

THE UNITED STATES
OF EUROPE



PAUL HUTCHINSON

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by
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To
WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

**M. BRIAND'S PLEA
FOR THE FORMATION OF A
UNITED STATES OF EUROPE**

This has been called a generous idea. Perhaps those who so termed it did so in order not to be obliged to term it imprudent. It has been in the minds of philosophers and poets for generations and now seems to have gained a firmer grip on the minds of people as a whole, owing to the fact that it is seemingly a necessity. In these circumstances certain propagandists come forward in order to canvass the idea further; I confess myself among them. I am not unaware, of course, of the difficulties inherent in such a course or the arguments which may be leveled against it.

It might have been said that it was not for responsible statesmen to launch out on this kind of adventure, but I reflect that on the whole even a wise statesman is entitled to have a grain of folly in his make-up, and I have accordingly advocated this idea. I have advocated it, as it were, in the background. I realize that it is a little outside the scope of the League, although it

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seems it is in connection with the League. I do realize that it is to a certain extent outside the purview of the League, and if it were constituted, it would necessarily be constituted under the League.

If this should come about, it has been said that it would be purely economic in character. I entirely disagree with that suggestion because it has about it something of the smack of war, and for my part I do not think we ought to have any system which would have the appearance of putting up one party against any other party; but I do think that where you have a group of peoples, grouped together geographically in Europe, there ought to be some federal link between them. They must have means among themselves of discussing any problems which are of general interest and of establishing the general solidarity of Europe in order that they may know where they stand if really serious differences arise.

It is this connecting link which I desire to establish, and obviously the most important component of this connecting link will be economic agreement, and I believe that in the economic

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sphere agreement can be reached. But also there should be a political and social link, which, of course, would in no way affect the sovereignty of the parties involved.

I shall therefore take this opportunity of asking the various representatives of European states at this Assembly whether they will not unofficially consider and study this question in order that at the next Assembly we may be in a position possibly to translate it into reality.

*—From a speech delivered before the
Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations,
meeting at Geneva, Switzerland,
5 September, 1929*

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PREFACE

The movement for the establishment of a United States of Europe is a fact that must be reckoned with in the present European situation. But it is such a recent fact that few Americans have grasped its significance, especially for the future. It is the purpose of this book to describe the situation out of which this movement has arisen, and the factors which have made its appearance inevitable.

Within the next few years the proposal to erect a United States of Europe will become of world-wide interest. But it is important to bring this report immediately to the American public without waiting for discussion to grow general in other countries because the development of the project is bound ultimately to affect American politics and even more American industry. The American business man, the American farmer, the American mechanic may one day be called on to mark his ballot in accordance with his attitude toward the formation of a United States of Europe. If that should come to pass, an early introduction

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to the subject will help toward a calm understanding before the passions of partisanship make objective consideration impossible.

A trip through Europe in the summer of 1929 provided the material for the present study. In the course of this trip scores of leaders of European opinion were interviewed. In a small group, led by Sherwood Eddy, it was possible to gather the views of such men as S. K. Ratcliffe, H. D. Henderson, H. N. Brailsford, Viscount Cecil, Norman Angell, David Lloyd George, Arthur Henderson, Arthur Greenwood, Hugh Dalton, Seebohm Rowntree, Philip Kerr, Alfred Duff-Cooper and G. P. Gooch in Great Britain; Paul Scott Mowrer, André Siegfried, Pierre de Lanux, Francis Delaisi and Professor Gaston Jeze in France; John Maynard Keynes, M. J. Bonn, Salvadore Madariaga, and Gilbert Murray in Geneva; Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Geheimrat Kindl, Dr. Walter Simons, Professor Einstein, Geheimrat Kuenzer, Professor Hoetzsch, Direktor Carl Mennicke and Professor Palyi in Germany; together with a considerable number of the leaders of soviet Russia.

At other times, carrying credentials from the

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Christian Science Monitor and from the periodical with which I am connected, the Christian Century, there were visits to the centers of Britain's industrial difficulties, and some study of economic conditions in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria. This was followed by a period of research at Geneva, in which the resources of the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the International Management Institute were placed at my disposal. While I cannot attempt to name all the persons who supplied me with material during the weeks while I was in Geneva, my especial thanks are due Sir Arthur Salter, director of the economic and financial section of the League of Nations; Miss A. C. Bartlett, associate librarian of the League, and Mr. H. C. Kerr, British representative on the staff of the International Management Institute.

Because of his kindness in giving me permission to quote from his illuminating book, "The New Industrial Revolution," and because of the light which, in personal conversation, he threw on the economic conditions which at present characterize European life, my thanks are also