

Cover Page



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Conclusion

The principal architect of European unification was Robert Schuman, not Jean Monnet, as is generally believed. In order to clarify Schuman's principal role and to really understand the fundamental principles, the *raison d'être* of European unification, it is important to know who its main architect, Schuman, was. This is what this research is concerned with. It is a scholarly exploration of Schuman's personality, his thoughts, his reasoning, his range of ideas, as far as they are relevant to the framing of the famous Schuman Declaration, which was the foundation of the European unification. This also helps to elucidate his frame a reference for European unification.

As the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Schuman initiated a revolutionary move in European history on 9 May 1950, when he launched the Schuman Declaration and made the birth of European unification become a reality. For his crucial preparatory work and input in the Schuman Declaration he, and not Monnet as is often suggested in handbooks on European history, can be considered the principal architect of this Declaration.

However, Schuman needed Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Alcide de Gasperi, Prime Minister of Italy, and Monnet, Head of the French Planning Commission, to make the Declaration a reality. Monnet was the one who put the draft of the Declaration on paper, but as the recently opened Schuman Archives made clear he could do so thanks to Schuman's preparatory work and the main input and ideas provided by Schuman's close collaborators Reuter and Clappier, who reproduced Schuman's thoughts.

Schuman's thoughts were surprisingly coherently backed by his personal background, his personality, and the political and intellectual circumstances of his time. Then, when studying

Schuman's biography, we observe that he is a pre-eminent person to work for European unification.

The fact that Schuman was a Lorrainer, that he practiced Catholic faith, that he had a strong and self-effacing personality and occupied crucial positions in French politics after the Second World War made him the right man at the right place at the right time for working towards European unification.

The contested Franco-German border region of Lorraine greatly contributed to Schuman's ideas on unification, because of Schuman's wish to come to a solution of this seemingly never-ending Franco-German problem of conflict that already went on, at regular intervals, since the Treaty of Verdun of 843 AD. He acknowledged that the sting of the border-conflict resided for centuries mainly in the coal and iron ore sector because these were valuable resources for the arms industry. The change of mindset that was needed and that he envisaged was the one that used those same minerals as means for reconciliation and sustainable peace instead of reasons for war. As France was the ally that occupied the Ruhr and Saar region after the Second World War, Schuman decided as Minister of Foreign Affairs to soon make the acquaintance with Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of West-Germany to try to solve the problems concerning the Franco-German border-regions.

Another relevant fact regarding the region of Alsace-Lorraine was that he experienced the change of nationalities, from German to French, after the First World War and that he was familiar with and appreciated both cultures, mentalities and languages. This facilitated his comprehension of French and German perspectives and interests.

A regional aspect that was conducive to Schuman's aspiration to come to European unification while safeguarding regional and national identities as much as possible was that his family had lived

for centuries in this area of conflict. Because of this Schuman considered himself to be foremost a Lorrainer even though he was born in Luxembourg and strove towards European unification,

The Catholicity of the region fostered Schuman's practicing the Roman Catholic faith. His faith played a major role in his striving towards European unification, as he wanted to comply constantly with what he experienced as God's will for him in private and in public life. Schuman's main aim in life was to correspond to this vocation and become 'a saint in a suit' (see note 39), which for him included his working as a politician towards European unification so as to attain peace and security in Europe.

Honesty, humility, piety, industriousness, sobriety, prudence, perseverance, self-effacement and courage characterized his personality and were recognized by those who got to know him, as testimonies make clear. His Catholicity was also expressed in his active membership of Catholic organizations and intellectual circles and in his heading Catholic youth groups. He held speeches on Catholic formation and education to large groups of young Catholic people. He showed integrity of life in that he practiced what he preached. In this regard he often insisted on the fact that Catholic faith was more than just faith and also implied the practice of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. He promoted an attitude of reconciliation with the French former German archenemy even before, during and after his captivity in 1942 during the Second World War and implemented a policy of reconciliation as soon as he had the possibility to do so when assuming Ministership.

Schuman's political career was highly conducive to his ability to realize his ideal of European unification and to manifest his capacity of achieving reconciliation. This became already clear when he entered French politics after the First World War. He showed

himself capable of integrating the laws of Alsace-Lorraine into the very different judicial system of the Central government to the contentment of both parties; in this way he introduced the 'Lex Schuman' right after the First World War when Alsace-Lorraine became French territory again. He also made clear through this 'Lex Schuman' that the interests of both the region and the state were to be taken into account when the two had to merge and proved that this could be done successfully despite different interests.

The fact that Schuman became successively Minister of Finance, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs contributed highly to the realization of his ideal of unification. He was very much aware of the need to solve the 'German question' and, thanks to his position as Prime Minister and later as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was able to put his policy of reconciliation with Germany into practice and to work with Adenauer and De Gasperi on the European unification project.

A serendipitous fact was that Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi all shared precisely the turbulent border-region background, the Catholic faith, the knowledge of German, and a significant role in their Christian Democratic parties. This facilitated the possibility for Schuman to realize his vision on European unification. Monnet then turned out to be instrumental for handing over his project to Schuman. This draft project of the Declaration though integrated Schuman's thoughts through Schuman's collaborators Reuter and Clappier.

However, the European unification idea was not exclusively Schuman's. There was an intellectual climate of contemporary intellectuals who also strove towards European unification. His thoughts showed strong similarities with these intellectuals who pleaded for European integration or at least a moral order for European states to attain to, such as Brugmans, De Rougemont, Pius

XII, Maritain, Guardini, Dawson, Eliot, Benda and Jaspers. Furthermore, all of these contemporary intellectuals stressed like Schuman the pivotal role of the individual in the unification process. The uniqueness of Schuman's European unification was hidden in the supranational structure, the stress on effective solidarity through concrete deeds among European states for the benefit of all concerned in the short or longer run and in the step-by-step method of unification. Schuman thereby emphasized the importance of the European cultural heritage with its leading Christian component that all European countries shared and that he regarded as the soul and *raison d'être* in this process of unification. The heritage formed the roots for proper European unification. Schuman distinguished himself as well from the contemporary intellectuals in that he was a politician and in that it was thanks to his post of Prime Minister and later of Minister of Foreign Affairs that he could act and implement the ideas on European unification on a governmental level, although he had to cope with severe opposition of Gaullists, Communists and others also within the government.

Schuman's striving towards unification was thus accompanied by a conducive background and by suitable circumstances, but the source of his wish to come to this unification was hidden in his spiritual drive to be a faithful instrument in God's hands and correspond to his vocation to holiness; this played the main role in his thoughts and undertakings. It made clear that the European unification he had in mind was based on a philosophy of life and implied therefore much more than merely the product of the urgent need for the political and economic unification of those days after the Second World War because of the threat of communism, a third world war, the miserable state of being of Europe and the offered financial aid of the Marshall Plan for fostering European economic cooperation.

Schuman envisioned unification based on and imbued by the European cultural and spiritual heritage, the so called 'European spirit', which was its *raison d'être* to use Schuman's own words.⁴⁴⁰

The European unification he envisioned was thus meant to achieve a political union at the service of the citizen⁴⁴¹ through economic integration, primarily because of and imbued by the 'European spirit'. This implied that the unifying process needed to be consistent with the moral order proper to Christianity, one of the main sources of the European spiritual heritage. In this entire process of unification, Schuman considered the citizen the subject of the European political community. He saw it therefore as the European Community's task to take good care of this citizen(s) and to provide the necessary political and economic guidelines, consistent with the moral order, so that brotherhood, prosperity and welfare of its subject(s) would be the outcome. Schuman further believed that enmities among European states were a phenomenon that belonged to the past when national egoisms still governed the continent and that from his days onwards the focus needed to be on common interests and integration.

Schuman believed that national interests were to be applauded as long as they did not conflict with common European interests and thus harmed effective solidarity among the European states involved. He was also convinced of the fact that effective solidarity would eventually contribute to the national interests of all states concerned.

440. The European cultural and spiritual heritage implied in those days for everyone the Greco-Roman tradition and the Judeo-Christian roots of European civilization whereby the latter informed the former. See also note 180.

441 'At the service of the citizen' implies along Schuman's line of thought, among others that the process of integration needs to take into account man's transcendental dimension, which is hidden in man's vocation to holiness. The fact that Schuman took his divine vocation seriously is sustained by the start of his process of beatification in 2004. It also means that the process should take the human psyche into account and not be hastily.

Schuman's three main ideas on unification incorporated in the Schuman Declaration are: its supranational aspect, effective solidarity through concrete deeds and the step-by-step method of integration. They form Schuman's frame of reference for European unification, on the understanding that all three are consistent with the Christian moral order belonging to the 'European spirit', the *raison d'être* of the European unification, hidden in the roots of the European cultural heritage.

This means that supranationality will be put into effect only when this is needed for common European interests. It also implies, as mentioned before, that national interests need to be safeguarded as long as they do not go against those common European interests. Effective solidarity signifies, as explained before, a solidarity expressed through concrete deeds of integration that contribute in the short or longer run to the benefit of all states concerned. The step-by-step method of integration refers to the (slow) pace of integration in accordance with the human psyche so as not to accelerate the integration process imprudently, which would have a counterproductive effect on the citizens. All three consistent with the Christian moral order implies that all three aspects have taken into account the moral mirror that Christianity upholds.⁴⁴² This means that the integration needs to always be primarily at the service of the citizen and not the other way around (see also note 441).

This crucial importance of the European cultural and spiritual dimension of the European unification process as integral part of the frame of reference must, according to Schuman, constantly be kept in

442. The task of the Church is to uphold a moral mirror to the state. The task of the state is to take the mirror into account and to take subsequently its decisions. The Church has as 'moral guard' an independent position. This also implies that the Church can never take over the tasks of the state nor impose its influence. The state is the one that takes the decisions. See also: 3.4.4.

mind when dealing with European unification issues. The stress on this *raison d'être* implied as well that a decision regarding the common European interests should never go against the common universal interests, but always take the latter into account.

Schuman's Europe provides a frame of reference with timeless guidelines for those involved in European affairs and therefore merits serious attention. Paul de Groote of the Euratom Commission confirmed this with his observation quoted in the Introduction of this thesis that Schuman was "the leader for our European conscience and the man who will always be the one who showed us the way from which we should never part."⁴⁴³

443. See note 5.

Epilogue

Milward, the author of *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, warns present and future Europeans who want to reconstruct Europe against forgetting that the European ideal of 9 May 1950 provided the longest period of peace and prosperity that ever existed on the European continent among the members of the European Union.

Let all those who wish to reconstruct the roof on fundamentally new principles think first that never except beneath that roof has western Europe known so long a peace nor a life so prosperous and so humane.⁴⁴⁴

Once we understand that Schuman played a crucial role in the Schuman Declaration, and that the European unification is based on a specific philosophy of life and is not just the product of a certain time and circumstances, his thoughts and timeless guidelines for successful European integration acquire another dimension and require serious consideration as frame of reference for European unification policies. Schuman wanted to achieve a political union at the service of the citizen through economic cooperation and integration that was consistent with the moral order proper to Christianity and that encouraged Christian brotherhood. His frame of reference was

444. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, 502.

The opening up of the Schuman Archives, of which the Archives of *Maison de Robert Schuman* opened in 2007, and the insight in Schuman's background disclose Schuman's preparation work for and main role in the European unification process and unravel to a large extent the 'mysterious' element which according to Milward accompanied the extraordinary and lasting boom of the Schuman Declaration in Western Europe. "No one knew when or why it [the boom] had started, and I soon discovered that neither did I. It was in fact not only one of the most unexpected events in western Europe's history, but remains one of the most unexplained." (Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, Preface, XV.) The material also fosters the assumption that Schuman's personal background predisposed him to European integration and that Schuman, not Monnet, was the main architect of European unification.

effective solidarity, supranationality and step-by-step method of integration all three consistent with this moral order. The European unification Schuman envisioned did not limit itself to the continent of Europe, but went beyond.

Because of the importance of Schuman's frame of reference for European policies, specialists in fields such as environment, trade, foreign aid, agriculture, transport, energy, finance and social services are encouraged to do follow-up research on the consequences of Schuman's frame of reference for the policies in their specific field. Those studies might bring to light not only the important work that has been done and is being done by the EU, but also the fundamental reasons why we are experiencing setbacks such as the financial crises of the last few years, and why an increasing number of people and states oppose or hinder the EU unification process. They could similarly suggest how to avoid those negative consequences and how to enjoy and develop the main purpose of European unification: effective solidarity consistent with the moral order based on Christianity among citizens and states within and beyond European frontiers. In short, a Europe at the service of the citizen as Schuman had it in mind.

Another issue it might shed light on is that being in favour or against the EU is not a matter of having to choose between working towards a United States of Europe, a federal Europe, or to procure a Europe that has fallen apart into states that protect their own national sovereignty and limit their co-operation with other countries to an exclusively intergovernmental level. Schuman's frame of reference makes clear that Schuman's Europe is a Europe that comes into being step by step over several generations so as to become the Europe he envisioned. Schuman's Europe is therefore not equal to a federal Europe and also not to a disintegrated Europe as would be the case if

Europe were to fall apart. This in turn does not mean that we should retract the results of unification achieved until now for having been put into practice too hastily. This should especially not be the case regarding the newest member states and the promises done to them by the EU. That would go against its main principle which lies in its living up to its *raison d'être*, the European cultural and spiritual heritage. But, following Schuman's line of thought, it does mean that the speed of unification should be more consistent with the human psyche and thus slow down while taking good care of what is achieved until now.

A thorough reflection on Schuman's frame of reference might lead to surprising insights that will greatly benefit European citizens as it will procure a Europe that is experienced as a Europe at the service of the citizen, even by citizens not involved in arranging and consoling European policies.

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Appendix

Déclaration Schuman

Schuman's speech⁴⁴⁵

Déclaration liminaire

Messieurs, Il n'est plus question de vaines paroles, mais d'un acte, d'un acte hardi, d'un acte constructif. La France a agi et les conséquences de son action peuvent être immenses. Nous espérons qu'elles le seront. Elle a agi essentiellement pour la paix. Pour que la paix puisse vraiment courir sa chance, il faut, d'abord, qu'il y ait une Europe. Cinq ans, presque jour pour jour, après la capitulation sans conditions de l'Allemagne, la France accomplit le premier acte décisif de la construction européenne et y associe l'Allemagne. Les conditions européennes doivent s'en trouver entièrement transformées. Cette transformation rendra possibles d'autres actions communes impossibles jusqu'à ce jour. L'Europe naîtra de tout cela, une Europe solidement unie et fortement charpentée. Une Europe où le niveau de vie s'élèvera grâce au groupement des productions et à l'extension des marchés qui provoqueront l'abaissement des prix.

Une Europe où la Ruhr, la Sarre et les bassins français travailleront de concert et feront profiter de leur travail pacifique, suivi par des observateurs des Nations Unies, tous les Européens, sans distinction qu'ils soient de l'Est ou de l'Ouest, et tous les territoires, notamment l'Afrique qui attendent du Vieux Continent leur développement et leur prospérité.

Voici cette décision, avec les considérations qui l'ont inspirée.

La déclaration du 9 mai 1950

“La paix mondiale ne saurait être sauvegardée sans des efforts créateurs à la mesure des dangers qui la menacent.

La contribution qu'une Europe organisée et vivante peut apporter à la civilisation est indispensable au maintien des relations pacifiques. En se faisant depuis plus de vingt ans le champion d'une Europe unie, la France a toujours eu pour objet essentiel de servir la paix. L'Europe n'a pas été faite, nous avons eu la guerre.

445. Full text in French. Déclaration du 9 mai 1950 Fondation Robert Schuman, "Question d'europe" n°204 , 9 May 2011.

L'Europe ne se fera pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble : elle se fera par des réalisations concrètes, créant d'abord une solidarité de fait. Le rassemblement des nations européennes exige que l'opposition séculaire de la France et de l'Allemagne soit éliminée : l'action entreprise doit toucher au premier chef la France et l'Allemagne.

Dans ce but, le gouvernement français propose de porter immédiatement l'action sur un point limité, mais décisif:

Le Gouvernement français propose de placer l'ensemble de la production franco-allemande du charbon et d'acier sous une Haute Autorité commune, dans une organisation ouverte à la participation des autres pays d'Europe.

La mise en commun des productions de charbon et d'acier assurera immédiatement l'établissement de bases communes de développement économique, première étape de la Fédération européenne, et changera le destin des régions longtemps vouées à la fabrication des armes de guerre dont elles ont été les plus constantes victimes.

La solidarité de production qui sera ainsi nouée manifesterà que toute guerre entre la France et l'Allemagne devient non seulement impensable, mais matériellement impossible. L'établissement de cette unité puissante de production ouverte à tous les pays qui voudront y participer, aboutissant à fournir à tous les pays qu'elle rassemblera les éléments fondamentaux de la production industrielle aux mêmes conditions, jettera les fondements réels de leur unification économique.

Cette production sera offerte à l'ensemble du monde, sans distinction ni exclusion, pour contribuer au relèvement du niveau de vie et au progrès des œuvres de paix. L'Europe pourra, avec des moyens accrus, poursuivre la réalisation de l'une de ses tâches essentielles : le développement du continent africain.

Ainsi sera réalisée simplement et rapidement la fusion d'intérêts indispensable à l'établissement d'une communauté économique et introduit le ferment d'une communauté plus large et plus profonde entre des pays longtemps opposés par des divisions sanglantes.

Par la mise en commun de production de base et l'institution d'une Haute Autorité nouvelle, dont les décisions lieront la France, l'Allemagne et les pays qui y adhéreront, cette proposition réalisera

les premières assises concrètes d'une Fédération européenne indispensable à la préservation de la paix.

Pour poursuivre la réalisation des objectifs ainsi définis, le gouvernement français est prêt à ouvrir des négociations sur les bases suivantes.

La mission impartie à la Haute Autorité commune sera d'assurer dans les délais les plus rapides: la modernisation de la production et l'amélioration de sa qualité; la fourniture à des conditions identiques du charbon et de l'acier sur le marché français et sur le marché allemand, ainsi que sur ceux des pays adhérents; le développement de l'exportation commune vers les autres pays; l'égalisation dans les progrès des conditions de vie de la main-d'œuvre de ces industries.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs à partir des conditions très disparates dans lesquelles sont placées actuellement les productions de pays adhérents, à titre transitoire, certaines dispositions devront être mises en œuvre, comportant l'application d'un plan de production et d'investissements, l'institution de mécanismes de péréquation des prix, la création d'un fonds de reconversion facilitant la rationalisation de la production. La circulation du charbon et de l'acier entre les pays adhérents sera immédiatement affranchie de tout droit de douane et ne pourra être affectée par des tarifs de transport différentiels. Progressivement se dégageront les conditions assurant spontanément la répartition la plus rationnelle de la production au niveau de productivité le plus élevé.

A l'opposé d'un cartel international tendant à la répartition et à l'exploitation des marchés nationaux par des pratiques restrictives et le maintien de profits élevés, l'organisation projetée assurera la fusion des marchés et l'expansion de la production.

Les principes et les engagements essentiels ci-dessus définis feront l'objet d'un traité signé entre les Etats. Les négociations indispensables pour préciser les mesures d'application seront poursuivies avec l'assistance d'un arbitre désigné d'un commun accord: celui-ci aura charge de veiller à ce que les accords soient conformes aux principes et, en cas d'opposition irréductible, fixera la solution qui sera adoptée. La Haute Autorité commune chargée du fonctionnement de tout le régime sera composée de personnalités indépendantes désignées sur une base paritaire par les Gouvernements; un Président sera choisi d'un commun accord par les autres pays adhérents. Des dispositions appropriées assureront les voies de recours nécessaires contre les décisions de la Haute Autorité.

Un représentant des Nations Unies auprès de cette Autorité sera chargé de faire deux fois par an un rapport public à l'O.N.U. rendant compte du fonctionnement de l'organisme nouveau notamment en ce qui concerne la sauvegarde de ses fins pacifiques.

L'institution de la Haute Autorité ne préjuge en rien du régime de propriété des entreprises. Dans l'exercice de sa mission, la Haute Autorité commune tiendra compte des pouvoirs conférés à l'Autorité internationale de la Ruhr et des obligations de toute nature imposées à l'Allemagne, tant que celles-ci subsisteront.”

Schuman Declaration

Schuman's speech⁴⁴⁶

Preliminary Declaration

It is no longer a question of vain words but of a bold act, a constructive act. France has acted and the consequences of its action can be immense. We hope they will be. France has acted primarily for peace and to give peace a real chance.

For this it is necessary that Europe should exist. Five years, almost to the day, after the unconditional surrender of Germany, France is accomplishing the first decisive act for European construction and is associating Germany with this. Conditions in Europe are going to be entirely changed because of it. This transformation will facilitate other action which has been impossible until this day.

Europe will be born from this, a Europe which is solidly united and constructed around a strong framework. It will be a Europe where the standard of living will rise by grouping together production and expanding markets, thus encouraging the lowering of prices.

In this Europe, the Ruhr, the Saar and the French industrial basins will work together for common goals and their progress will be followed by observers from the United Nations. All Europeans without distinction, whether from east or west, and all the overseas territories, especially Africa, which awaits development and prosperity from this old continent, will gain benefits from their labour of peace.

The Declaration of 9 May 1950

“World peace cannot be safeguarded if constructive efforts are not made commensurate with the dangers that threaten it. An organized and revitalized Europe can make a contribution to civilization which is indispensable for maintaining such peaceful relations. France has always held the cause of peace as her main aim in taking upon herself

446 Full text in English. Schuman Project, (Brussels: Bron Communications, 2000-01-01).

the role for more than twenty years of championing a united Europe. That European task was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made at once, nor according to a single master plan of construction. It will be built by concrete achievements, which create de facto dependence, mutual interests and the desire for common action.

The gathering of the nations of Europe demands the elimination of the age-old antagonism of France and Germany. The first concern of any action undertaken must involve these two countries.

With this objective in mind, the French government proposes to direct its action on one limited but decisive point:

The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately assure the establishment of common bases for economic development as a first step for the European Federation. It will change the destiny of regions that have long been devoted to manufacturing munitions of war, of which they have been most constantly the victims.

This merging of our interests in coal and steel production and our joint action will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not only unthinkable but materially impossible. The establishment of this powerful unity for production, open to all countries willing to take part, and eventually capable of providing all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will cast the real foundation for their economic unification.

This production would be offered to the world as a whole, without distinction or exception, with the aim of raising living standards and promoting peace as well as fulfilling one of Europe's essential tasks — the development of the African continent.

In this way, simply and speedily, the fusion of interests which is vital for the establishment of a common economic system will be realized. Thus the leaven will be introduced which will permeate and build a wider and deeper community between countries that had continually opposed each other in bloody divisions.

By pooling basic industrial production and setting-up a new High Authority whose decisions will be binding on France, Germany and other member countries, these proposals will bring to reality the first

solid groundwork for a European Federation vital to the preservation of world peace.

In order to further the realisation of the objectives it has thus defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following basis:

The High Authority would be charged with the mission of assuring in the briefest delay the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to French and German markets and those of other member countries; the development of common exports to other countries; and the equalization of improvement in the living conditions of workers in these industries.

In order to attain these goals starting from the very varied conditions in which the production of the member countries are situated, transitory measures should be instituted such as a production and investment plan, compensating mechanisms for the equalization of prices, and a restructuring fund to facilitate the rationalisation of production. The movement of coal and steel between member states will immediately be freed of all customs duties and it will not be permitted for it to be constrained by differential transport rates. Conditions will be progressively created which will spontaneously assure the most rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to an international cartel which aims at dividing and exploiting national markets by restrictive practices in order to maintain high profit margins, the proposed organization will assure the merger of markets and the expansion of production.

The principles and fundamental commitments defined above will be the subject of a treaty signed between the states. The negotiations necessary to define the measures to be applied will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator, designated by common agreement. The latter will be charged to ensure that the agreements are in line with the principles and, in the case of unresolvable differences, will determine the solution to be adopted. The joint High Authority, responsible for the functioning of the whole regime, will be composed of independent personalities designated on an equal basis by the governments. A President will be chosen by common accord of the governments. His decisions will be binding on France, Germany and the other member countries. Appropriate measures will assure the means of appeal necessary against the decisions of the High Authority. A

representative of the United Nations to the High Authority will be charged to make a public report twice a year to the United Nations Organisation, reporting on the functioning of the new body, in particular about the safeguarding of its peaceful objectives.

The institution of the High Authority does not prejudice in any way the ownership of enterprises. In the furtherance of its mission, the joint High Authority will take into account the powers conferred on the International Authority for the Ruhr and the obligations of all types imposed on Germany as long as they continue.”