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# Shaping Europe

The Path to European Integration  
according to Jean Monnet

**GILLES GRIN**

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### Bibliographic Reference

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## *Introduction*

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This contribution is aimed at achieving an understanding of the political philosophy of Jean Monnet with regard to European integration.<sup>1</sup> It draws on the archives of this founding father of a united Europe and contains numerous quotations, as our main concern was to allow him to speak for himself.<sup>2</sup>

Like many people of his generation, Jean Monnet lived through the two World Wars of the first half of the twentieth century and their catastrophic consequences. He believed firmly in the necessity of working towards breaking with the fatalistic view of history: “The aim is peace for mankind, the continuous improvement of their standard of living and the preservation of freedom”.<sup>3</sup>

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1 See the Memoirs of Jean Monnet: Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, Paris, Fayard, 1976 (original French edition); Jean Monnet, *Memoirs*, New York, Doubleday, 1978 (English translation). For biographies of Jean Monnet, see: François Duchêne, *Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence*, New York, London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1994. Gilles Grin, *Une réflexion sur l'actualité de la pensée et de l'action de Jean Monnet*, *Papiers d'actualité de la Fondation Pierre du Bois pour l'histoire du temps présent*, N° 7, septembre 2009. Eric Roussel, *Jean Monnet: 1888-1979*, Paris, Fayard, 1995.

2 This piece is also linked to the following study, expanding on various points: Gilles Grin, *Méthode communautaire et fédéralisme: le legs de Jean Monnet à travers ses archives*, Lausanne, Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Collection débats et documents, numéro 2, septembre 2014, 27 p.

3 Translation from French. Source: «– Le but, c'est la Paix [...]», note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, [1955], Lausanne, Archives de la Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe (FJME), AMM 5/1/27.

Having experienced the wider world at a very young age, he was also aware of the emergence of major integrated groupings, leaving Europe no other choice but to unite. Science and technological progress were also fashioning a new world at an accelerated pace: “Our countries have become too small for today’s world, faced with the scale of modern technology, of the America and Russia of today and the China and India of tomorrow”.<sup>4</sup> The consequence was clear: individual European countries could no longer meet the challenges facing them or provide prosperity for their citizens on their own.

Jean Monnet never saw his projects or ideas in purely technical or economic terms. He fought for the political union of Europe. As he saw it, the preservation of peace and the quest for prosperity – in Europe and throughout the world – should happen through the union of peoples.

In order to heal the wounds of past conflicts, Jean Monnet wished to change relationships between countries and – over time – national structures. This meant that sovereignty and institutions were at the heart of his thinking. His vision was not only an economic one, but a social one too, aiming to improve living standards for all. Understandably, he was strongly influenced by the overall context of the Cold War.

As we see it, achieving an understanding of the path to European integration according to Jean Monnet requires us to focus on the six following areas:

- his vision of sovereignty and the role of the law
- institutions and the importance of identifying the common interest
- federation as the ultimate goal of the process of integration

<sup>4</sup> Translation from French. Source: « M. Jean Monnet quitte la direction du pool charbonnier pour se consacrer à la réalisation d’une Europe fédérale », article de François Roussel, *La Croix*, 13 novembre 1954, FJME, AMH 61/8/83.

- phased identification of a path combining economic integration with political union
- geographical opening up of the scope of integration in Europe
- global vision linking the European Project with the rest of the world.

## I. *Sovereignty and law*

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As far back as 1943, Jean Monnet pointed the finger at the excesses of national sovereignty that might lead to high-profile policies and protectionist measures in a concept note written in Algiers. He underlined the necessity of creating bigger markets and avoiding excessive military expenditure: “There will be no peace in Europe if States reconstitute themselves on the basis of national sovereignty, with all that entails in terms of high-profile policies and economic protection. If the countries of Europe decide to protect themselves against each other again, large new armies will have to be formed. Some countries will be allowed to do this – under the coming Peace Treaty – and others will not. We saw this approach in 1919 and we are aware of the consequences. Inter-European alliances will be made, and we know what that means. Social reforms will be blocked or delayed by the pressure of military spending. Yet again, Europe will recreate itself in a climate of fear”.<sup>5</sup>

Even with the catastrophic consequences of the World Wars, he continued to see the resilience of national sovereignties as a profound reality: “There will still be so many national brakes on the supra-national function of European institutions that the engine

<sup>5</sup> Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Alger, 5 août 1943, FJME, AME 33/1/3, published in: Henri Rieben, Martin Nathusius, Françoise Nicod, Claire Camperio-Tixier, *Un changement d’espérance : La Déclaration du 9 mai 1950, Jean Monnet – Robert Schuman*, Lausanne, Fondation Jean Monnet pour l’Europe, 2000, p. 35.

will inevitably run slowly, and the enthusiasm of some is in danger of sinking under the weight of the machine itself allied with national pressures”.<sup>6</sup>

Jean Monnet went as far as to state the necessity of going beyond a mere cooperation between governments. He spoke in favour of sovereignty being delegated to federal institutions, making him an advocate of supra-nationality. He promulgated a certain vision of sovereignty involving the merging of selected areas. He stated: “Without delegation of power and sovereignty, you have nothing”.<sup>7</sup> “Mere cooperation between governments is not enough. It is vital for States to delegate some of their powers to European federal institutions acting on behalf of all participating countries”.<sup>8</sup> His thinking had not changed a generation on from the inception of the European Community: “The problems that our countries need to sort out are not the same as in 1950. But the method remains the same: a transfer of powers to common institutions, majority rule and a common approach to finding a solution to problems are the only answer in our current state of crisis”.<sup>9</sup>

Jean Monnet was opposed to high-level national stances and any vision of absolute national sovereignty: “We have touched on the basic principle governing all relationships between States – national sovereignty’. We have breached this basic archaic concept and developments have ensued”.<sup>10</sup> He used the term “extended national sovereignty” for the common exercise of sovereignty: “The organisation of the European Economic Community

6 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Crans, mardi 4 novembre [1953], FJME, AMM 4/1/28.

7 Translation from French. Source: « Conversation avec Etzel, Wenmakers à Bricherhof », manuscrit, 29 mai 1955, FJME, AMM 5/1/15.

8 Translation from French. Source: « Pour que ça change », de Jean Monnet, *Demain*, N° 1, 15-21 décembre 1955, p. 7, FJME, AML 121/1.

9 Translation from French. Source: « L’Europe et la nécessité », 15 mai 1974, FJME, AMK 151/1/11.

10 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Schuls, dimanche 18 août 1968, published in: Henri Rieben, Claire Camperio-Tixier, Françoise Nicod, *A l’écoute de Jean Monnet*, Lausanne, Fondation Jean Monnet pour l’Europe, 2004, p. 77.

introduced the concept of extended national sovereignty as States permitted delegations of sovereignty to European institutions in certain cases.”<sup>11</sup>

Monnet emphasized the importance of common rules, the concept of equality between countries and the necessity for arbitration by the law. He was vehemently opposed to the law of the strongest: “I have long been convinced that domination is the worst of the world’s evils. Discussion and agreement are one thing, imposing one’s will is quite another. I therefore believed that it is impossible to achieve peace in Europe without establishing equality and eradicating domination as far as possible. And for this, it was necessary to make the French and the Germans understand each other. To understand one another, you have to talk, which is why these institutions were formed.”<sup>12</sup> He also said: “You also have to be aware of what equality was. Equality in Europe between the French, the British and the Germans, equality between the victors and the defeated. Such a possibility had never been envisaged before. In the past, the victors imposed their will and the defeated had to do as they were told. This wasn’t the case here. We proposed equality from the start.”<sup>13</sup>

Jean Monnet spoke in favour of applying the practice within individual countries between States: “Within our nations, we have established institutions which enable the citizens of the same country to debate their problems and to find solutions for them which then become the law for all, the application of which is ensured by other institutions. We no longer permit the relations between citizens to be governed by notions of force, supremacy, or domination. To establish these same conditions among the

11 Translation from French. Source: Mémoire, 31 janvier 1970, FJME, AMK 114/1/36.

12 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Georges Suffert, entretiens des 10-11 mai 1970, FJME, AML 298/21, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l’écoute de Jean Monnet*, op. cit., p. 189.

13 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l’écoute de Jean Monnet*, op. cit., p. 380.

peoples of Europe, there is no other way than to apply to them the same methods that we all apply within our national frontiers – to adopt common rules which our nations and their citizens pledge themselves to follow, and to set up common institutions to ensure their application. Thus Europeans, while each remains profoundly attached to his nation, will together have the feeling that they belong to the same community, the affairs of which they will administer according to the democratic principles which govern the life of their nations. This is the process of civilisation itself. Outside of this path, there can only be a return to nationalism and to the will to dominate which has led the world to the brink of disaster.”<sup>14</sup>

Jean Monnet was aware of the fact that we cannot change human nature, but believed in the possibility of changing people’s behaviour towards each other. For him, the idea of pooling resources across countries – on opposite sides in the past – was now central. He considered that his method could provide progress for the process of civilisation.

He spoke in favour of respect for diversity: “Only a common perspective, common rules and common institutions can enable us to regain our composure. This is the new reality that has come through from our experience. This respects deep national realities, does not exclude diversity of temperament and lifestyle or respect for traditions and a country’s individual character, but removes all vestiges of a past age – mutual fear and the protection of small closed markets. Pooling their resources eliminates suspicion and distrust between peoples.”<sup>15</sup>

14 Joint declaration adopted by the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, Bonn, 1st and 2nd June 1964, FJME, AMK 16/6/210.

15 Translation from French. Source: Deuxième réunion jointe des membres de l’Assemblée commune de la Communauté et de l’Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l’Europe, Strasbourg, 20 mai 1954, text published in: Jean Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé: la communauté européenne du charbon et de l’acier*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1955, pp. 37-38.

The concept of popular sovereignty was very important to Jean Monnet. It was embedded within him in the notion of representative democracy: “With every new delegation of national sovereignty to European institutions, we need to ask ourselves whether the abandonment of national competency and responsibility prescribed by the Treaties of Rome ought not to be balanced by the constitution of a European political formula with parliamentary and democratic responsibilities.”<sup>16</sup> Monnet therefore had a natural tendency to speak in favour of the election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage.

He contrasted his method to simple cooperation between States, highlighting the difference in nature between European Communities and intergovernmental organisations such as the League of Nations, the United Nations and the Council of Europe: “Faced with a situation where Europe had lost its relative influence in the world, we asked ourselves: what can we do? Talk? In the case of many international organisations, governments were sending representatives – each defending their own point of view – but nobody was able to adopt the group view. So, as the problem was a group one, someone had to adopt the group view – without which we would never get anywhere. We have all seen these international organisations; we have sat at the League of Nations in the past. I know the true value of such discussions, where national sovereignty is ultimately expressed as a high-level stance and where the tendency is to find solutions through compromise. Compromise is always the lowest and weakest common denominator, and problems are never really solved.”<sup>17</sup> He also declared: “For the first time, the traditional relationships between States have changed. According to the methods of the past, even when European States are convinced of the necessity for common action, even when they set up an international organisation, they retain full sovereignty.

16 Translation from French. Source: «Proposition en vue de démocratiser les institutions communes», 29 octobre 1963, FJME, AMK 55/6/15.

17 Translation from French. Source: Conférence devant la Société d’Economie politique de Belgique, Bruxelles 30 juin 1953, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé, op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.



An international organisation can therefore neither issue decisions nor execute them, but only put recommendations to the States. These methods are incapable of laying our national antagonisms to rest, which inevitably persist for as long as national sovereignties themselves are not overcome.”<sup>18</sup> “Our institutions are different in nature: the Council of Europe is founded on the concept of national sovereignty, but the European Coal and Steel Community is founded on the new concept of the merging of sovereignties. The Community is a new sovereign entity.”<sup>19</sup> “It is no accident that the twentieth century witnessed the first attempts at global unity within the League of Nations and the United Nations. These attempts produced disappointing results. But this is because government representatives, all focused on pleading their national cause and paralysed by the necessity to agree on every sentence when it came to taking common action, were only able to propose minor solutions to major problems. International organisations can alleviate – but not resolve – problems arising from an international conflict.”<sup>20</sup> “Governments will base their choice less on the immediate path they will take together than on the route they have committed to. If they keep to the formulae to which we are accustomed and that ended in failure, unable to prevent the wars we suffered, we will hear talk of cooperation. If, on the other hand, they take the joint decision to change the form of their relationship – and only change can lead to our salvation – we will hear that they all agree to delegate powers that they exercise poorly as separate entities and that they are delegating them to a common authority. In the first scenario, we will return to the League of Nations, having already suffered its failure and the ensuing war. In the second scenario, we will move towards a United States of Europe, with the

18 Translation from French. Source: Séance d’installation de la Haute Autorité, Luxembourg, 10 août 1952, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

19 Translation from French. Source: Commission des Affaires économiques de l’Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l’Europe, Strasbourg, 28 mars 1953, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

20 Translation from French. Source: Allocution diffusée à l’Université de Columbia, U.S.A. à l’occasion de son bicentenaire, 2 juin 1954, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

hope of Peace and prosperity for all.”<sup>21</sup> “Other European organisations, the Council of Europe, the OEEC and Paris Agreements are essentially different. The Council of Europe has no powers and has never been consulted by governments on any precise issue. The Council discusses all issues without being restricted or responsible. It is a very useful platform, and not an institution. Member states have given nothing up. As a consequence, the Council of Europe cannot be compared to Community institutions.”<sup>22</sup>

According to Jean Monnet, his method was equally valid for both sectoral integration and general integration. For him, it was more important to go down the right path than to follow what might be a long-distance route: “Essentially, what we are doing is denoted by the fact that, through their parliaments, States are delegating their national powers to federal institutions. The important thing is to go down this path, however short the distance travelled, and not seek a wider solution via old methods that have failed in the past.”<sup>23</sup>

He was opposed to the vision and action of General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic between 1959 and 1969: “The path offered to us by General de Gaulle is national cooperation – everyone drinking from their own glass – with no common glass – with imposed methods and decisions and no discussion – For a long time, I thought that General de Gaulle would understand that the European path requires a gradual transformation of national superiorities. But now I see that I was mistaken. The policy offered to us by General de Gaulle involves going backwards via cooperation between nations. It is the negation of Europe – the impossibility of having a European Europe – It is the impossibility of having conditions of equality between the peoples of Europe – the impossibility of creating conditions enabling Europe to be

21 Translation from French. Source: «L’heure du choix de l’Europe», note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, [1955], FJME, AMM 5/1/25.

22 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Houjarray, 17 septembre 1957, FJME, AMM 5/3/37.

23 Translation from French. Source: «Téléphoner Volf... Mon cher ami...». Manuscrit, [mai 1955], FJME, AMM 5/1/18.

independent, which means discussing equality with the United States first of all – followed by Russia. What General de Gaulle is offering us is to maintain the sense of superiority and domination between the countries of Europe that led us to catastrophic wars of the past – this is not independence – this is the economic domination of the USA and the political domination of the USSR.”<sup>24</sup>

## II. Common institutions and the common interest

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Jean Monnet attached great importance to institutions, to the continuity that they represent and their capacity for finding the common interest: “People pass on, others will come along and replace us. What we can leave them is not our personal experience, which will disappear with us – what we can leave them is the institutions. Institutions live longer than people so, if they are well built, institutions can accumulate and transmit the wisdom of successive generations.”<sup>25</sup> “A long time ago I was struck by a remark made by the Swiss philosopher Amiel, who said: ‘Individuals start from the beginning each time. Only institutions become wiser; they accumulate collective experience and, through such experience and wisdom, people governed by the same rules will not see their nature change, but their behaviour transform gradually.’”<sup>26</sup>

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24 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Les Portes, 7 août 1965, FJME, AMM 5/11/78.

25 Translation from French. Source: Discours, Strasbourg, 11 septembre 1952, text published in: Jean Monnet, *Repères pour une méthode: Propos sur l'Europe à faire*, Paris, Fayard, 1996, p. 98.

26 Translation from French. Source: Première réunion jointe des membres de l'Assemblée commune de la Communauté et de l'Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 22 juin 1953, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, op. cit., p. 36.

Jean Monnet spoke in favour of common institutions, frequently using the term federal institutions, emphasising their possibility for evolution: “All of these institutions can be modified and improved with experience. What will not be called into question is that they are supra-national and, let us say it, federal institutions. These are institutions that are, within the limits of their competence, sovereign, meaning endowed with the right to decide and execute.”<sup>27</sup> “It is institutions that govern the relationships between people, they are the true foundation of civilisation.”<sup>28</sup>

The common or general interest requiring identification differs from the smaller common denominator constituted by national interests. It is also important to keep the overall view: “As the problem was a group one, someone had to adopt the group view – without which we would never get anywhere.”<sup>29</sup>

Jean Monnet attached great importance to democratic control: “The unification of Europe concerns all of its citizens. It cannot be a domain reserved for technicians and diplomats alone. The people themselves will need to be involved in this, appointing their representatives to an assembly elected by universal suffrage when responsibilities conferred on common institutions have sufficiently evolved.”<sup>30</sup> He considered it necessary to show firstly that the European Project brings people peace and prosperity, then that the voice of the people may be introduced: “First of all, it was necessary to show people that it was not simply a question of an objective for the future and working for peace in the continent of

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27 Translation from French. Source: Allocution de Jean Monnet lors de la séance d'installation de la Haute Autorité, Luxembourg, 10 août 1952, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

28 Translation from French. Source: Discours, Strasbourg, 20 mai 1954, text published in: J. Monnet, *Repères pour une méthode*, op. cit., p. 96.

29 Translation from French. Source: Conférence devant la Société d'Economie politique de Belgique, Bruxelles 30 juin 1953, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

30 Translation from French. Source: «La création des Etats-Unis d'Europe peut seule stabiliser les rapports Est-Ouest», interview de Jean Monnet par André Fontaine, Le Monde, 16 juin 1955, FJME, AML 109/1.

Europe; it was necessary to show them that, in everyday material terms, the Community was the fair solution to the problems that all governments have to resolve. And this is what was done and this had to be done before introducing the voice of the people. The voice of the people is expressed through Parliament, but Parliament has only a consultative role. And I will say again that we are coming to a point, as you have said, where, instead of being purely consultative, this Parliament needs to play an active part in the actual decision-making. This will probably require direct election by the people.”<sup>31</sup> As Monnet sees it, the role of Parliament needs to be expanded: “Current institutions are too technical. They need to be made more democratic. This can be achieved by increasing parliamentary responsibility. The European Parliament needs to be involved in the appointment of the new Commission to replace the High Authority and Commissions of the Common Market and Euratom, and be in a position to engage the responsibility of the new Commission under conditions normal to our countries.”<sup>32</sup> “The objective that needs to be pursued is the creation of a European government capable of taking the necessary obligatory decisions in the field of Community policy and subject to democratic control. [...] There will be no political authority without parliamentary control – or without the involvement of the voice of the people in discussions relating to the Community.”<sup>33</sup>

The institutional architecture of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), with the High Authority holding executive authority, and controlled by the Assembly and the Court of Justice, corresponds to a model for the separation of powers promoted by Jean Monnet: “The sovereign powers that have been delegated to common institutions are exercised by a series of bodies

31 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet*, op. cit., pp. 356-357.

32 Translation from French. Source: « Proposition en vue de démocratiser les institutions communes », 29 octobre 1963, FJME, AMK 55/6/15.

33 Translation from French. Source: Projet de lettre de M. Monnet aux membres du Comité, Les Diablerets, 4 septembre 1971, FJME, AMK 26/6/17.

constituting Europe’s first federal bodies. There is a system of checks and balances for ensuring democratic control of all decisions. The executive body is the High Authority; the parliament is constituted by the Assembly elected by the six national parliaments; there is the Court of Justice, which all Governments and interested parties may address when they consider that the High Authority has overstepped its powers.”<sup>34</sup> “In our countries, communal affairs are managed in such a way as to combine the necessities of collective action with respect for individual rights and freedoms. The executive arm takes action and the parliamentary and judicial arms exercise control. It is quite clear that such guarantees need to be in place when countries decide to take a common approach to this or that issue and delegate the powers required to address them to federal institutions. But there also has to be coordination and harmony between any action taken by federal institutions and government policy in participating countries.”<sup>35</sup> It is also important for the High Authority to manage its own budget, independently of member States. The Council of Ministers has a very special role: “Coal and steel are still only part of economic life. This is why a continuous relationship needs to be maintained between the High Authority and the Governments that remain responsible for overall State economic policy. The Council of Ministers was created not to exercise control or tutelage, but to establish this relationship and ensure harmony between the policy of the High Authority and that of member States.”<sup>36</sup> Monnet speaks in favour of the end of unanimity within this body composed of national representatives: “Apart from exceptional cases, the rule of unanimity has been abandoned in its deliberations. It is actually a matter for the Council to identify a common view,

34 Translation from French. Source: Exposé devant la Commission Randall (commission américaine chargée d’étudier les questions commerciales sur le continent européen), Paris, 11 novembre 1953, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé*, op. cit., p. 45.

35 Translation from French. Source: Interview de Monsieur Jean Monnet pour Les Echos, 28 novembre 1955, FJME, AML 120/3.

36 Translation from French. Source: Séance d’installation de la Haute Autorité, Luxembourg, 10 août 1952, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé*, op. cit., p. 50.

and not look for a compromise between individual interests.”<sup>37</sup> “I believe that, one day, we will also make progress towards making majority decisions, but we are not there yet. We are on our way, but I think that this will happen in a pragmatic way.”<sup>38</sup>

We know that the institutional model conceived for the European Economic Community (EEC) was less federal than that of the first Community, the ECSC, giving a greater role to representatives of national governments. In spite of this backwards shift towards less supra-nationality, Jean Monnet was of the opinion that the EEC was in continuity with the ECSC: “I mean that decisions could be taken more quickly at the ECSC than in the Common Market. But the fundamental principles, meaning common interests, common problems and equality, were the same in both the Common Market and the ECSC. So I believe that there is no fundamental difference between the two.”<sup>39</sup>

Later on, Jean Monnet spoke in favour of establishing the European Council, bringing national executive leaders together as the start of a European authority. He looked for a European government with a pragmatic approach, then realised that the Commission was unable to fulfil this role at the time. In 1971, his collaborator Jacques Van Helmont spoke in favour of ambitious development: “A European government replaces the Council and the Commission and is also in charge of foreign policy and defence. Members of the European government are not part of the national governments.”<sup>40</sup> Jean Monnet talked along the same lines

37 Translation from French. Source: Première réunion du Conseil de Ministres de la Communauté (réponse au discours du Chancelier Adenauer qui présidait la séance), Luxembourg, 8 septembre 1952, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

38 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet*, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

39 Translation from French. Source: *Ibid.*, p. 360.

40 Translation from French. Source: « Esquisse », de Jacques Van Helmont, 28 avril 1971, FJME, AMK 114/1/49.

in 1974: “The institutions of the European Union need to include a European Government and a European Assembly elected by universal suffrage.”<sup>41</sup>

### III. Federation

Jean Monnet had a federal vision, as evidenced by his vocabulary, his early evocation of the principle of subsidiarity and the formulation of a number of plans with a federal dimension.<sup>42</sup> As far back as 1943, he wrote in his note from Algiers: “Their prosperity and indispensable social developments are impossible unless the States of Europe form a Federation or ‘European entity’ creating a common economic unity.”<sup>43</sup> 13 years later, he wrote the following words: “It is a rare privilege to see an idea become a reality in one’s lifetime. Europe – the idea. Europe – a federal reality – the United States of Europe have begun.”<sup>44</sup>

Jean Monnet also expressed his thoughts on subsidiarity: “The United States of Europe that we are striving to create are not a centralised state – they are a federation that respects deep national realities – that gives everyone resources they could never have as individuals through the pooling of resources – that also enables a rapid improvement in the standard of living of the peoples of

41 Translation from French. Source: « Note de réflexions pour préparer le projet d’union européenne et assurer la capacité de décision des institutions de la CEE », Comité d’action pour les Etats-Unis d’Europe, 15 février 1974, annotations manuscrites de Jean Monnet, FJME, AMK 151/1/10.

42 G. Grin, *Méthode communautaire et fédéralisme*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-22.

43 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Alger, 5 août 1943, FJME, AME 33/1/3, published in: H. Rieben, M. Nathusius, F. Nicod, C. Camperio-Tixier, *Un changement d’espérance*, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

44 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, 1<sup>er</sup> semestre 1956, FJME, AMM 5/2/19.

Europe – through the creation of viable common institutions, that can guide and stimulate human progress where existing national institutions prove too narrow to encourage it.”<sup>45</sup> He wrote in a concept note: “To this, we need to add the creation of a system that would support nations for non-federated issues (see the Swiss Confederation) [...] Gradually, we need to federate the issues that these nations cannot address alone – the economy, defence and policy. Thus, speaking with one voice on essential issues, these peoples will hold a debate to determine the form of European system that will leave all things national that are not federal. That will allow every nation its national sectors and federal sectors and leave the form of national government for national sectors intact. We need a Europe for that which is essential. Leave the rest national – a Europe for what nations cannot do alone – We must not construct an administrative machine that is too big – We need decentralisation that gives us current-day states.”<sup>46</sup>

Jean Monnet never hesitated to promote federalist ideas after severe crises.<sup>47</sup> The failure of the planned European Defence Community (EDC) in 1954, in which he was greatly invested, forced Europeans to employ a kind of “topsy-turvy federalism” i.e. postpone the introduction of full political union with a complete institutional system and a stable delimitation of competences between the centre and member States.

Monnet considered the ECSC as a federal kind of institutional model, even if restricted to two key economic sectors. Along with the EEC, the model moved away from federalism, giving birth to the Community method.

45 Translation from French. Source: [Discours de Jean Monnet au Congrès européen du travail du 29 avril 1956], FJME, AMM 5/2/20.

46 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Les Portes, août 1965, FJME, AMM 5/11/77.

47 G. Grin, *Méthode communautaire et fédéralisme*, op. cit., pp. 19-22.

Monnet showed great pragmatism in the discussion of confederation and federation. He wrote in 1960: “This kind of ‘Confederation’ represents, in my opinion, at the point where we are and in the current circumstances, the best way of moving European unity towards more evolved forms. Personally, I am in no doubt that ‘Confederation’ will one day lead to ‘Federation’. But is it possible to go any further at the moment? I do not think so. By then, the ‘Confederation’ would have the big advantage of convincing public opinion in our countries that they have entered an entity that is not only an economic one, but political, too, and will therefore be part of a unity greater than themselves.”<sup>48</sup> He continued this line of thought in 1971: “We need to avoid doctrinal discussions about whether the political authority that we construct will be a confederation or a federation – the Swiss Confederation is a good example here: a Confederation when it was created, it became a federation with independent ‘cantons’ in certain areas, but kept the name of Confederation.”<sup>49</sup>

Again in 1971, he commented that he was not sure that integration would lead to a federation, preferring to use the term Union of Europe: “I am not saying that this will necessarily be a federation. I believe that it is very important for it to be clear. A federation is a form of relationship that has existed between nations for hundreds of years. I don’t know if the current organisation of Europe will lead to a federation, I have no idea, as the form taken by the Union of Europe, I prefer to use that term, will be the result of discussions between the British, French, Italians and Germans. So I think that to say now that it will be a federation would be a mistake, in my opinion. I don’t know. It is a Union of Europe, if you like, but not a federation.”<sup>50</sup>

48 Translation from French. Source: Lettre de Jean Monnet aux membres du Comité d’action, 22 novembre 1960, FJME, AMK 55/3/32.

49 Translation from French. Source: Projet de lettre de M. Monnet aux membres du Comité, Les Diablerets, 4 septembre 1971, FJME, AMK 26/6/17.

50 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l’écoute de Jean Monnet*, op. cit., p. 338.



In his Memoirs published in English in 1978, Jean Monnet referred to the end of the process, confirming what he had said seven years before: “Where this necessity will lead, and toward what kind of Europe, I cannot say. It is impossible to foresee today the decisions that could be taken in a new context tomorrow. The essential thing is to hold fast to the few fixed principles that have guided us since the beginning: gradually to create among Europeans the broadest common interest, served by common democratic institutions to which the necessary sovereignty has been delegated. [...] I have never doubted that one day this process will lead us to the United States of Europe; but I see no point in trying to imagine today what political form it will take. The words about which people argue – federation or confederation – are inadequate and imprecise. What we are preparing, through the work of the Community, is probably without precedent. The Community itself is founded on institutions, and they need strengthening; but the true political authority which the democracies of Europe will one day establish still has to be conceived and built.”<sup>51</sup>

#### IV. *Economic integration and political union: a staged process*

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Jean Monnet was one of the designers of the projected Franco-British union of 1940, aimed at introducing a customs union, a single currency, common economic policies, common defence, citizenship, a constitution, a war cabinet and a parliament.<sup>52</sup> The 1940 proposal referred to a particular context, where the survival of the French and British nations was at stake. Monnet later

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51 J. Monnet, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

52 Declaration of Union, 16th June 1940, FJME, AME 8/2/7, published in: H. Rieben, M. Nathusius, F. Nicod, C. Camperio-Tixier, *Un changement d'espérance*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

recalled: “The British proposal of 1940 was global. It suggested that the nations should share the same destiny. What we went on to do in 1950 in the name of the Schuman Plan was to pool the nations’ interests, and instead of doing everything from the beginning, we did it in stages. So we started with coal and steel, which was followed by the Common Market; other stages will come later, but they are in harmony and I would say according to the principle found in the declaration of the Franco-British union proposed by Churchill.”<sup>53</sup>

During his involvement in Europe after the Second World War, Jean Monnet favoured staged progress – the only effective option, according to him. The Monnet-Schuman Declaration of 1950 included the following: “Europe will not be formed all at once, nor built as an entity: it will be formed through concrete achievements, initially creating a *de facto* solidarity.”<sup>54</sup> Five years later, Jean Monnet wrote: “It cannot all be done at once – or nothing will be done at all. We need to act now, in a practical way, in a limited but real way, and also have bigger and more distant aims before us.”<sup>55</sup> In 1971, he declared: “I still believe that you have to start by acting within a restricted area. You have to have a future objective, and you can only achieve that objective under the pressure of necessity, the union of peoples is not a natural thing, they have to be pushed by necessity. So I was convinced that the Schuman proposal would enable further developments in future, because it created a common interest on the one hand, and on the other hand it created institutions at the same time, the aim of which was to enable these countries to talk to each other on an equal basis, and this is what was done. There are disagreements and disputes, naturally, but that is secondary. What is fundamental about the

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53 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet*, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.

54 Translation from French. Source: FJME, AMG 1/2/9, published in: H. Rieben, M. Nathusius, F. Nicod, C. Camperio-Tixier, *Un changement d'espérance*, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

55 Translation from French. Source: «– Le but, c'est la Paix [...]», note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, [1955], FJME, AMM 5/1/27.

Schuman Plan is that institutions were created where all countries are represented, a High Authority was appointed with a global view, enabling nations, whatever their disputes, to address a common problem on an equal basis as had never been seen before [...] I believe that Europe cannot be formed all at once or based on a scheme or plan. And in the same way, I don't think that you can change things in our society by attacking all sectors at the same time. You can only bring change about gradually. And I personally believe that the mistake of those who want global change is that they speak of change but don't actually make any. To bring change about, as I told you, you have to work gradually. You have to be determined to make the change, and you don't just have to think about what you will decide to do, but also about the consequences this will have for the economy and society as a whole. You see, I think that our society is highly complex. Destroying it is not going to improve anything. What we need to do is change the existing situation, improving it gradually, step by step.”<sup>56</sup>

It was clear to Jean Monnet that “Europe can only be formed by gradual transformation”<sup>57</sup> and that the process takes time. Furthermore, “We need to allow for social benefits as integration progresses. There needs to be a broad European basis for readjustment.”<sup>58</sup>

Monnet emphasised: “The route that we take is less important than the direction we travel in.”<sup>59</sup> The path to integration had to start with economic integration. Resources needed to be pooled from the outset. Political union would come after that. Jean Monnet saw economic integration as the foundation for political union:

56 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet, op. cit.*, pp. 340-341 et 391.

57 Translation from French. Source: «L'heure du choix de l'Europe», note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, [1955], FJME, AMM 5/1/25.

58 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, [juin 1955], FJME, AMM 5/1/123.

59 Translation from French. Source: «Téléphoner Volf... Mon cher ami, ...». Manuscrit, [mai 1955], FJME, AMM 5/1/18.

“Any agreement organising the system of co-operation that will be necessary at the outset must clearly guarantee the continuity and future of economic integration, which is the basis of political union. This economic integration cannot be called in question, either now or in the future.”<sup>60</sup> But there is no automatic process for passing from economic to political integration: “Economic integration, with social progress shapes and brings nearer political integration, but [...] the latter will not arise spontaneously without effort and deliberate will.”<sup>61</sup> Even if the course for political union was fixed, the way of reaching it was flexible.

In a concept note written in 1952, Jean Monnet wrote the sequence “Single market – single currency – federation”.<sup>62</sup> So we can see a key role for monetary integration here, at the point where economics and politics meet. In a note written in 1955, at a time when the general concept of a common market had not yet had a chance to be accepted in France, Monnet considered that it was easier to integrate the resources of energy and transport as a first step, smoothing the way for a range of consumer products. In 1957, he referred to the technical nature of the process entered into, asking: “The ECSC, the Common Market and Euratom are technical entities. How do we bring them alive and how do we bring concept and policy alive?”<sup>63</sup>

As previously mentioned, from 1960, Jean Monnet was committed to the concept of a confederation as a step towards a European federation.<sup>64</sup>

60 Joint Declaration of June 26, 1962, Paris, Action Committee for the United States of Europe, FJME, AMK 14/3/57.

61 Resolutions adopted by the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, Bonn, 15th and 16th December 1969, FJME, AMK 24/8/66.

62 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, USA, avril/mai 1952, FJME, AMM 3/3/6.

63 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Sirmione, 25 septembre 1957, FJME, AMM 5/3/38.

64 See part III.

A declaration by the Monnet Committee in 1962 stated that: “It should now be made clear that after the initial period of cooperation the revision of the commitments entered into by the States should provide for the gradual adaptation to the political sphere of the method which has already made it possible to achieve the economic integration of Europe.”<sup>65</sup> Institutions and methods for economic integration could therefore be useful in terms of shaping political union.

The application of the Community method to foreign policy and defence was advocated in a declaration by the Monnet Committee in 1964. This involved a popular base i.e. universal suffrage, either during or at the end of the process. Its culmination could then ensue: “Once they have transformed relations between them in this way and come to speak with one voice on the essentials of policy, the European nations will be able to open the great debate which will ultimately enable them to decide what form a democratic government of Europe is to take.”<sup>66</sup>

## V. *Opening up the geographical scope*

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According to Jean Monnet, the process of integration is aimed at breaking the bounds. It is a process involving the gradual transformation of relationships between States and peoples. Monnet advocated a Europe open to all of its countries: “Our Community is neither a little Europe nor a restricted Community. Its

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65 Joint Declaration of June 26, 1962, Paris, Action Committee for the United States of Europe, FJME, AMK 14/3/57.

66 Joint declaration adopted by the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, Berlin, 8th and 9th May 1965, FJME, AMK 17/5/161.

boundaries are not set by us. They are set by those countries that have not yet joined it. The widening of our boundaries is down to them alone.”<sup>67</sup>

Jean Monnet was strongly in favour of the United Kingdom belonging to the European Communities (which went on to happen in 1973). He understood that the illusion of remaining a major power and coping alone in the world had clouded the British view for a number of years.<sup>68</sup>

Monnet clarified his thinking in a concept note written in 1956: “We are not building a new power as a party of 6 – We are not building Europe as a party of 6 – We are breaking the bounds – Europe is only a stage and an image. It is the delegation of national powers to federal organisations – but we can already see England coming – as powers are delegated and ‘Europe is formed’ – conditions will change. Will we not be called upon to incorporate Poland, Scandinavia etc. within this system – and will the attitude of America itself not change? We are seeing the gradual transformation of relationships between States and peoples. We began with the ECSC – but as the system extends, the attitude of other countries will change.”<sup>69</sup>

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67 Translation from French. Source: Commission des Affaires économiques de l'Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 28 mars 1953, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

68 Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet*, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-345.

69 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, 18 octobre 1956, FJME, AMM 5/2/77.



Back in 1964, the Monnet Committee called for the reunification of the Germans within the Communities (which happened 26 years later).<sup>70</sup> For Jean Monnet, “There is no Eastern Europe, no Western Europe, there are nations that accept the same principles and the same rules in their relationships, whether they are in the East or the West.”<sup>71</sup>

The requirement for membership has to be the presence of democratic institutions: “A dictatorship can exist in the East or the West, but it cannot exist in the Community.”<sup>72</sup> Thus, when questioned on the subject, Monnet affirmed that Spain and Russia could be part of the Community one day if they were not dictatorships any more. “The Community, the society that we are building in the Western world, is open to all nations accepting the same rules and adopting the same institutions as us, because we cannot make a community work with nations that have fundamentally different ways of handling their public affairs. So, in my opinion, dictatorships are excluded, wherever they are.”<sup>73</sup>

For Jean Monnet, the driving force behind European development does not have to be external. Europe should not be created on the basis of fear: “The driving force, you have to find it in yourself, not in someone else. And if Europe has to be built on fear, it is better not to build it at all.”<sup>74</sup>

70 Gilles Grin, « Jean Monnet et le Comité d'action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe : une vision de la paix et de la sécurité », in: *Une dynamique européenne : le Comité d'action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Lausanne, 11 et 12 septembre 2009*, Lausanne, Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Paris, Economica, 2011, pp. 239-278.

71 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet, op. cit.*, pp. 408-409.

72 Translation from French. Source: *Ibid.*, p. 409.

73 Translation from French. Source: *Ibid.*

74 Translation from French. Source: *Ibid.*, p. 410.

## VI. *Global vision*

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Jean Monnet observed that European countries had become too small to have any weight in the world if they acted individually. Without a union, Europeans would become “secondary countries”.<sup>75</sup> “The nations of Europe need to pool material resources immediately, but they also need to pool their future if they are to have the role in the world that I believe Europe can occupy with regard to history. Without that, Europe will not be able to make any contribution to global civilisation, but will receive this from others, and will very soon become an under-developed entity.”<sup>76</sup>

Jean Monnet saw it as extremely important for Europeans to talk amongst themselves first and then speak to their American ally with one voice. He was in favour of a transatlantic partnership based on equality. He also wanted Europe to forge good relations with the Soviet Bloc in order to promote world peace. Relationships also needed to be cultivated with developing countries.<sup>77</sup>

In a concept note written in 1965, Monnet commented: “The USSR and the USA allied against the integration of European nations and against the movement of History.”<sup>78</sup> The context of the Cold War weighed heavily on international relations and Monnet was not taken in by the policy of the two super powers, in spite of his deep respect for the United States.

75 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Georges Suffert, entretiens des 10-11 mai 1970, FJME, AML 298/21, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet, op. cit.*, p. 234.

76 Translation from French. Source: Dialogue avec Alan Watson, entretiens des 15-16 novembre et 2-3 décembre 1971, FJME, AML 313, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l'écoute de Jean Monnet, op. cit.*, p. 300.

77 Gilles Grin, « Jean Monnet et le Comité d'action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe : une vision de la paix et de la sécurité », in: *Une dynamique européenne, op. cit.*, pp. 239-278.

78 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Les Portes, 8 août 1965, FJME, AMM 5/11/79.

Monnet affirmed: “Europe is just a stage”<sup>79</sup>; “I hope that, if ultimately successful, the experiment that we have begun in Europe can serve as a good example to the world of how, through the use of its resources, human society can work towards a more prosperous and peaceful future.”<sup>80</sup> “This is a method open to others. The method that the countries of Western Europe are beginning to employ has not the aim of creating a power composed of six countries and giving them a high profile. It is a method open to any countries wanting to join in – boundaries are not set by the six but by the others – It is a method with a tendency to become universal.”<sup>81</sup>

Jean Monnet adopted a different position in a concept note written in 1967: “I am not suggesting that the European method should be applied to relations between the USA, the USSR and an emerging Europe or for settling conflicts. In actual fact, this method involves uniting the countries of Europe around their common interests, essentially national in the past. It also involves ensuring that the countries of Europe accept the same rules – and the same institutions for their application. All of this gradually leads to a Europe talking about the same problems with one voice (as in the Kennedy Round), moving step by step towards the constitution of a European federation – the United States of Europe. It is not about creating universal institutions. It is simply a case of taking a view of problems that is not only national – of not seeking a solution within the confines of the context that created them. Essentially, it is about changing that context and thus changing our view of the problem requiring a solution.”<sup>82</sup>

79 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, 18 octobre 1956, FJME, AMM 5/2/77.

80 Translation from French. Source: Allocution diffusée à l’Université de Columbia, U.S.A. à l’occasion de son bicentenaire, 2 juin 1954, text published in: J. Monnet, *Les Etats-Unis d’Europe ont commencé*, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

81 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, Houjarray, 17 septembre 1957, FJME, AMM 5/3/37.

82 Translation from French. Source: Note de réflexion de Jean Monnet, juin 1967, FJME, AMM 5/13/32, published in: H. Rieben, C. Camperio-Tixier, F. Nicod, *A l’écoute de Jean Monnet*, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

## Conclusions

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Jean Monnet wished to work towards peace, prosperity and freedom in Europe and beyond. He wished to curb the excesses of intransigent national sovereignties through the creation of a Community governed by the rule of law within which member States delegate certain competences to common supra-national institutions. These competences are not lost, but rather exerted in common. Common institutions live longer than people do, making it possible to hand down accumulated collective wisdom. These institutions need to protect the common interest.

Intimately linked, Jean Monnet’s vision and action contributed towards developing a “Community method” unique to Europe, being a tempered form of federalism that took account of national realities. For a long time, Jean Monnet presented the European Federation, which had the general label of “United States of Europe”, as the final objective to be reached. Jean Monnet’s ultimate vision of integration seems clear in terms of the major principles to be followed: in addition to economic integration, a political union endowed with effective democratic institutions, with a separation of powers, where Europe would have a proper federal government independent of member States. The federal arm would have the task of administering a single market with a single currency and take overall charge of foreign policy and defence. This federal arm would have to respect the principle of subsidiarity.

Jean Monnet considered that gradual advancement only was achievable in post-Second World War Europe. Economic integration had to come first, itself bringing tangible benefits to Europeans, to be followed by the development of a political union. Opening up the geographical scope of the Community was also an important principle close to Jean Monnet’s heart. For him, all the democratic countries of Europe needed to be able to join the Community – if they wished to do so and accepted its rules. Jean

Monnet and his Action Committee were strongly in favour of Britain joining, and advocated a future reunification of the Germans within the European Communities.

Finally, Monnet's vision was clearly a global one. He wanted a strong united Europe that could hold a dialogue with its American ally on an equal footing, promoting peaceful relations with the Soviet Bloc and working to develop poorer countries. For Jean Monnet, could the example of Europe serve as a model for other regions of the world or provide a model for global governance? This is a question that we find extremely hard to answer. But we need not be surprised, as we are well aware of Jean Monnet's aversion to working outside the concrete.

The Foundation was created in 1978 by Jean Monnet himself, one of the founding fathers of the European Communities, who donated to it the entirety of his archives. As an independent institution serving the general public interest, a non-partisan and non-militant structure, it enjoys the support of the State of Vaud, the Swiss Confederation and the City of Lausanne. It operates out of the Dorigny Farm, at the heart of the campus of the University of Lausanne, which is its main partner.

Many additional archive collections are preserved here and put to good use, in particular those of Robert Marjolin and the European papers of Robert Schuman, as well as iconographic and audio-visual documents. It accommodates a specialized library and a European Documentation Centre. In-depth accounts from active participants and witnesses constitute an ever-growing compilation of filmed interviews. In all, this comprises an impressive body of resource material, on the origins and development of European construction and on Swiss-European relations, which is made available to the public and is especially fruitful for researchers. Each year, the Foundation awards the Henri Rieben scholarship to several advanced doctoral candidates.

Benefiting from the prestige of this heritage and of the collaboration between Jean Monnet and Professor Henri Rieben, Foundation President until 2005, the Foundation has become an indispensable venue for meetings, debates and reflection on the major issues confronting Europe today. Regular conferences, European Dialogues and international symposia are organized, building partnerships with renowned institutions. The Foundation bestows its Gold Medal on leading political figures for their work on behalf of the common interest of Europeans. The Foundation also welcomes numerous visitors and scholars, assisting in their research, and contributes to the teaching and education of students. With the support of the State of Vaud, the Foundation launched in 2016 a new activity as "laboratory of ideas" with the work of a group of experts.

An editorial mission completes the scope of the Foundation's activities, in the form of the Red Books collection, created by Henri Rieben in 1957 and co-edited with *Economica* since 2007, which has published 216 issues to date. In 2014 a new series called the Debates and Documents Collection was launched. These publications serve to highlight the documentary heritage of the Foundation, its public events and the expertise of its members and partners.

The Foundation Council, comprising some 500 members from all domains, meets once a year, as does the Scientific Committee. Pat Cox, former President of the European Parliament and of the European Movement International, has presided over the Foundation and its Executive Council since January 1st, 2015. His predecessors are José Maria Gil-Robles (2009-2014), former President of the European Parliament and of the European Movement International, Bronislaw Geremek (2006-2008), Member of the European Parliament and former Polish Foreign Affairs Minister; and Henri Rieben (1978-2005), Professor at the University of Lausanne. As of 2012, the institution has been under the direction of Gilles Grin, Doctor in International Relations and lecturer at the University of Lausanne.

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**Publications already published**

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This archive-based study is aimed at achieving an understanding of the political philosophy of Jean Monnet with regard to European integration. The key words are: sovereignty, law, institutions, common interest, federation, economic integration, political union, opening up of geographical scope, global vision.

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