

Konrad
Adenauer



and the
European
Integration





An exhibition of the Archive for
Christian Democratic Policy
of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation
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Preface

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome on 25 March 1957 and on Germany's assumption of the EU Council presidency on 1 January 2007, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has taken the opportunity of exhibiting "Konrad Adenauer and the European Integration", after all the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany is rated as one of the founding fathers of Europe. In addition to him, Robert Schuman, Alcide de Gasperi, Paul-Henri Spaak and of course, Helmut Kohl, named as "Honorary Citizen of Europe" along with Jean Monnet, who exerted strong influence over the process of integration.

Soon after the First World War, Adenauer as Mayor of Cologne called for "the great work of fostering durable international reconciliation and a community of nations for the good of Europe". And after the Second World War, in a time of powerlessness and external threat, surrounded by worldwide mistrust against the Germans, he addressed the following remark at a CDU meeting in 1946: "It is my deepest belief that the United States of Europe can finally bring peace to this continent which has been ravaged by war so often."

The course for European unification policy was set by the Schuman Plan of 1950 and the promising start of the coal and steel community. When the path to a federal European state was blocked by the French National Assembly's rejection of the European Defence Community, Adenauer looked for other possibilities to advance the integration process. It is due to his interventions in the stalled negotiations in 1956 that the European Economic Community and the EURATOM treaties were signed in 1957, whereby he regarded the first period of European integration as having been completed. The second period will have the objective of "ensuring that Europe and European countries have retained their value, standing and repute in the world". The German-French Friendship treaty from 22 January 1963, which sealed permanent reconciliation and friendship between the neighbours, was "virtually the foundation for European integration" for him.

Many things have been achieved in the process of European integration policy in the past 50 years, while other things are awaiting fruition. The process of integration has to press ahead; Europe's political, economical and cultural influence should be maintained in a globalised world. "If the best solution cannot be achieved, then one must take the second or third best", according to Adenauer. To construct a "European House", one needs patience and staying power: "Let us not forget that dams have been built up in over two thousand years of European history; they cannot be taken down quickly. Deeply-rooted views have to be abandoned. The overall political education of the European people, which is geared towards the idea of the nation as the last value of political decision-making has to be changed. This will not happen overnight."

With the patience demanded by Adenauer in 1953, the Christian Democrats will continue to develop the European integration, which has led to the longest period of freedom, peace and prosperity in the history of Europe. Above all, the younger generation must always be made aware that this is not a matter of course. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation feels obliged to perform this task.

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Vogel
*Chairman of the
Konrad Adenauer Foundation*

Dr. Günter Buchstab
*Director of Reference
and Research Services/Archive
for Christian Democratic Policy*

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Exhibition of the
Archive for Christian
Democratic Policy



Konrad Adenauer as Mayor of Cologne, 1917.

The Visionary

At the opening ceremony of the University of Cologne on 12 June 1919, Konrad Adenauer calls for "the great work of fostering durable international reconciliation and a community of nations for the good of Europe." On 11 May 1924 at the opening of the Cologne Fair, he demands that "an atmosphere of peace in Europe should be attained again and it seems that political economy must pave the way for it". His visions on the interlacing of European key industries anticipate the 1950 Schuman Plan.

Milestones in the history of European Integration

- 1923** Richard Count Coudenhove-Kalergi founds the Pan-European union, which aspires to a unification of Europe.

1929 In a speech before the League of Nations the French foreign minister, Aristide Briand, proposes the foundation of a European Union with a federal structure.

1946 In Zurich, the British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, suggests the creation of the United States of Europe.

1948 The European Movement, the umbrella organisation of all European associations, is founded at the suggestion of the Hague Congress.

1949 Foundation of the European Council in Strasbourg.

1950 The French foreign minister, Robert Schuman, announces his plan for a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

1951 Signing of the ECSC treaty in Paris. Participants: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

1952 The ECSC-states sign the Treaty for the establishment of a European Defence Community (EDC).
- 1954** The EDC and the European Political Community associated with it fall through when rejected by the French National Assembly.

1955 The foreign ministers of the ECSC-states decide during their conference in Messina, to promote European conciliation. They assign an expert committee under the leadership of the Belgian foreign minister, Paul-Henri Spaak. On the basis of the Spaak report, there were negotiations on the establishment of a European Economic Community (EEC) and a European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

1957 Signing of the EEC and EURATOM treaties in Rome (The Treaties of Rome). Walter Hallstein becomes the first president of the European Commission in 1958.

1965 The treaty to merge the executive bodies of the three European Communities (ECSC, EEC and EURATOM) is signed. It comes into effect in 1967.

1973 With the accession of Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain, the European Six become the European Nine.

1979 First direct elections to the European Parliament.

1981 Greece becomes the tenth member of the European Community (EC).

1983 The European Council, under the leadership of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, concludes the "Solemn Declaration on European Union" in Stuttgart.

1985 Belgium, Germany, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands sign the Schengen Agreement, which allows for the abolition of all systematic border controls between the participating countries.

1986 Spain and Portugal join the EC.



1987 The “Single European Act” reforms the Treaties of Rome. Its main objective is the creation of an single European market by the end of 1992.

1992 The treaty for the European Union (EU) is signed in Maastricht.

1993 The European single market comes into effect. The Eurocorps Staff, which should form the core of a strong European armed force in the future, starts work in Strasbourg. Belgium, Germany and France are the countries taking part.

1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU.

1997 The Treaty of Amsterdam strengthens and expands the European Parliament's powers. It comes into effect in 1999.

1998 Helmut Kohl is appointed as “Honorary Citizen” at the summit meeting in Vienna. The European Central Bank starts its work in Frankfurt am Main.

2000 The Treaty of Nice clears the way for eastern enlargement of the EU.

2002 The Euro is introduced as currency.

2004 Eastern enlargement of the EU: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Cyprus join. The EU heads of state and government sign the treaty for a constitution for Europe in Rome.

2005 15 out of 25 member states accept the EU constitution. The failed referenda in France and in the Netherlands start a discussion on the future of Europe. The EU establishes accession negotiations with Turkey and Croatia.

2007 Until now, 18 states have come out in favour of the Constitution treaty. Germany takes over the Council Presidency for the first half of the year. Bulgaria and Romania join the EU, thus increasing the number of member states to 27. The Euro is introduced in Slovenia.



Two Euro commemorative
coin for the 50th anniversary
of the Treaties of Rome



"Crystallisation point for Europe" Schuman Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community

"The Schuman Plan, the treaty about the European Defence Community are only the beginning according to the estimation of those playing an active part. They are only a beginning as only six European countries have gathered, but it would be foolish not to start with six countries and wait for the rest of them. I am sure: if it starts off with six countries, then one day all the other European states will join too." KONRAD ADENAUER

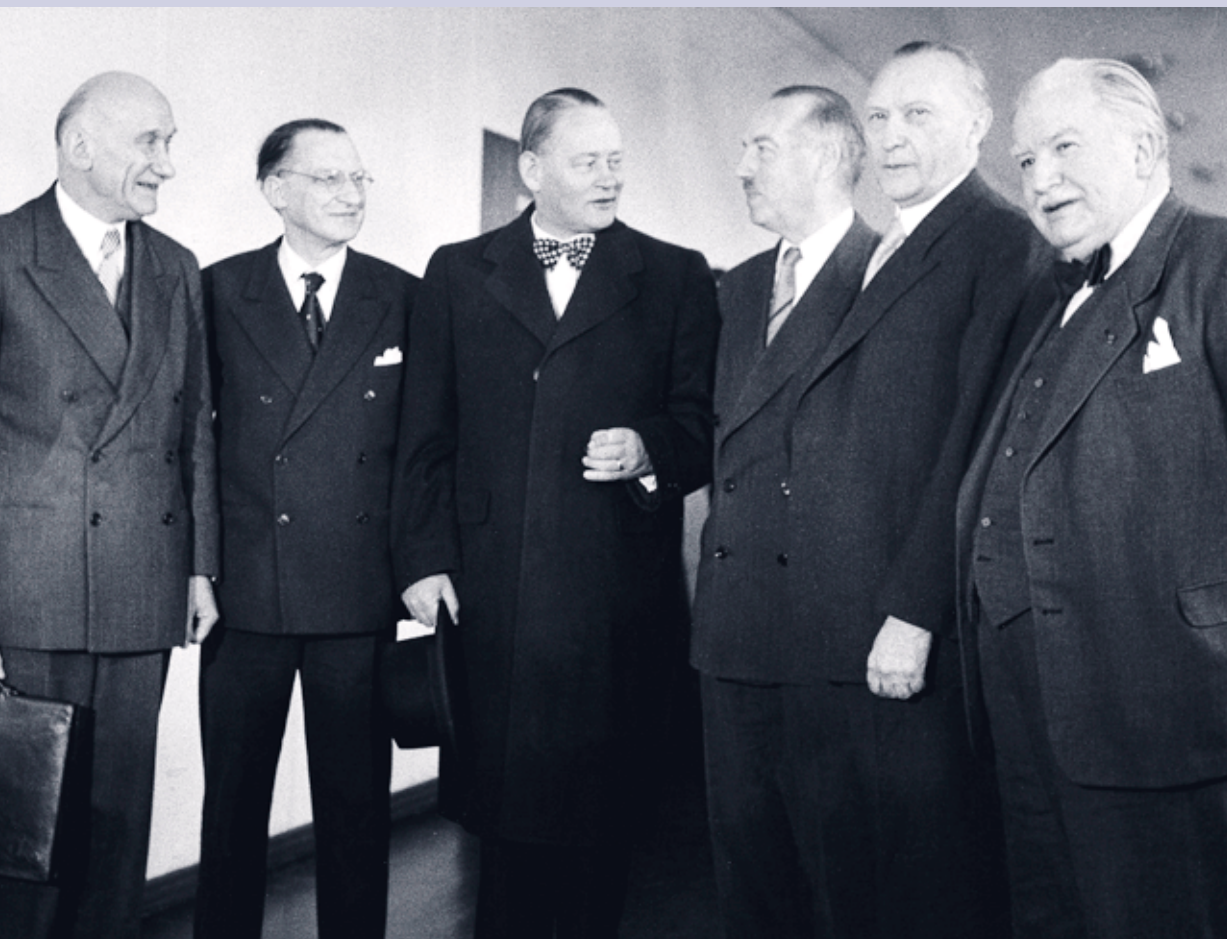
At the final rally of the conference of the German Catholic Men's Association in Bamberg, 20/7/1952

On 9 May 1950, the French foreign minister Robert Schuman suggests placing French and German coal and steel production into a joint organisation, which is also open to other European countries. This plan, which can be traced back to Jean Monnet, a close collaborator of Schuman, is supposed to help preventing wars in Europe in the future. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer greets this idea "as a decisive step to a close connection between Germany and France and thus to a new order in Europe that is based on peaceful co-operation". On 20 June 1950, delegations from France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the Benelux states start negotiations for the foundation of a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The Federal Republic of Germany is represented as an equal member. The treaty is signed on 18 April 1951.

On 11 January 1952, the Bundestag accepts the agreement against the votes of the SPD. It is the foundation for the further political conciliation of Europe. Through the foundation of the ECSC, national sovereign rights are transferred to a supranational authority for the first time. The ECSC treaty provides for the establishment of various institutions: supremacy is exercised by a higher authority based in Luxembourg. The ministerial council acts as a link between the national governments and the higher authority. He has to be consulted for all fundamental decisions. The combined assembly of the ECSC with 78 deputies from all member states is set up as an authority check. Disputes within the ECSC should be decided by a court of law consisting of nine judges.



Jean Monnet (centre) 1951 in talks with Walter Hallstein and Konrad Adenauer



Heads of government resp. foreign ministers of the ECSC-states in September 1952 in Strasbourg. From left, Robert Schuman (F), Alcide de Gasperi (I), Dirk Udo Stikker (NL), Paul van Zeeland (B), Konrad Adenauer (D) and Joseph Bech (Lux)

Setback and a difficult new start

“European unity was a dream of a few people. It became a hope for many. Today it is a necessity for all of us. It is, ladies and gentlemen, necessary for our security, for our freedom, for our existence as a nation and as an intellectual and creative international community.” KONRAD ADENAUER

At the German Bundestag, 15/12/1954

The failure of the European Defence Community

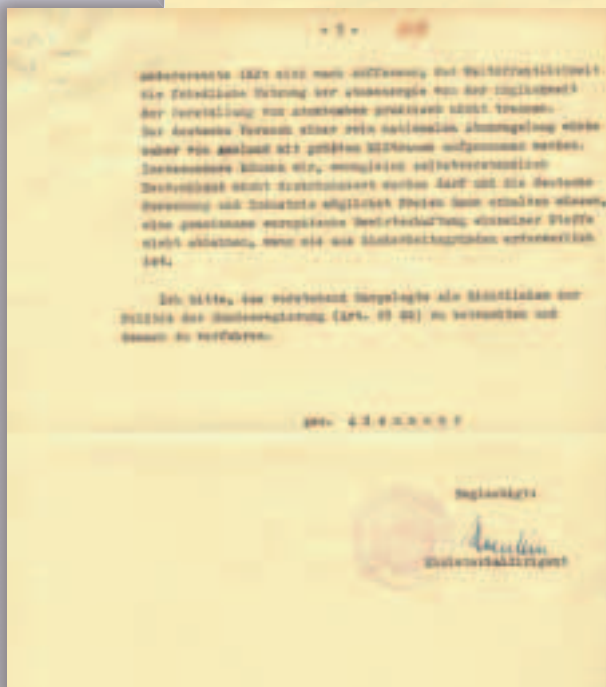
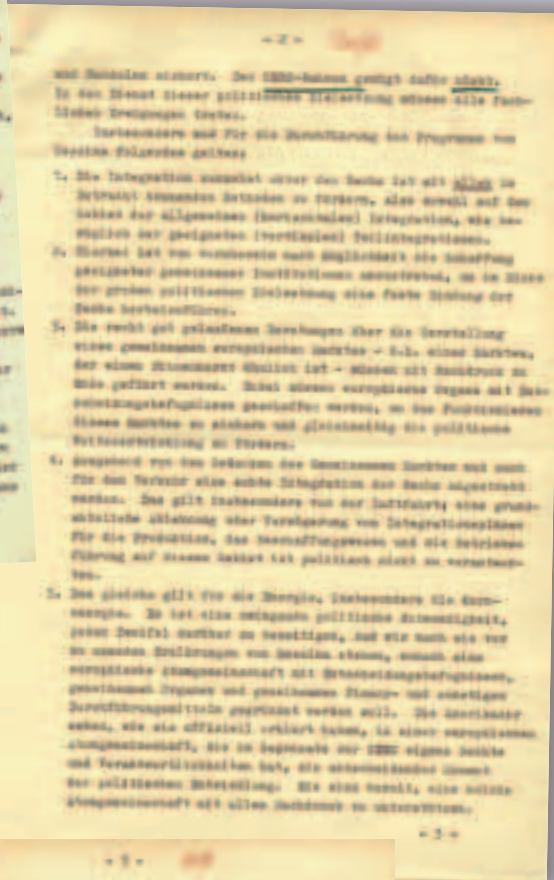
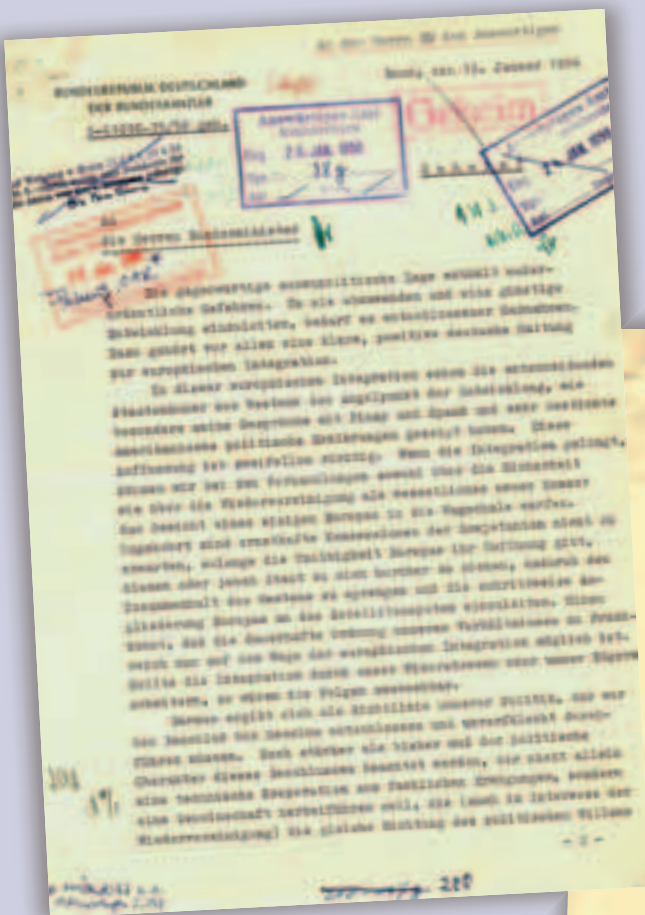
On 24 October 1950, the French Prime Minister René Pleven announces the plan for a European Defence Community (EDC). It allows for the setting up of a joint European army and the foundation of a European political community. Chancellor Adenauer picks up on the French suggestion immediately. On 27 May 1952, the signing of the EDC treaty takes place in Paris. It is ratified by five European countries (along with the Federal Republic, Italy, and the Benelux states); however it falls through in the French National Assembly on 30 August 1954.

A new start

Konrad Adenauer conceives the failure of the EDC to be a serious defeat, however he does not resign and fights for the continuation of European integration. The Belgian foreign minister Paul-Henri Spaak’s suggestion from April 1955 to amalgamate the nation-

al economies through the construction of a common market and by harmonising their social policy, as well as a European organisation for the friendly use of nuclear power paves the way for a new beginning. At the conference for foreign ministers of the ECSC in Messina on 1 and 2 June 1955, a corresponding resolution is adopted and a commission is appointed under Spaak’s leadership. The British government, which has been invited for further negotiations, declines to participate. However, the Six can not reach a consensus. In this situation, Adenauer instructs the German ministers, in particular Ludwig Erhard and Franz Josef Strauss to shelve their reservations against a customs union and against nuclear co-operation. In April 1956, Spaak produces a report with concrete suggestions to set up a common market and to establish a European atomic community. The conference of foreign ministers of the Six decides a month later in Venice to create a base for the following government negotiations.





The participants at the conference of foreign ministers of the ECSC-states on 1 September 1955 in Messina, from left: Johan Willem Beyen (NL), Gaetano Martino (I), Joseph Bech (Lux), Antoine Pinay (F), Walter Hallstein (D) and Paul-Henri Spaak (B)

Instructions from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to all Federal Ministers dated 19/1/1956

Konrad Adenauer and his European partners in the foundation phase of the Treaties of Rome 1956/57

“The first period of European integration has ended. Its purpose was to ensure that a war may never break out between the European people... The objective of the second period of European integration is to ensure that Europe and the European countries retain their value, relevance and their standing in the world.” KONRAD ADENAUER

In a press statement, 29/9/1956

Adenauer steps in

Based on the Spaak report, government negotiations start in Brussels in June 1956 in order to put in concrete terms both treaty drafts. There is an extensive understanding between Adenauer and the Italian Prime Minister Antonio Segni on the destination.



Konrad Adenauer and the Italian Prime Minister Antonio Segni in Bonn, 7/2/1956

Nevertheless, difficult questions between the partners have to be solved. Among others, France has demanded facilitated competition for its economy and for harmonisation of certain “social areas” before the Common Market was introduced, which the German government delegation refuses. Negotiations come to a standstill. Even a ministerial conference in Paris in October 1956 cannot solve the problems. Adenauer sees reason to intervene personally in the negotiations to keep the European unification process going, especially under the impact of Europe's weakness during the Hungarian uprising and the USA joining forces with the USSR during the Suez crisis. On 5 November, he travels to Paris and compromises with the Prime Minister Guy Mollet; based on this agreement, it is possible to find successful rules for all the disputable issues between the six partners. This paves the way for the Treaties of Rome and for the creation of a liberal order in Europe.



Konrad Adenauer and the French Prime Minister Guy Mollet in Bonn, 29/9/1956

Vorläufiges Programm
für die Reise
des Herrn Bundeskanzlers
und
des Herrn Bundesministers des Auswärtigen
nach Paris
vom 5. - 7. November 1956

Montag, 5. November 1956

ca. 6.00 Uhr Abfahrt von Bonn
ca. 16.00 Uhr Ankunft in Paris
20.00 Uhr Essen im Hause von Botschafter
Freiherr von Maltzan

Dienstag, 6. November 1956

11.00 Uhr Beginn der Besprechungen in Matignon
ca. 13.00 Uhr Frühstück im kleinen Kreis in Matignon
16.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr Fortsetzung der Besprechungen
18.30 Uhr Besuch bei dem Präsidenten der Republik
20.00 Uhr Diner in Quay d'Orsay (ca. 50 Personen)
anschließend Empfang, zu dem u.a. geladen werden:
die Missionschefs der NATO-Staaten,
die Chefs der ständigen Vertretungen
bei der NATO,
die ehemaligen französischen Minister-
präsidenten sowie
führende Persönlichkeiten aus dem
öffentlichen Leben (François-Poncet u.a.)

Mittwoch, 7. November 1956

evtl. Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzlers bei
Botschafter François-Poncet
evtl. Besprechungen in Matignon
mittags Frühstück, gegeben von der Association
de la Presse Diplomatique mit Rede
des Herrn Bundeskanzlers
ca. 16.00 Uhr Abfahrt nach Bonn

— *jetzt - Herrn / K. möchte Folgendes -*

*Dieser Terminplan für Paris wurde, als von Herrn Bundes-
kanzler genehmigt, dem Hrn. Just. bestätigt.*

Laying the foundation stone for European unification: The Treaties of Rome 1957

"The Common Market must not be regarded first and foremost as an economic treaty, but as a political instrument. It has to be regarded in conjunction with the European Council, the European Coal and Steel Community and EURATOM; in short, it is about a chain of political facts. The EEC is primarily a political treaty that aims to reach a politically integrated Europe by means of mutual economy." KONRAD ADENAUER

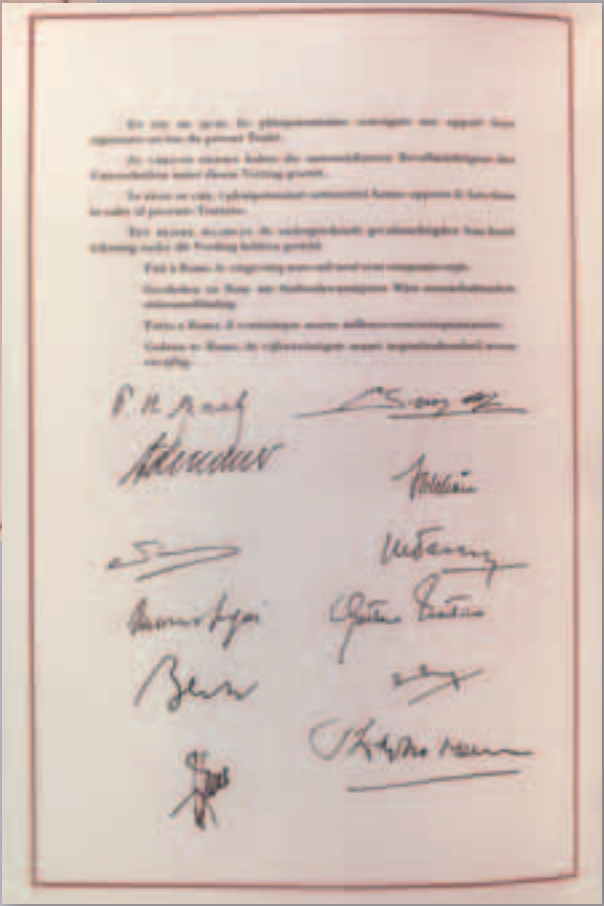
Before the executive board of the CDU, 9/11/1959

Rome, 25 March 1957

France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Federal Republic of Germany agree upon the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) under the Treaties of Rome. A common market shall be established through the EEC. EURATOM serves common research and peaceful use of nuclear energy. Twelve yellow stars on a blue back-

ground become the symbol of the EEC. The Roman treaties come into effect on 1 January 1958. At the same time the EEC institutions start work: the parliamentary assembly, whose delegates are sent from the national parliaments, exercises a right of consultation and control. The decisions of EEC are made by the ministerial council, which is comprised of the respective national department ministers concerned. The "Commission" is set up to carry out these decisions and to develop the EEC further; each country appoints two members to the Commission. It is considered as the "motor" of European integration and as the "guardian" of the treaties. Walter Hallstein, a close confidant of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, is the first president of the European Commission.





Signing the treaties establishing the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community on 25 March 1957 in Rome, first row from the left: Paul-Henri Spaak and Jean Charles Snoy et d’Oppuers (B), Christian Pineau and Maurice Faure (F), Konrad Adenauer and Walter Hallstein (D), Antonio Segni and Gaetano Martino (I) Joseph Bech and Lambert Schaus (Lux), Joseph Luns and J. Linthorst Homan (NL)

First and last pages of the treaty establishing the EEC

From the European Economic Community to the European Union

“Even the EEC will not be able to work permanently without a political union because the measures intended by the EEC require the political basis in the different countries to be created nearly identically.” KONRAD ADENAUER

At a press conference in Bonn, 4/8/1964

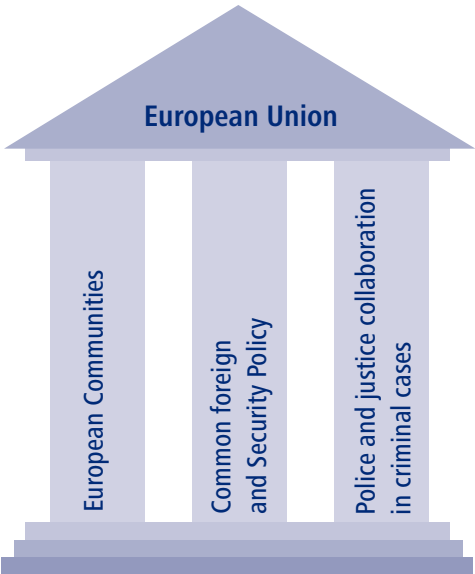
From the European Economic Community to the EU

The three communities of the EEC, EURATOM and ECSC start work in Brussels at the beginning of 1958. In the same year, the European Court of Justice is set up in Luxembourg, which supersedes the ECSC’s Court

of Justice. Permanent political unification is the most important aim for Adenauer. He merely sees the economic union as a stepping stone. This internally tempestuous and controversial policy creates an essential condition for the political advancement of Europe in peace and freedom. On 1 July 1967 the three executive institutions merge. Since that time the term “EC” is used as a collective term for the three communities. The treaty on the European Union (EU) concluded in Maastricht comes into effect on 1 November 1993. The EU replaces the EC and rests on three pillars: the three communities merged in the EC remain the primary element and create the supranational core area (first pillar); further elements of collaboration are Common Foreign and Security policy, CFSP (second pillar), and collaboration between the Justice and Internal ministries (third pillar).



The European Communities after the treaties of Rome



The European Union since 1993



Franco-German friendship is sealed in 1963 between Konrad Adenauer and the French president, Charles de Gaulle

"I believe that this close friendship, this close connection between France and Germany will act like a new momentum in Europe. Imagine if this friendship did not exist every attempt to develop Europe would be condemned to death from the very outset."

KONRAD ADENAUER

After-dinner speech in honour of the French president Charles de Gaulle in Bonn, 4/7/1963

Franco-German collaboration as a motor of European integration

Germany's integration, as aimed at by Adenauer, into the Western system of alliances as well as the political and economical union of Western Europe requires reconciliation with the French neighbouring country. The integration of the Saarland into Germany in 1957 paves the way. The good understanding between Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the French president Charles de Gaulle encourages the approach between the two countries. On 22 January 1963, Adenauer and de Gaulle sign the Franco-German friendship treaty in the Elysée Palace. Among others regular consultations between the governments and an intensified youth exchange programme are included. In 1988, the silver jubilee year of the Elysée treaty, Chancellor Kohl and president

François Mitterrand announce the creation of a Franco-German brigade. The joint Franco-German security and defence concept from 9 December 1996 is an important step on the way to further joint European security structures.

Consolidation and enlargement – Europe on the way to a constitution

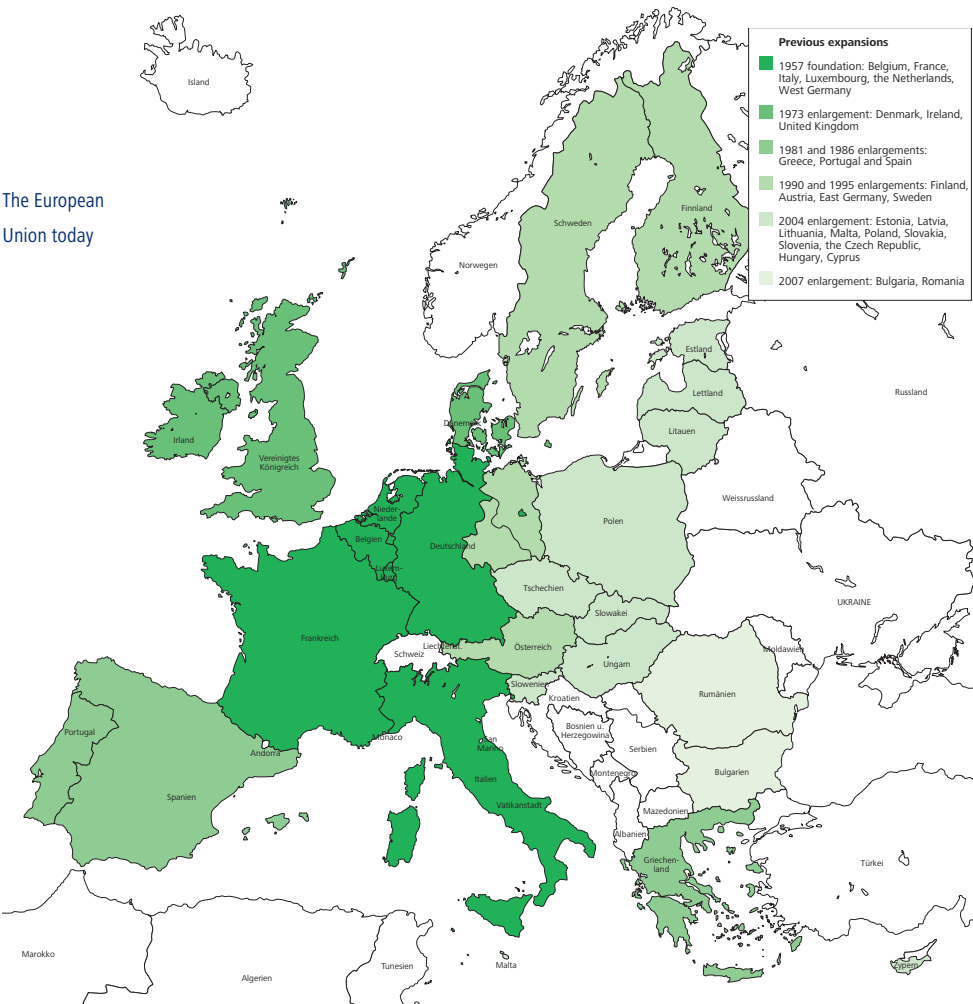
“But let us never forget that patience is a part of all big events and that especially we Europeans wanting a united Europe need to have that patience.” KONRAD ADENAUER

At the 7th German-French conference in Bad Godesberg, 25/4/1963

On the way towards a political union: Amsterdam, Nice, Laeken

The treaty of Maastricht is developed by the treaty of Amsterdam, which comes into effect on 1 May 1999. Collaboration is intensified and new joint tasks are accrued. The treaty of Nice (2000) brings further changes to the European agreement, particularly with regard to the decision-making mechanism concerning the forthcoming enlargement of the European Union towards the East.

The European convention which is appointed in December 2001 in Laeken by the heads of state and government submits a draft for a European constitution in summer 2003. On 29 October 2004 the draft is signed by the heads of state and government in Rome. The member states shall ratify the draft by the end of 2006. On account of the negative referenda results in France and the Netherlands the ratification process has been deferred for the time being.



Germany with responsibility for European leadership

"The draft of the constitutional treaty is the first text of a European treaty which refers specifically to the tolerance which is the hallmark of the European Union Member States, and which enables us to build the foundations on which the Europe of the future can develop new, sensible regulations. Regulations which reflect the new size of the European Union and the challenges it faces. Regulations which must give us scope to act. For we know that under the current regulations the EU can neither be enlarged, nor is it capable of taking the necessary decisions." ANGELA MERKEL

Speech to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, 17/1/2007

On 1 January 2007, Germany takes over the presidency of the Council of the European Union for six months. The continuation of the European constitution process and the related advancement of the EU belong to the central themes of current debates on the future of Europe.



José Manuel Barroso, the president of the European Commission, Chancellor Angela Merkel and Hans-Gert Pötering, the president of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, 17/1/2007



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