# PAN-EUROPE

### Some BORZOI Books ON THE WORLD WAR

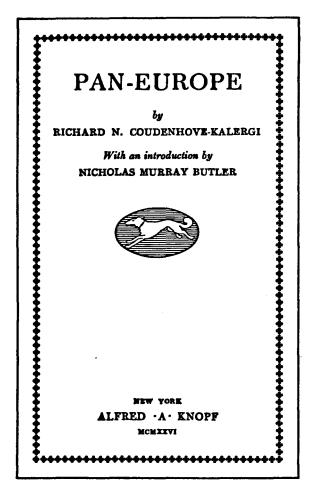
EUROPE FROM WATERLOO TO SARAJEVO by Percy Ashley

THE CASE FOR THE CENTRAL POWERS by Count Max Montgelas

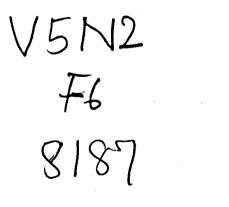
THE GENESIS OF THE WORLD WAR by Harry Elmer Barnes

ISVOLSKY AND THE WORLD WAR by Friedrich Stieve

THE LIMITATIONS OF VICTORY by Alfred Fabre-Luce



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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

## INTRODUCTION

There is ample and inviting food for reflection in the many plans that have been made better to organize the civilized world, either in whole or in large part. Some of these plans are the noble ideals of lofty spirits, content to dwell in the upper ether of human life, untrammeled by the hard limitations of reality. Others have been the projects of practical and ambitious rulers and statesmen who would knit together in closer bonds widely separated portions of the earth's surface.

Of all these projects the three which stand out pre-eminently by reason of the essential soundness of the principles on which they have rested and the measure of success that has attended them, are the Roman Empire, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America. The Roman Empire represented a form of government which had substantial uniformity of political control and a central dominating power which reached by its influence the remotest limits of the Empire. The United States of America, as it has existed up to this time,

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represents the opposite principle of a federal republic, with chief emphasis upon local selfgovernment and home control of common interests, together with a powerful central governmental agency set up to care for matters specifically named and delegated by the people of the commonwealths embraced in the federation. The British Commonwealth of Nations lies somewhere between these two extremes; it is certainly not a highly unified empire as the Roman Empire was, nor is it yet quite a single federated state as is the United States of America. Unless all present signs fail, the future development of the British Commonwealth of Nations will be rather in the direction of a federated state than in that of a rigid and unified empire.

It is quite natural that following the Great War, practical minds should concern themselves with the question as to how any recurrence of that awful cataclysm can be prevented. The principle of nationality, sound at the core as it is, may easily become a grave danger to the peace of the world and thereby to the security of the nation itself if it be pressed too far. Doubtless the perfect nation would not only be ethnographically and geographically a unit, but economically independent as well. Under the conditions of modern life no one of these situations can be more than partially met. The steady movement

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of peoples and the intermingling of races and men of varied speech and blood have destroyed the possibility of ethnographic unity. Practical as well as sentimental limitations on national growth have put limits to the attainment of complete geographic unity, while the possibility of absolute economic independence has disappeared entirely. A nation like the United States of America may stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and yet be compelled to depend for rubber, for sugar, for coffee, for sisal and for other products upon the productive power of other nations. Great Britain. the heart as well as the head of the British Commonwealth of Nations, could not exist for more than a few weeks if deprived of the possibility of importing both food and raw materials and of selling its manufactured products abroad on satisfactory terms.

What lessons have these facts for Europe or, more particularly, for the nations of Central and Western Europe? Is it practicable and, if so, is it desirable for them to come together in some form of economic organization that shall be in effect an economic federation so as to get the benefits of free and untrammeled trade within the limits of that federation while preserving, if need be, a tariff barrier between such federation and the rest of the world? Would such an economic

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federation, if brought into existence, increase the happiness and satisfaction of the inhabitants of the nations included in it, and would it thereby reduce in number the causes of international friction and so help to establish a long and unbroken reign of international peace?

These are far reaching questions of absorbing interest. They may not be answered dogmatically or without careful reflection and prolonged study of all the facts, political, economic, social and psychological, that have bearing upon them.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and his associates have taken hold of these problems with fine devotion and unselfish zeal. They ask that these problems be pressed to answer and that if the answers be of good omen, that steps be taken to bring into existence a Pan Europe which shall take its place by the side of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America as a form of political, social and economic organization which permits at will complete freedom of trade and intercourse within its limits, together with the maintenance of the conventional barriers and limitations upon trade and commerce with the world outside.

Thoughtful men and women who look out upon the world with unprejudiced eyes, with knowledge of the lessons of history, of economics and of human nature and with hope for the future, will

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welcome this earnest and well informed discussion of what may well be the most vital and far reaching question which the Great War has put to a world which fondly calls itself civilized.

# NICHOLAS MURBAY BUTLER

Columbia University in the City of New York April 19, 1926

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"Every great political happening began as a Utopia and ended as a Reality."---

This book is intended to waken a great political movement which is slumbering in all the nations of Europe.

Many people have dreamt of a united Europe, but few are determined to create it. As an object of longing, it remains barren; but as an object of will, it becomes fruitful.

The only force that can realize Pan-Europe is the will of the Europeans; the only force that can prevent its realization is, again, the will of the Europeans.

Thus into the hands of every European is given a share of the destiny of his individual world.

As I write, the fifth Pan-American Conference is being held in Chile. Russia is working with all her forces at self-restoration. The British Empire has surmounted the crisis of the World War. Eastern Asia is delivered from the Damoclean menace of a war with America.

Meanwhile Europe, without a leader and without definite plans, is staggering from one crisis into another. French and Belgian soldiers are occupying Germany's industrial centers. In Thrace a new war threatens to break out any day.

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Everywhere there is misery, unrest, discontent, hatred, and fear.

While the rest of the world is making daily progress, Europe is steadily going downhill.

This diagnosis implies a program.

The cause of Europe's decline is political, not biological. Europe is not dying of old age, but because its inhabitants are killing and destroying one another with the instruments of modern science.

As regards quality, Europe is still the most productive human reservoir in the world. The aspiring Americans are Europeans transplanted into another political environment. The peoples of Europe are not senile; it is only their political system that is senile. So soon as the latter has been radically changed, the complete recovery of the ailing Continent can and must ensue.

The World War changed only the political map of Europe, not its political system. Now, as before, international anarchy, oppression of the weaker by the stronger, latent war, economic disunion, and political intrigue prevail everywhere. European politics of today resemble those of yesterday more than those of tomorrow.

The eyes of Europe are turned backwards instead of forwards. The book-market is flooded with Memoirs. In public discussion the genesis

of the last war receives more consideration than the avoidance of the next.

This constant retrospection is the chief cause of Europe's reaction and disunion. To bring about a change in this state of affairs, is the duty of Europe's youth. Upon them it devolves to build up a new Europe upon the wreckage of the old to establish European organization in place of European anarchy.

If the statesmen of Europe refuse to recognize and to give effect to this aim, they will be swept out of existence by the nations whose destinies they so lightly rate.

Two burning problems weigh upon the European continent: the Social Question and the European Question—the reckoning between the classes, and the reckoning between the states.

The Social Question rightly dominates in public discussion; it creates and divides parties, and it is daily being threshed out a thousand times by public opinion in every country.

Meanwhile the European Question, in no way secondary to it in importance, is being simply burked. Many are not aware of its existence; it is relegated to the realm of literature and of utopia; it is not taken seriously.

And yet, upon its settlement depends the future of our culture and of our children.

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The European Question is this:

"Can Europe, so long as its political and economic disunion lasts, maintain its peace and independence with respect to the growing World Powers; or is it bound, in order to preserve its existence, to organize itself into a federal union?"

To put the question is to answer it; and that is why it is not put, but burked. Although in public discussion there is much talk of European questions, there is none of *the* European Question in which all of them are rooted, just as the many social questions are rooted in *the* Social Question.

Just as today every European is forced by internal politics to take a stand in regard to the Social Question, so in the future he will be forced by external politics to take a stand in regard to the European Question. Then let it rest with the Europeans whether they want union or disunion, organization or anarchy, resurrection or downfall.

One thing, however, must never again happen: the burking of a question which affects the lives of three hundred million people, by their responsible leaders.

At last the European Question must be unfolded before the public opinion of the continent, in its newspapers and political literature, and in its assemblies, parliaments, and cabinets.

Time presses. Tomorrow perhaps it may be too late for the settlement of the European Question; and it is better, therefore, to begin today. The rapidity of the movement toward the unification of Europe is quite as important as its existence: for it depends upon the rapidity of this movement whether Europe will be a union of states or a collection of ruins.

Pan-Europe signifies—self-help through the consolidation of Europe into an ad hoc politicoeconomic federation.

The objection will be raised against Pan-Europe that it is a utopia; but this objection leaves it unscathed. No natural law is opposed to its realization. It harmonizes the interests of an overwhelming majority of Europeans; it violates the interests of only a dwindling minority.

This small but powerful minority, which today directs the fortunes of Europe, will endeavor to brand Pan-Europe as a utopia. To this the reply is that every great historical happening began as a utopia and ended as a reality.

In 1913 the Polish and Czecho-Slovak republics were utopias; in 1918 they became realities. In 1916 the victory of the communists in Russia was a utopia; in 1917 it was an accomplished fact. To a politician, in inverse proportion to his power of imagination, the realm of utopia seems greater and the realm of possibility smaller. World his-

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tory has more imagination than the puppets who make it; and it is compounded of unending surprises—of utopias come true.

Whether an idea remains a utopia or becomes a reality usually depends upon the number and the energy of its supporters. While thousands believe in Pan-Europe, it is a utopia; so long as millions believe in it, it is a program; but at once a hundred million believe in it, it becomes a fact.

Accordingly, the future of Pan-Europe depends upon whether the first thousand supporters have the faith and the propagandist force necessary to convince millions and to convert the utopia of yesterday into a reality of tomorrow.

I call upon the youth of Europe to accomplish this task!

## RICHARD N. COUNDENHOVE-KALERGI

Vienna, Spring of 1923

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