

### Text 1

"The European "constitutionalists" assume that no real act of integration can now be expected from national governments. Until about 1952, they say, the European situation was so exceptionally favourable that a paradox became a reality: the proponents of national sovereignty accepted to play supranational (more in words than in action, it is true, because only the Coal and Steel Community has a real federal attribution - but after all the thing seemed possible). Today, on the contrary, the States have pulled themselves together. The rejection of the European Defence Community marked the end of an era. [...]

Within national States, we certainly know a lot of nationalists, and not only in France. But we also know some, in France as elsewhere, who are trying to speed up European integration - economic to begin with, without getting too reactionary about the inevitable political consequences. [...] Insofar as these leaders face reality, they can perfectly well pave the way for the United States of Europe tomorrow as they did yesterday.

Under these conditions, we are not prepared to write off national governments and parliaments, to declare them incapable of any federal creation in advance. [...]

This is particularly our attitude in the process initiated by the Common Market and Euratom Treaties. Admittedly, through its frequent escape clauses, the former shows how much ground we have lost since the establishment of the ECSC. Nevertheless, starting from the work carried out by Spaak, a real devaluation of the borders begins. This is where we have to fight. »

Hendrik Brugmans, founder of the European Federalist, « Le pacte fédéral », *Pensée française/Fédération*, July-August 1957.

### Text 2

"Even before it began to be translated into reality, the simple project of a European People's Congress was fought with a deafening determination by many so-called Europeans, who did not hesitate to provoke crises and splits in the ranks of the European federalists to prevent the battle for Europe from finally being not only proclaimed but prepared, organised and truly fought.

Our congress is not under the aegis nor has the support of any national government, because you cannot ask for the help of those with whom you are in controversy. This was not the least reason for scepticism towards us, this break with so-called "European" government circles. We had become so accustomed to considering the idea of Europe as being linked with the so-called pro-European governments that we had ended up forgetting that Europe could only be born from an amputation of certain prerogatives of our governments, and that, consequently, it was not wise to entrust its realisation to their care.

In our Congress there are no leaders with national political responsibilities and representation. Or, to put it better, they are ideally present, but in the dock (*the box of the accused in a courtroom*), for we shall here denounce what they have neglected to do with regard to Europe and the terrible responsibilities they are assuming before their peoples as a result of these omissions. We will also announce to them our decision to organise a

European opposition whose aim will be to get them to carry out the acts that are necessary for Europe to truly come into being!

In this Congress you are not, finally, guests representing only yourselves. You are delegates freely elected by European citizens on a regular basis, who have entrusted you with the task of expressing their protest, of formulating the demand for European political rights denied them, of setting in motion popular action to ensure that this demand is met. »

Opening speech of the first session of the Congress of the European People delivered by Altiero Spinelli, Turin, 6th of December 1957.

### Text 3

"If one asks why there has never been a serious struggle over these two treaties, which seem to promise a real and genuine economic revolution, the answer is not difficult. One can think of the good or the bad of the EDC, but it was certainly an important project because it in fact took away the availability of armed forces from each State. [...] That there was strong resistance against this real mutilation of national sovereignty is very understandable. The last two European treaties contain nothing similar. [...]

[...] The problem of the true unification of Europe is not even touched upon by these two treaties and remains intact. European affairs that have become common and can no longer be settled other than by common laws and common governmental acts will in reality and under the beard of all European treaties continue to remain in the powerless/weak hands of national states. Europeans will continue to be deprived of any constitutional instrument that would allow them to constitute and act as the European People.

[...] The Federalists have therefore done well not to concern themselves in any way with the fate of the two so-called European treaties. The construction of a European political force remains our sole objective and will require our governments to convene a European constituent. The rest is chatter. »

Extract from Altiero Spinelli, leader of the European Federalist Movement, « Le zéro et la réalité », *Le Peuple européen*, September 1957.