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GROUP OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS) AND EUROPEAN DEMOCRATS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

JEAN MONNET "UNITING PEOPLE"

Максн 2004

PREFACE BY DR HANS-GERT POETTERING MEP

CHAIRMAN OF THE EPP-ED GROUP IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT





JEAN MONNET ON 16 MARCH 1979, IN HIS HOUSE AT HOUJARRAY, NEAR PARIS, JEAN MONNET DIED AT THE AGE OF 91.

Twenty-five years later, to commemorate the memory of the man awarded the title of 'Honorary Citizen of Europe' by the European Council on 2 April 1976, the EPP-ED Group in the European Parliament has produced this booklet.



PREFACE

by Dr Hans-Gert POETTERING MEP,

Chairman of the EPP-ED Group in the European Parliament

Building Europe is an unprecedented undertaking intended to bring together, within a peaceful framework, people long separated by the barrier of prejudices that were rapidly becoming points of confrontation. The pursuit of the common interest now prevails over suspicion and rivalry. Europeans have been living in peace for over fifty years and have enjoyed extremely rapid economic growth allowing them to rebuild and modernise their war-torn countries. Jean Monnet's contribution to this rebirth of our continent was decisive. He allowed his experience as a man of action and an organiser to be used by both victors and vanquished alike. He persuaded them to draw a line under the past so that Europe could move forward on a new basis.

"We must pool our efforts and adapt to the new world order" His message has the force of all simple ideas. Instead of exhausting themselves trying to apportion blame for a terrible conflict, countries must join forces in order to create a free and prosperous Europe. The need, in a world dominated by competition and progress, is for economies to be united, interests merged and the forces of production balanced out. Yet Jean Monnet's message goes much deeper than this: it is political in nature because it attacks the very heart of national sovereignty. According to Monnet, this sovereignty was outdated if it no longer allowed the European people to live at the pace of their time, in the era of great powers. Given the challenges of globalisation, the only choice open to the countries of the old world would be marginalisation or union.

Union, he stated, barely five years after the end of the war, could be achieved only by opting for a new approach, managing common interests through democratic and effective institutions. These institutions should not seek to compete with or replace national institutions but should establish complementary relationships with them and act in areas where national action was inappropriate and powerless. This was the case with world trade, currency, security and the role and influence of Europe in a rapidly changing world.

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Now, at the dawn of the 21st century, these principles have not lost their relevance. In fact, their validity is so striking that the global changes that are occurring should encourage Europeans to choose the route of unity so that they can face the new challenges: emerging technologies, monetary instability, population explosion in the third world, international terrorism and environmental protection. The demands facing Europeans just after the war and those confronting today's young generations are certainly not the same. Democracy for us is a daily fact of life and our countries are at peace. They are also modern and prosperous, even if unemployment and the

new poverty affect ever-increasing numbers of the population. Thanks to the Founding Fathers such as Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Alcide De Gasperi and Jean Monnet, the European Community has made good progress: the internal market is nearing completion, the euro exists, a foreign and defence policy is in hand and internal security is improving.

On 1 May 2004 ten new countries will join the European Union, symbolising the reunification of our continent. Other European countries are also preparing to join the Union. At the same time, the twenty-five Member States and the European institutions are seeking to reach agreement on a European Constitution, based on the work of the Convention.

From 10-13 June 2004 the twenty-five Member States will democratically elect their European representatives in a European Parliament whose powers of scrutiny and legislation have been reinforced.

European unity, a moral undertaking

Without doubt, problems of a new type are now emerging in the European framework created by Jean Monnet.

What type of civilisation do we want to promote? What values should Europeans embody in a world where violence and unpredictability often prevail over conciliation and law? The resurgence of nationalism and xenophobia in certain sectors of European public opinion reflects the concerns of some about the length and effects of the economic crisis. For others, extremist temptations or exclusion are evidence of a weakening in the consensus on the common rules governing our political systems. Defining and promoting the criteria of European identity is one of the main tasks expected of European leaders. Economic Europe and political Europe must develop together within the same dynamic which must lead to European Union. Cultural Europe, as in the everyday Europe or the people's Europe, will be both the culmination and driving force in this respect as no institutional structure can be solid and sustainable unless it has popular support and the backing of the forces in society.

Jean Monnet was one of the first to understand and explain that the principle of European unification basically involves the search for a new humanism. The spirit of domination and superiority has soaked the continent in blood for centuries. War has followed war as if caught in a fatal cycle, with the victory of some leading to a desire for revenge among others. Breaking this vicious circle and establishing, among the European states, the same relations founded on equality and arbitration that govern relations between individuals in democratic societies was the ambition of Jean Monnet. Acting in this spirit, the father of Europe has become the advocate of a new morality, relying on people and their capacity to make progress by drawing lessons from the most painful experiences. JEAN MONNET / UNITING PEOPLE

'We are not uniting states, we are uniting people': this was the subtitle he chose for his memoirs to stress that the construction of a community is not a technocratic undertaking but is primarily targeted at the people and requires their hearts as much as their minds.

His work endures. It has profoundly altered relations between European states long torn apart by conflict and it influences the daily life of all their citizens. It represents

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the future for our people and more besides. 'When an idea meets the needs of the time, it ceases to belong to its creators and becomes more powerful than those responsible for it', wrote Jean Monnet. This concept has now most certainly been confirmed. We are all the heirs of Jean Monnet the European, and it is our task to take forward the huge "work in progress" in building our continent.

How- Jest Roden ;

Hans-Gert POETTERING Chairman of the EPP-ED Group in the European Parliament

CHAPTER I A Man of Destiny

A PRAGMATIC INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND

It would be hard to pigeonhole Jean Monnet into any of the standard types of biography. Born in 1888 in Cognac, in the heart of the Charente, this man of the provinces was soon forced by necessity to travel the world. Hardly out of secondary school, the young Monnet was in London learning English, discovering the hustle and bustle of the city, then travelling and selling his father's brandy all over the globe. As he rubbed shoulders with bankers, lawyers and other merchants, he discovered the spirit of initiative and learned that a man's word was his bond. But he also learned about the ruthless side of business, the demands of a job well done, the power of ideas strongly held. His lack of higher education did him no disservice, although he always respected culture and knowledge and surrounded himself throughout his life with gifted people who had been through the finest universities. His youthful openness gave Monnet a broad view of business and politics at an early age. Completely free of national prejudice, unimpressed with the trappings of power, he quickly showed himself to be extremely enterprising and intensely curious about the many different people he met.

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Organizing the war effort

How did his extraordinary career begin, a career which led President Kennedy to dub Monnet a "statesman of the world"?

In 1914, at the age of twenty-six, Monnet was exempted from military service on health grounds. His frequent travels between France and Britain led him to observe the movements of French and British ships supplying the Allied troops at the front.

Nothing was being done to coordinate and thus to make the optimum use of these vessels. On the battlefield, the French and the British were fighting side-by-side, but the two Commands had separate responsibility for supplies which were soon to become the sinews of war. So Monnet approached the highest authorities of both countries in an attempt to persuade them to abandon this costly process, which was sapping their combined efforts. He was given the task of organizing it. In 1918, the Allied Maritime Transport Committee with a joint Executive was set up to control the specifications, cargoes and movements of all Allied ships. This marshalling of transport and supplies was to become the hub of the war effort and help to tilt the balance of forces once and for all in the Allies' favour. This taught Monnet that organization was the key to power and that wars are not always won on the battlefield.

MANDARIN AND BANKER

When he was appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations at the age of thirty-three, Monnet endeavoured to keep the machinery of international dialogue set up during the war operating in peacetime. Despite his efforts to give the League of Nations the means to play its role, he soon found that sovereign States were reluctant to create a supranational authority. Indeed, France had embarked on a fateful policy towards a defeated Germany, compelling her to pay reparations and occupying the Rhineland. After a number of useful missions in Austria and Upper Silesia, Monnet resigned from the League of Nations in 1923 to take care of family affairs in Cognac.

He left France again in 1926 to establish and run an international commercial bank with head offices in the United States. He went to Poland and Sweden and to China where he met Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai and made a contribution to the modernization of the Chinese economy.

WAR ONCE MORE

His sense of public service and his concern for peace brought Monnet back into international politics in 1936, when he realized that the statements and behaviour of Adolf Hitler would inevitably lead to war. Monnet was never fooled by the 'reassurances' given by dictatorships and he sensed that a victory for democracy would depend on moral and practical mobilization. In 1938 the French Prime Minister, Edouard Daladier, sent him on a secret mission to the United States. He was to order warplanes at a time when the American Government was bound by the provisions of the Neutrality Act, which prohibited export of arms to nations at war. He successfully accomplished the delicate mission in the course of which he met Roosevelt and became one of the President's most trusted advisers throughout the war. Several hundred American planes were delivered in time and were used by the Royal Air Force in the heroic hours of the Battle of Britain.

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VICTORY AND RECONSTRUCTION

Winston Churchill sent Monnet on a special mission to the United States where he elected to continue the fight by helping to mobilize the American war effort. The economist, John Maynard Keynes, argued later that the effort Roosevelt imposed on the American people, on Monnet's advice, shortened the war by a year.

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Monnet had more than the material conditions for victory in mind. As an expatriate in the United States, he was equally worried about what would happen to France after liberalization, about what could be done to ensure that those who took charge of the country had democratic legitimacy. In February 1943 Monnet went to Algiers, seat of the French Provisional Government. There he worked to restore republican legality and paved the way for General de Gaulle, sole representative of the Resistance, to take power.

With France free but debilitated and short of supplies, the new government asked Monnet to use his organizational skills in the reconstruction of France. In 1945 de Gaulle made him responsible for a modernization and investment plan, drawn up on flexible lines, with government departments, the business world and trade unions working together as equal partners. Monnet, now Planning Commissioner, was already developing ideas that went beyond the frontiers of France. The creation of the organization for European Economic Cooperation in 1948 to distribute Marshall Plan funds on an equitable basis was fostering solidarity between the beneficiaries. Reconstruction on a national scale was proving to be inadequate. Frontiers were being seen as a yoke that Europe's economies had to bear. What was more, the status of Germany was still unresolved. A political initiative was called for. Europe's fate was in the balance.

CHAPTER II Working for Europe

9 May 1950 – the adventure begins

The French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, was looking for an idea. His American and British counterparts had asked him to come up with a solution to the various problems confronting the Federal Republic of Germany and its partners: the status of the Ruhr, the level of coal and steel production and equal political rights. In his capacity as Planning Commissioner, Monnet was in constant touch with Schuman and in the early spring of 1950 he and his closest associates drew up a memorandum, which developed in time into a formal proposal. Schuman threw his support behind the proposal the moment he saw it. He came from the border region, had lived through two world wars, and immediately grasped the enormous political significance of Monnet's plan. The idea was to create a Coal and Steel Community encompassing German and French production, but open to other States as well, to be run by an independent authority with delegated powers.

The idea was enthusiastically welcomed by the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer: it would enable Germany to turn its back on defeat and play a full part in a venture which gave concrete expression to the solidarity that the people of Europe yearned for after so many years of chaos and humiliation.

While others were still debating the best way of building Europe, this concrete proposal – limited in its objectives, but of enormous significance – marked the birth of the European Community. It represented a revolutionary approach to international relations: the voluntary delegation of sovereignty in two crucial industries to common independent institutions.

The structure and powers of these institutions were detailed in the Treaty of Paris signed on 18 April 1951. It established a Coal and Steel Community for a period of 50 years, with a High Authority, a collegiate body with independent and executive powers; a Council, representing the interests of the Member States; a Common Assembly, which was to become the European Parliament; and a Court of Justice.

Permanent dialogue between these institutions would lead to the creation of a common market in coal and steel, bringing lower prices, security and diversity of supplies, and social progress.

But the most radical feature of the Schuman Plan was political: it put the seal on Franco-German reconciliation by linking the destinies of the two nations. Because no peace treaty had been signed between the former adversaries, the first European Community was a vote of confidence in the willingness of the two countries and their partners to build on the mistakes of the past and an act of faith in a shared future based on cooperation organized by common institutions.

A NEW ROUTE – ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

'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 made possible and hence necessary by modern conditions 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.'

Monnet first revealed his vision of Europe in Algiers on 5 August 1943. Ten years later the face of Europe had changed considerably. But the effort had to continue, for the need for union was greater than ever. Monnet chose to attack on the economic front. With the Benelux statesman Paul-Henri Spaak and Jean Beyen, he set to work on a plan for the relaunching of Europe, which took clear form at Messina on 3 June 1955. In a novel move, the Six decided to create a specialized Community modelled on the ECSC, in the promising area of the peaceful development of nuclear energy. At the same time they decided to remove trade barriers and create a common market in which goods, persons and capital would move freely. This was the beginning of Euratom and the European Economic Community, established by Treaties signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 for an unlimited period.

Monnet was actively involved in the relaunching process. He resigned as President of the ECSC High Authority so that his hands would not be tied. He was acutely aware of the need for trade unionists and politicians to be involved in the process of European integration. To this end he set up the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, which was to play a considerable role in Community affairs from 1955 to 1975.

On his return to power in France in 1958, General de Gaulle was able to count on the active support of Jean Monnet in his ambition of political and diplomatic European cooperation.

It did much to speed ratification of the treaties of Rome in the Six and by 1959 the first steps towards the establishment of a common market had been taken. Common agricultural and social policies were introduced to match the liberalization of trade, which was achieved 18 moths ahead of schedule on 1 July 1968.

A RELENTLESS STRUGGLE FOR A UNITED EUROPE

For 20 years the Action Committee for the United States of Europe was a valuable instrument in Monnet's hands. It allowed him to make his voice heard on all issues of importance in the Community: the accession of the United Kingdom, whose unsuccessful applications he backed in 1961 and 1967; European political union; economic and monetary union; relations with United States; the development of common policies; respect for the institutions. Virtually all party leaders, whether in government or opposition, and representatives of all the trade unions in the six founding Member States, subsequently joined by the British, sat on the Committee at some time or other, making it an influential pressure group in support of the European idea.

The road to European integration has had its twists and turns. Monnet recognized the significance of crises. He considered them to be the inevitable precursors of change. He never fell prey to discouragement and was skilled at using obstacles to European Union to move things in a more profitable direction. He rushed to the defence of the institutions whenever they came under attack. He opposed the right of veto, which he saw as a negation of democratic law and an obstacle to progress. He upheld the independence and authority of the Commission as the guarantor of the common interest and the expression of willingness to unite.

In 1973, in a bid to give the Heads of State or Government a greater say in the running of the Community, he promoted the creation of the European Council, the Community's supreme decision-making body, which first met in 1975 and was institutionalised by the Single European Act in 1986.

A TIRELESS FIGHTER

Monnet drove himself relentlessly. His influence extended well beyond the frontiers of Europe; successive US Presidents met and listened to him, accepting the principle of a partnership of equals between Europe and the United States, which Monnet saw as the only way of ensuring a balanced and productive dialogue across the Atlantic. Whenever the Community was faced with a new development, whenever a project needed a helping hand, whenever a crisis arose, whenever two capitals had to be reconciled, Monnet would mobilize his forces and set off on a pilgrimage to explain the realities of the situations to politicians.

He was listened to precisely because he wanted nothing for himself. He often quoted the American moralist Dwight Morrow: 'There are two kinds of people: those who want to be someone and those who want to do something.' Monnet was one of the latter and his selflessness won him many friends.

Monnet shunned publicity to work behind the scenes. He never embarked on a political career and no one could say where his sympathies lay. He worked through people in positions of power and let them take the kudos. The satisfaction for him was to see things progressing smoothly and to retain a freedom in his backroom role which he would have lost had he become a public figure.

The key to his success was his dogged determination to see things through. There was no magic solution to the problems he encountered; indeed he admitted himself that things had never been easy. He had a meticulous sense of detail, recognizing that even matters of secondary importance contributed to the end result. He demanded a lot from the people he worked with and in return received a share of

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their devotion to a great cause. When he had to persuade others, he went over his plans again and again, returning to the charge, clearing all the hurdles of bureaucratic inertia.

Monnet never lost touch with his rural origins. Wherever he went he sought to remain in contact with nature, the ideal environment for thinking things out. When he was involved in a project, he would lose track of the rhythm and conventions of society. It was not usual for him to ring people late into the night. He liked memos to be as brief and as clear as possible, trying them out on everyone, from his gardener to visiting ministers. He was opposed to abstract digressions and he liked people to get down to the essentials and concentrate on one thing at a time. Such was the man who lived and fought for a single ideal: promoting understanding between men, organizing joint action, creating the framework for a more civilized international society.

CHAPTER III The message of Jean Monnet today

EUROPEAN UNITY, A STEP FORWARD FOR CIVILIZATION

Monnet attached great importance to the moral and human aspects of the European idea. The Schuman Plan, by denouncing the spirit of supremacy and discriminatory practices which create complexes and ill-feeling between nations, tackled the source of conflicts. It marked a decisive, irreversible step for the people of Western Europe, who had assumed peace to be unattainable so inured were they to war. Monnet's vision owes something to political philosophy, and is based on the following observation:

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'In our national life, principles of freedom, equality and democracy have been accepted and applied because people managed after centuries of striving to give them concrete institutional forms – elections, parliaments, courts of justice, universal education, freedom of speech and information. Within national frontiers, men long ago found civilized ways of dealing with conflicts of interest: they no longer needed to defend themselves by force. Rules and institutions established equality of status. The poorer and weaker organized themselves to exert greater influence. The more powerful and the less favoured recognized their common interest. Human nature had not changed. It was human behaviour that had been changed by common institutions under conditions providing at least a minimum of material well-being, which is essential to all societies.

But across frontiers nations still behave as would individuals if there were no laws and no institutions. Each in the last resort clings to national sovereignty – that is, each reserves the right to be the judge of its own case.

In Europe we have seen, and suffered from, the results of this attitude. Over the centuries, one after another each of the principal nations of Europe tried to dominate the others. Each believed in their own superiority, each acted for a time under the illusion that superiority could be affirmed and maintained by force. Each in turn was defeated and ended the conflict weaker than before. Attempts to escape this vicious circle by sole reliance on a balance of power failed repeatedly – because they were based on force and unrestricted national sovereignty.'

This behavioural anachronism must give way to a new form of relations between nation States based not merely on cooperation, which is liable to be revised and centres exclusively on the pursuit of unilateral interests, but on the Community spirit, which places the emphasis on the common good and entrusts the task of administering it to strong institutions.

Monnet placed his faith in mankind's progress, observing that 'While Man may have begun to master the world around him, his control over political affairs is not commensurate with the risks. As he gradually breaks free of outside constraints, he learns that the main problem is to gain mastery of himself.'

Some commentators were quick to stick a revolutionary label on the idea that European unity is designed to transform relations between nations and people. Monnet, the 'Inspirer' of the Community, was to push the idea to its logical conclusion. He believed that the process under way was no more than 'a stage on the way to the organized world of tomorrow.' Europe, in its quest for unity, is conducting an experiment. Europe is the testing ground for a vision of mankind with a universal dimension.

FAITH IN INSTITUTIONS

The role of the institutions was one of Monnet's recurring themes.

Application to international relations of the principles of equality, arbitration and conciliation, already practised within democracies, is undoubtedly a step forward. But progress is possible only if it is based on the legitimacy and continuity which democratic institutions lend to human endeavour. Monnet read few books and was suspicious of erudition based on second-hand beliefs. He made an exception, however, in the case of the Swiss philosopher, Henri-Frederic Amiel. A quotation from Amiel runs through Monnet's writings like a leitmotif: 'Each man's experience starts again from the beginning. Only institutions grow wiser: they accumulate collective experience; and, owing to this experience and this wisdom, men subject to the same rules will not see their own nature changing, but their behaviour gradually transformed.'

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This faith in institutions, but specifically in institutions with real powers, forced Monnet to turn his back on the League of Nations, bedevilled from its inception by a lack of powers. With obstinate determination, he set about giving the ECSC High Authority the means to take decisions and to implement them. How were supranational organizations to be given the legitimacy and authority which would enable them to act and win the support of the administered?

Monnet saw the Community as the point at which isolated pockets of sovereignty merged. If these were exercised jointly, it would make it possible to distribute national resources more effectively and broaden the sphere of influence of the individual States.

Did Monnet perhaps underestimate the reluctance of the nation States to accept what they should have seen as enrichment rather than dispossession? He acknowledges that 'it had to be demonstrated – as it will for years to come – that national sovereignty withers when entrapped in the forms of the past. For it to be effective, in an expanding world, it needs to be transferred to larger spheres, where it can be merged with the sovereignty of others who are subject to the same pressures. In the process, no one loses: on the contrary, all gain new strength.'

Today this message is deeply embedded in the consciousness of European leaders and European public opinion. It is central to the integration process and is slowly gaining acceptance among those responsible for conducting Europe's affairs. Resolution by the Heads of State or Government, meeting as the European Council in Luxembourg, 1 and 2 April 1976

'Community Europe, which has been in existence for more than 25 years, is already, despite its imperfections and lacunae, a remarkable achievement: Meanwhile, hopes of a deeper European Union are beginning to take shape.

The positive balance-sheet that can be drawn up at the end of this first stage, and on the eve of progress towards political unification, is something we owe in large measure to the boldness and breadth of vision of a handful of men. Among them, Jean Monnet has played a leading role, whether as inspirer of the Schuman Plan, first president of the High Authority, or founder of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe. In these various capacities, Jean Monnet has resolutely attacked the forces of inertia in Europe's political and economic structure, with the aim of establishing a new type of relationship between States, making apparent their de facto solidarity and giving it institutional form.

As a realist, Monnet took economic interests as his starting-point, but without abandoning his vision of achieving a broader understanding among the men and nations of Europe which would extend into all fields. Sometimes, this objective may have been lost to view amid the vicissitudes of the unification of Europe. Nevertheless, that objective has never been disavowed. Now, more than ever, it should serve as a guide, enabling us to rise above our task of daily administration and give it its true and substantial meaning.

Jean Monnet recently retired from public life. Has has devoted the best of his ability to the European cause. It is only fitting that Europe should pay him a particular tribute of gratitude and admiration.

That is why the Heads of State or Government of the Community meeting in Luxembourg as the European Council, have decided to confer upon him the title of "Honorary Citizen of Europe".



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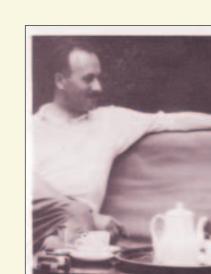
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... THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS



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In Geneva, Deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations / circa 1920



In China with his wife Silvia / circa 1930



Jean Monnet with General de Gaulle, Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillan and Anthony Eden/ Algiers 1943



Jean Monnet as Planning Commissioner / 1950 European Commission®



Jean Monnet with Robert Schuman/ 1950 European Commission®



Conference on the Schuman Plan. From left to right: Walter Hallstein, Konrad Adenauer, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Bernard Clappier/ 12 April 1951 Agip Paris[©]



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Jean Monnet with Joseph Bech and Prince Félix of Luxembourg/ 10 August 1952 $_{Théo\ Mey^\circ}$



Jean Monnet with the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer/ 1952 Bundeskanzler Adenauer Hans Rhöndorf®



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Jean Monnet showing the first European steel ingot/ 30 April 1953, Esch-sur-Alzette $_{\rm European}$ Commission $^\circ$



Jean Monnet sitting in the Common Assembly of the ECSC/ 16 June 1953 Médiathèque - European Parliament $^\circ$



Jean Monnet with Walter Hallstein / European Commission®



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Jean Monnet with Paul-Henri Spaak / European Commission®



The Eisenhower family visiting Houjarray



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Jean Monnet with John F. Kennedy / 26 March 1962, White House, Washington $_{\rm AFP^o}$



Jean Monnet with Pierre Pflimlin and Maurice Faure / 21 January 1963 ${}_{\rm Life^\circ}$



75th birthday of Ludwig Erhard. From left to right: Rainer Barzel, Ludwig Erhard and Jean Monnet / February 1972, Bonn Jos. A. Slomirski Bonn°



Jean Monnet with Harold Macmillan at the Senate House, 8 June 1961, Cambridge © Selwyn College, Cambridge



Portrait of Jean Monnet carried as a banner during a demonstration, 16 June 1955, Brussels © European Commission



Jean Monnet with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing/ 22 March 1977, Palais de l'Elysée Présidence de la République Française°

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