Individual Narration of The Hague in Memoirs and Beyond

HOMER SEMINAR: THE HAGUE SUMMIT AND EUROPEAN NARRATIVES
MAY 21, 2015
DENNIS HÖFER, PATRICK KETTENBACH, SIMON ODROWSKI
Memoirs as Sources for Research

- Form of narrative writing about particular event

- Written in the 1st person point of view

- About the author’s experience more than about the event itself

- Primary sources ➔ provide first-hand testimony or direct evidence

- Author’s thoughts and feelings, meaning and interpretation ➔ difference in time between the event and the time of writing
1. Jean Monnet
Biography

- Started to travel the world after secondary school to sell his father’s brandy
- Organized supply and transportation during World Wars
- Monnet-Plan 1945
- Helped editing the Schuman declaration in 1950 → ECSC
- 1955: foundation of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe
- 1976: Honorary Citizen of Europe
“There will be no peace in Europe if States are reconstructed on the basis of national sovereignty, with all that implies in terms of prestige politics and economic protectionism [...] . The nations of Europe are too circumscribed to give their people the prosperity [...]”

Prosperity and vital social progress will remain elusive until the nations of Europe form a federation or a ‘European entity’ which will forge them into a single economic unit.” (Wells 2011: 85)

“Well ne coalisons pas des Etats, nous unissons des hommes.” (Subtitle of his memoirs)

“We are not uniting states, we are uniting people.”
Monnet’s Influence

- Monnet never ran for a political position
- Contribution through personal talks and networks → Monnet as charismatic, persistent and persuasive gentleman
- No great speaker → conversations and discussions in small groups

“To promote and complete the text of our resolution, I travelled extensively the Community countries. In the French weekly *l’Express*, Marc Ullmann added up how many journeys I made in the early months of 1965: six to Bonn, four to Brussels, four to Rome, two to The Hague, and one to Luxembourg.” (Monnet 1978: 479)

“With all of them – political leaders, trade unionists, newspapermen – I liked to sit around the fire and talk about our underlying motives.” (Monnet 1978: 487)
Narrative of The Hague

Born on Nov 9th 1888 in Cognac

The Hague Summit Dec 1st / 2nd 1969

Interview with RTL Dec 5th 1969

Memoirs 1976

Died on March 16th 1979
Monnet on the Outcome

Interview with RTL, 1969 (Boulay 2013):

“I think it would be difficult to imagine a conference that had better results than those of the Hague Conference.”

“I am optimistic because there is no choice and it is imperative. I do not know how Europe can hope to sort out its problems and improve the standard of living of its peoples without uniting and without creating not only a Common Market, but a European force that can not only help satisfy their material needs but help them speak with one voice.”

“I think that what has become very clear is the need for the six countries that form the European Economic Community to act together on every subject. [...] The Hague has borne witness to this feeling and to the need to unite and create a common programme.”
Memoires (1976)

Table of contents: 21 chapters, covering Ø 4.73 years


L’enlisement ................................. 563
Le contexte change .......................... 576

Expectations before the Summit (letter to Willy Brandt):

“The transformation of the Common Market into an economic and monetary union, the beginnings of political union, and negotiations with Britain – all are possible” (Monnet 1978: 495)

Outcomes?

“Brandt took the point; and he persuaded the Hague summit to adopt a plan for the economic and monetary union”

“The December 1969 summit removed other obstacles to progress. It was agreed to resume negotiations with Great Britain.” (Monnet 1978: 495)
2. Edward Heath
Edward Heath and Three Applications

- 1960-1963: Head of the negotiation team
- 1967: Leader of the opposition
- 1970-1971: Prime Minister
Reasons for Failure and Success of Accession Negotiations

Reasons for failure:
- De Gaulle
- CAP
- American influence
- British strategy

Reasons for success:
- Compromises on CAP and Community budget
- Pompidou

Narrative report on the negotiation of 1960-1963:
- Starting point for new negotiations
- Outcome of 1970-1971 heavily based on the position reached in 1963

No explicit thanks to his Chief Whip in Parliament:
- Selection of decision rule crucial to reach the broadest consensus possible
- Chief Whip convinced Heath of the most appropriate decision rule

Importance of the Anglo-French Summit 1971
3. Willy Brandt
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>SPD 1946-mid 1960s</th>
<th>Brandt (1969a, b) back then</th>
<th>Brandt (1989) retrospectively</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European integration</td>
<td>“the safest way of recovery and pacification of the European continent”</td>
<td>“We are determined ... to collaborate in a European peace order”</td>
<td>“[...] but I know very well that I was never dissuaded from the ideal way which is integration.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German unity/reunification</td>
<td>• “There’s no German question that it is not a European question as well.”</td>
<td>• “Germany is the home of all of us.”</td>
<td>• “But the confusion of terms was substantial. [...] Unity became reunification. [...] As if the whole problem was about the question how the affiliation of the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany could or would be realized.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• BUT reunification as the “fundamental concern”</td>
<td>• avoids the term “reunification”</td>
<td>• “I considered the thesis of the principally undiminished continuity of the German Reich to be nonsense”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “The German Reich must survive as a state and national whole.”</td>
<td>• “Ostpolitik”: negotiations with the GDR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Brandt on Europe and Germany**

May 21, 2015

INDIVIDUAL NARRATION OF THE HAGUE IN MEMOIRS AND BEYOND

15
### Brandt on the Role of The Hague

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Way of integration &amp; The Hague</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Rejection of this kind of (Western) integration as an obstacle for reunification</td>
<td>• “Our country needs the collaboration and coordination with the West and understanding with the East”</td>
<td>• “Our Ostpolitik had to start in the West!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “socially substantiated strong Europe” instead of serving capitalist interests</td>
<td>• “The forthcoming conference of the Six in The Hague is of particular importance. …”</td>
<td>• “I helped, together with Georges Pompidou […] to make the summit in The Hague become a success.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Our aim has to be to incorporate all European nations in a common European cooperation”</td>
<td>• “European solidarity”</td>
<td>• “My government assumed that the community had to be deepened and widened”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• “a structural element of a balanced pan-European peace order”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

May 21, 2015
Conclusion

Monnet and Brandt perceived The Hague as being a key event of the history of the European integration process.

In contrast, Heath did not focus extensively on The Hague summit:

- Resuming the accession negotiations
- But conditions to be fulfilled by the UK were already known in 1961

“The summit of The Hague opened the door for the Communities to enlarge. Less than four years later, the UK, Ireland Denmark joined. Since then, ever more countries acceded to full membership of the European Communities, respectively European Union.” (Narrative 1)