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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Robert Schuman

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

Robert Schuman

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

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



Robert Schuman (1886 – 1963)⁴

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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