they were relegated to observer status. The old recipe of good dinners and big (or fairly big) names no longer works. To achieve anything nowadays, it may be necessary to go outside the old gang.

The problems remain, and for the Atlantic Community, the crucial problem is still the same: we are not listening hard enough.

## Nixon's charter

Since the Europe/America conference in Amsterdam, though probably not as a result of it (see report above), President Nixon has announced proposals to write a new charter for Europe, America, and, conceivably, Japan, which is intended to replace the Alliance in its present form.

There are several problems with this grand strategem. First, it seems likely that before progress gets underway Mr Nixon will be discredited at home and abroad as the full implications of the Watergate affair — a scandal without parallel in post-Roman times — seep through to (so far) incomprehending Europeans. His major problem will be gaining congressional acceptance for anything he says or wants. In Europe he may well be regarded as a complete lame duck, and valuable time may be wasted as he and his vice-president eke out the rest of their term. Furthermore the White House office machinery seems to be grinding to a halt in the rumour-strewn bog of the scandal. The only cause for hope is that the foreign relations staff seems to have emerged unscathed.

Another problem, on the American side, is the Nixon-Kissinger obsession with the pentagonal balance of power of Japan, the US, the Soviet Union, China and Europe. The idea of five independent superpowers acting in concert to control

the peace of the world has attractions although it has little of the stability which peace requires. Its main failing, however, is that it has no basis in reality. The west-east division is neither the ideal nor the exclusive division of the world, but it is the fundamental one. No matter who pays for defence or what the trading relations are Japan, Europe and America have parallel aims and interests that make a nonsense of the idea of five or more independent nuclei jiggling around to create an equilibrium position.

Nixon and Kissinger should abandon this rhetoric and concentrate on strengthening the existing links within the western world. The Europeans, as we saw at the Europe/America conference in Amsterdam, are only beginning to recognise the importance of changes in the Atlantic relationship. Japan does not figure in their calculations at all, and they have steadfastly refused to accept that the problems have any "linkage", in the State Department jargon. A package deal purely on defence is meaningless. It won't work and the Americans won't accept it. The package has to be fivefold:

1. A new burden-sharing programme in defence.
2. Clarification of the political relationship both within the Atlantic Community and between the Community and anti-democratic states throughout the world.
3. A new monetary system, flexible enough to permit changes in parities without causing crises, yet sufficiently secure not to discourage reductions in the volume of world trade.
4. A common energy policy to prevent a spiralling scramble for oil with an "everyman for himself" approach from the west.
5. A revised agreement on trade and tariffs involving Japan, the United States and Europe which damps down any possibility of a destructive trade war and which can act as a spur to the steady development of world trade.

But the final problem is by far and away the most familiar one. Europe is nowhere near an internal consensus on its foreign, defence and trading relations with its Atlantic partners, or with any one else come to that. The greatest need is for Europe to speak with that fabled one voice. This should not of course be a French voice. It is for France to show that she will accept the discipline of a common approach and if she will not, then a common approach should be made without her, France has disrupted and delayed every progressive step the Community has tried to take. In this crucial matter, on which may hang the whole fate of the free world, she must not be permitted to postpone decisions until the crisis is upon us.

## EUROARTS. EUROARTS. EUROARTS. EUROARTS. EUROARTS. EUROARTS.

## T S Eliot as a European federalist

*The Federlist* will fail in its objective if we give the impression that our European thinking is concerned solely with economics and politics. It is much broader than that. We share the deep awareness of the spiritual unity of Europe, which many artists have had. In this respect one of the most interesting of these is T S Eliot who, though he might not have expressed it this way, seems to have been a true European federalist.

After the war he was asked to give a series of broadcast talks to Germany; he chose as his subject "The Unity of European Culture". He said that he discerned three elements in poetry and the other arts: the local tradition, the European tradition, and the influence of one country upon another. There could be no European culture if countries were isolated from each other, nor could there be, on the other hand, if they were reduced to one identity. Equally, Europe's culture could not exist in a vacuum, and the influences from outside, especially Asia, had been very helpful. One was able to speak of a single European culture because of common features in the national cultures; in turn he would probably have explained that one could speak of the unity of national cultures because of common features in regional ones. Among the important elements in European culture were the heritage of Greece and Rome, and, most important of all, the Christian religion, through which our arts had developed, and in which our laws and morality were rooted.

### Unity and disunity

Eliot again talked about a united Europe in "Notes towards the Definition of Culture". In this he enquires what the ideal pattern of unity and disunity between the nations should be. His answer was this:

The local temperament must express its particularity in its form of Christianity, and so must the social stratum so that the culture proper to each area and each class may flourish; but there must be a force holding those areas and classes together.

Eliot was not writing, and never did write, a political book. But the drift of his thinking is unmistakable: Europe must unite, and in a political sense, and if this is to happen the distribution of powers

between the European and the national level becomes an important matter.

What we have seen so far would justify us in calling Eliot "a good European", but hardly a federalist. It is in what he says about regionalism that his latent federalism comes out so clearly. And again it is in the "Notes" that he talks about this. He was always fascinated by the contribution of regional cultures. How, he wonders, would the great Irish and Welsh writers have developed if they had been handed over to English foster parents at a young age?

### Autonomy

He hastens to correct any impression that he is offering the regions "cultural autonomy" as a mere sop divorced from political and economic autonomy; he is aware that these three things cannot be divorced and that the first alone would be only a shadow of the real thing, "hardly more than an artificially sustained antiquarianism". But the political and economic are not the purpose of the present essay, and should not be the

primary concern of the true regionalist. Eliot concluded:

"The absolute value is that each area should have its characteristic culture which should also harmonise with and enrich the cultures of the neighbouring areas. In order to realise this value it is necessary to investigate political and economic alternatives to centralisation in London or elsewhere; and, here, it is a question of the possible..."

We are not, then, trying to prove that Eliot was a major political thinker in a way that has not previously been recognised. Quite the contrary. We find him interesting, precisely because, as a man who was not acutely political, and, indeed, as one who explicitly dissented from the extremist world federationists of his day, his social criticism shows an unselfconscious European federalism of a type that, among intellectuals and writers, has by no means been confined to him.

## Europe. January 1st 1973

*More hopeful than the peace treaties succeeding our century's wars —  
These at best only tightly tied tourniquets checking the rampage of blood,  
At worst amputations without anaesthetics, excuses to bully the bully —  
More promising this more pedestrian agreement.*

*For neighbours aren't legally bound to love one another:  
To shake hands like friends on the pavement, and really to mean it,  
To baby-sit each other's children, to pack picnic hampers  
From each other's larders — these are voluntary gestures...*

*No, not always very appealing. We like to consider  
Our clothing bespoke, our cars custom-built, and our surnames  
Unique as the children we bear. The off-the-peg system  
Is useful but isn't that flattering*

*In New York just to talk to a stranger can get you in trouble  
(I've found that myself), and it's certainly wiser at nightfall  
Not to walk between blocks on your own. So it seems so much simpler  
To stick to your precinct or parish...*

*But where does the parish proceed to, where are its limits?  
The county — the country — the continent? Only where trust ends —  
Where trust is no longer extended or has never been offered,  
Yes, there we may correctly be parochial.*

*Not so with our colleagues today who all know what the parish  
Can shrink to: the fibs of the bitterly insular minded  
Blind to the image of trust and exulting in gossip —  
How they made of their shields monstrous weapons.*

*On our screens through the eye of the moon we have seen that this planet  
Is perfectly rounded in shape and attractively coloured  
In various shades — an organic whole in the blackness —  
An article both of faith and of trust.*

*Neighbours aren't legally bound to love one another:  
To shake hands like friends on the pavement, and really to mean it —  
More hopeful than the peace treaties succeeding our century's wars,  
More promising this more pedestrian agreement.*

Peter Levy

## EUROTALES. EUROTALES. EUROTALES. EUROTALES. EUROTALES. EURO

**I'm sorry I'll read that again**

Is Mr Roy Jenkins turning into another Reginald Maudling? Those who had the misfortune to sit through Mr Jenkins' flat and inappropriate speech on monetary reform at the opening of the Europe/American conference in Amsterdam must have wondered.

If the speech had a familiar ring we can explain why. It was a re-delivery of a text given in Manchester two weeks before with the solitary addition of two more references to "my Charlemagne prize".

Intrigued by Mr Jenkins' decision to use such a tedious action replay for what was supposed to be a major international conference *The Federalist* did some more research and can now reveal that this was not the first time that he has dipped back into his own speech files for our edification. The same speech had also done the rounds at Rome two months earlier. Always keen to run competitions we are offering a small prize (not the Charlemagne but a signed copy of Mr Jenkins' hardy perennial text) to anyone who heard the original presentation. Persons under 25 need not enter. The current front runner is a leading European industrialist who swears that he heard it in Davos last year.

Sadly, despite repetition, it was not a good speech. This did not worry Mr Maudling who demonstrated his European fervour by appearing to sleep through the entire opening ceremony — but then perhaps he had heard the speech before.

**You know me, I'm Woy**

Mr Jenkins was also in trouble when he reached passport control at Heathrow en route for Amsterdam. So organised and prepared was he for the Europe/America conference that he forgot to take his passport.

His confident prediction that he could talk his way through regardless nearly came unstuck when a senior customs official exploded angrily about those \*\*?&\*\*?! politicians who think their faces can replace passports.

Mr Jenkins may have been demonstrating against the whole farce of passports inside Europe but it seems more likely that it was just another symptom of an indolence that those who "fight and fight again" cannot afford.

**A story of failure**

The Young Conservatives, sad to relate, have made a complete mess of their international relations. For many years, wise figures, such as Mr Haselhurst M.P.,

have been trying to secure the YCs membership of the Union of European Young Christian Democrats (UEJDC). This has been difficult because the Italian Christian Democrats who largely run UEJDC think that "Conservatives" sound too right-wing.

Two years ago the Italians would have let them in if Mr Rodger Boaden, the YC secretary, had pushed the application. But Mr Boaden saw that this would lead to Mr David Atkinson, a former YC Chairman, becoming a vice-chairman of UEJDC. Mr Boaden thought Mr Atkinson was, to put it mildly, unsuitable for this post and so decided to wait. And while he waited Signor Rumor (a former Italian prime minister), whose enmity towards British Conservatives, descends to this level, applied pressure against letting them in, and the opportunity vanished.

Some consolation, though, was an associate membership that they did obtain. But through another bundle they have now even lost this. Their allies in their entry bid had always been the German Christian Democrats, who had left UEJDC, in the sixties, and refused to rejoin without the British. This common front was the basis of the YC negotiating position, because the Italians knew that without the Germans the organisation looked weak.

Early this year the Italians quietly said to the YCs "We'll let you in, if you'll join without the Germans". The YCs thought they'd be clever and agreed. Unfortunately this did not prove to be a very bright move for the Italians triumphantly rushed to tell the Germans that the British had ratted on their agreement. The Germans quite understandably washed their hands of the British and joined without them. As a final humiliation the YCs were expelled from their associate membership. The whole affair does not suggest that future Tory foreign policy is going to be in safe hands.

**Footnote:** We do not want you to think that we have been unfairly hard on the YCs and we had hoped that we would be able to turn this into a story of success when we heard that Mr Graham Bright, the slim, dynamic ex-vice chairman of the YCs had been sent to Rome to salvage the mess. However Mr Bright's problem is that he does not speak French and so the German representative had to translate for him and it is said that he was less than helpful — or accurate. We have not been able to find out what the German told the Italians Mr Bright was saying, but nothing did emerge. There is still no chance of the YCs being allowed into UEJDC.

**Good vibrations**

One little incident will suffice to illustrate that Europe/American relations were not at their best at the conference in Amsterdam. When Caroline de Courcy Ireland, (Mrs) MBE, the conference organiser was informed that six American wives had been lost somewhere in Amsterdam, all her old world charm surfaced as she remarked with real concern — "Hard Bloody Luck!"

**Last tango in Brussels**

Butter may be very much on the mind of Mr Marlon Brando, the lucky Russian housewife gobbling it down at eight pence a pound and the unfortunate western housewife who is still forking out 27 pence a pound — but it is not a subject which unduly worries anyone at the Berlaymont in Brussels. Why should it when one of the perks of being on the Commission staff is that you can purchase butter at exactly 50% below the outside price in the shops. It should give all the ardent pro-Europeans in Britain a warm glow deep in their stomachs to know that someone is benefitting from British entry to the Common Market.

**Not a man for this session**

There is a certain pathetic irony about the decision to ask Signor Rumor, the ex-prime minister of Italy, to chair the session on European political parties at the Congress of Europe. No one has done more to prevent the emergence of a centre-right European grouping.

For the past six years, Signor Rumor has been the chairman of the European Union of Christian Democrats. Prior to this, that organisation had been planning to allow European Conservative parties to join. But since he has taken over all such possible co-operation has been excluded. The official reason he gives is that the Conservatives do not have enough "Christian inspiration". The real reason is that he wants to keep open the chance of a Christian Democratic-Socialist coalition in Italy.

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