WINSTON CHURCHILL
AND THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE

Quarant’anni fa, il 24 gennaio 1965, moriva a Londra sir Winston Churchill. Per celebrarne la memoria, ricordiamo, senza commenti, due sue iniziative per l’Unità europea e per la creazione di un’armata europea, spigolando tra suoi discorsi del 19 settembre 1946 all’Università di Zurigo, del 7 maggio 1948 al Congresso d’Europa all’Aja, del 12 agosto 1949 a Strasburgo in piazza Kléber (pronunciato in francese) e dell’11 agosto 1950 all’Assemblea consultiva del Consiglio d’Europa.

I. 1946, University of Zurich - “We must build a kind of United States of Europe”

I wish to speak about the tragedy of Europe, this noble continent, the home of all the great parent races of the Western world, the foundation of Christian faith and ethics, the origin of most of the culture, arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern times. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance there would be no limit to the happiness, prosperity and glory which its 300 million or 400 million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that has sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this 20th century and in our own lifetime wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind.

What is this plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller states have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas are a vast, quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings, who wait in the ruins of their cities and homes and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new form of tyranny or terror. Among the victors there is a Babel of voices, among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair. That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient states and nations, and that is all that the Germanic races have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed, but for the fact that the great republic across the Atlantic realised that the ruin or enslavement of Europe would involve her own fate as well, and stretched out hands of succour and guidance, the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor. They may still return.

Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted by the great majority of people in many lands, would as by a miracle transform the whole scene and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and happy as Switzerland is today. What is
this sovereign remedy? It is to recreate the European fabric, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, safety and freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living. The process is simple. All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong and to gain as their reward blessing instead of cursing.

Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the Pan-European Union, which owes so much to the famous French patriot and statesman Aristide Briand. There is also that immense body which was brought into being amidst high hopes after the First World War - the League of Nations. The League did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because those principles were deserted by those states which brought it into being, because the governments of those states feared to face the facts and act while time remained. This disaster must not be repeated. There is, therefore, much knowledge and material with which to build and also bitter, dearly bought experience to spur.

There is no reason why a regional organisation of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organisation of the United Nations. On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis can only survive if it is founded upon broad natural groupings. There is already a natural grouping in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken, on the contrary they strengthen, the world organisation. They are in fact its main support. And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this mighty continent? And why should it not take its rightful place with other great groupings and help to shape the honourable destiny of man? In order that this may be accomplished there must be an act of faith in which the millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part.

We all know that the two World Wars through which we have passed arose out of the vain passion of Germany to play a dominating part in the world. In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed for which there is no parallel since the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, no equal at any time in human history. The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war. But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, there must be an end to retribution. There must be what Mr Gladstone many years ago called a “blessed act of oblivion”. We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past and look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years to come hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past. If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery, and indeed from final doom, there must be this act of faith in the European family, this act of oblivion against all crimes and follies of the past. Can the peoples of Europe rise to the heights of the soul and of the instinct and spirit of man? If they could, the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted would have been washed away on all sides by the miseries which have been endured. Is there any need for further floods
of agony? Is the only lesson of history to be that mankind is unteachable? Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The peoples have only to will it and all will achieve their heart’s desire.

I am now going to say something that will astonish you. The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral and cultural leadership of Europe. There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany. The structure of the United States of Europe will be such as to make the material strength of a single State less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honour by a contribution to the common cause. The ancient States and principalities of Germany, freely joined for mutual convenience in a federal system, might take their individual places among the United States of Europe.

But I must give you warning, time may be short. At present there is a breathing space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped. But the dangers have not stopped. If we are to form a United States of Europe, or whatever name it may take, we must begin now. In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I even say protection, of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a nation which, we know, will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom, but it may well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and that the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilisation but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I now sum up the propositions which are before you. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the United Nations Organisation. Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe, and the first practical step will be to form a Council of Europe. If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join a union we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and who can. The salvation of the common people of every race and every land from war and servitude must be established on solid foundations, and must be created by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny. In this urgent work France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America - and, I trust, Soviet Russia, for then indeed all would be well - must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live. Therefore I say to you “Let Europe arise!”

II. 1948, Hague Congress, as honorary President

Since I spoke on this subject at Zurich in 1946, and since our British United Europe Movement was launched in January 1947, events have carried our affair beyond our expectations...
Great Governments have banded themselves together with all their executive power. The mighty republic of the United States has espoused the Marshall Plan. Sixteen European States are now associated for economic purposes; five have entered into close economic and military relationship. We hope that this nucleus will soon be joined by the peoples of Scandinavia, of the Iberian peninsula, as well as by Italy, who should now resume her full place in the comity of Nations. All who have worked and tried their best and especially Ministers in responsible office - we must not forget what these difficulties are - like Mr. Bevin, M. Bidault, M. Spaak, and General Marshall and others have a right to feel content with the progress made and proud of what they have done. This is not a movement of parties but a movement of peoples.

There is no room for jealousies. If there is rivalry of parties, let it be to see which one will distinguish itself most for the common cause. No one can suppose that Europe can be united on any party or sectional basis, any more than that any one nation can assert an overweening predominance. It must be all for all. Europe can only be united by the heart-felt wish and vehement expression of the great majority of all the peoples in all the parties in all the freedom-loving countries, no matter where they dwell or how they vote...

This Congress has brought together leaders of thought and action from all the free countries of Europe, Statesmen of all political parties, leading figures from all the churches; eminent writers, leaders of the professions, lawyers, chiefs of industry and prominent trade-unionists - are gathered here. In fact a representative grouping of all the most essential elements in the political, industrial, cultural and spiritual life of Europe is assembled in this ancient hall.

And although everyone has been invited in his individual capacity, nevertheless the Congress, and any conclusions it may reach, may fairly claim to be the voice of Europe. It is time indeed that that voice should be raised upon the scene of chaos and prostration, caused by the wrongs and hatreds of the past, and amid dangers which lie about us in the present and cloud the future. We shall only save ourselves from the perils which draw near by forgetting the hatreds of the past, by letting national rancours and revenges die, by progressively effacing frontiers and barriers which aggravate and congeal our divisions, and by rejoicing together in that glorious treasure of literature, of romance, of ethics, of thought and toleration belonging to all, which is the true inheritance of Europe, the expression of its genius and honour, but which by our quarrels, our follies, by our fearful wars and the cruel and awful deeds that spring from war and tyrants, we have almost cast away...

The movement for European Unity, must be a positive force, deriving its strength from our sense of common spiritual values. It is a dynamic expression of democratic faith based upon moral conceptions and inspired by a sense of mission. In the centre of our movement stands a charter of human rights, guarded by freedom and sustained by law. It is impossible to separate economics and defence from general political structure. Mutual aid in the economic field and joint military defence must inevitably be accompanied step by step with a parallel policy of closer political unity.
It is said with truth that this involves some sacrifice or merger of national sovereignty. I prefer to regard it as the gradual assumption by all the nations concerned of that larger sovereignty which can alone protect their diverse and distinctive customs and characteristics and their national traditions all of which under totalitarian systems, whether Nazi, Fascist, or Communist, would certainly be blotted out forever.

Some time ago I stated that it was the proud mission of the victor nations to take the Germans by the hand and lead them back into the European family, and I rejoice that some of the most eminent and powerful Frenchmen have spoken in this sense. To rebuild Europe from its ruins and make its light shine forth again upon the world, we must first of all conquer ourselves. It is in this way only that the sublime with its marvellous transmutations of material things can be brought into our daily life. Europe requires all that Frenchmen, all that Germans and all that every one of us can give. I therefore welcome here the German delegation, whom we have invited into our midst...

It is necessary for the executive governments of the sixteen countries, associated for the purposes of the Marshall Plan, to make precise arrangements. These can apply at present only to what is called Western Europe. In this we wish them well and will give them all loyal support; but our aim here is not confined to Western Europe. We seek nothing less than all Europe...

It is not the fault of those who are gathered here to-day, nor of the governments involved in the Marshall Plan or in the Western Union, and least of all the fault of the United States, that the unity of Europe cannot be at present complete. All the States of the East and South-East of Europe except Greece are constrained to hold aloof from us and most of them are not allowed to express themselves by free democratic electoral processes. We must aim at nothing less than the union of Europe as a whole, and we look forward with confidence to the day when this will be achieved.

Nothing that we do or plan here conflicts with the paramount authority of a World Organisation of the United Nations. On the contrary I have always believed, as I declared in the war, that a Council of Europe was a subordinate but necessary part of the world organisation. I thought at that time, when I had great responsibility, that there should be several regional councils, august but subordinate, and that these should form the massive pillars upon which the world organisation would be founded in majesty and calm. This was the direction in which my hopes and thought lay three or four years ago. To take an example from the military sphere, with which our hard experiences have made
us all familiar, the design for world government might have followed the sys-
tem of three or more groups of armies - in this case armies of peace - under
one supreme headquarters. Thus I saw the vast Soviet Union forming one of
these great groups. The council of Europe including Great Britain linked with
her Empire and Commonwealth, would be another. Thirdly there was the
United States and her sisters republics in the Western Hemisphere with all
their great spheres of interest and influence. In the mind picture which it was
possible to form as victory in the war became certain, there was the hope that
each of these three splendid groupings of States and nations - whose affairs of
course would sometimes overlap, might have settled within themselves a great
number of differences and difficulties, which now are dragged up to the
supreme world organisation and that far fewer, but also far more potent fig-
ures would represent them at the summit...

To some extent events have moved in this direction, but not in the spirit or
the shape which was needed. The Western Hemisphere already presents itself
as a unit. Here at the Hague we are met to help our various Governments to
create the new Europe, but we are all grieved and perplexed and imperilled by
the discordant attitude and policy of the third great and equal partner, with-
out whose active aid the World Organisation cannot function, nor the shadow
of war be lifted from the hearts and minds of men and nations. We must do
our best to create and combine the great regional unities which it is in our
power to influence, and we must endeavour by patient and faithful service, to
prepare for the day when there will be an effective World Government resting
upon the main groupings of mankind...

President Roosevelt spoke of the Four Freedom, but the one that matters
most today is Freedom from Fear. Why should all these hardworking families
be harassed first, as in by gone times, by dynastic and religious quarrels, next
by nationalistic ambitions, and finally by ideological fanaticism?... Europe has
only to arise and stand in her own majesty, faithfulness and virtue, to con-
front all forms of tyranny, ancient or modern, Nazi or Communist, with forces
which are unconquerable, and which if asserted in good time, may never be
challenged again...

We must here and now resolve that in one form or another a European As-
sembly shall be constituted which will enable that voice to make itself continu-
ously heard and we trust with ever-growing acceptance through all the free
countries of this Continent... If we allow ourselves to be rent and disordered
by pettiness and small disputes, if we fail in clarity of view or courage in ac-
tion, a priceless occasion may be cast away forever. But if we all pull together
and pool the luck and the comradeship, and we shall hand all the comrades-
ship, and not a little luck if we are to move together in this way, and firmly
grasp the larger hopes of humanity, then it may be that we shall move togeth-
er into a happier sunlit age, when all the little children who are now growing
up in this tormented world, may find themselves not the victors nor the van-
quished in the fleeting triumphs of one country over another in the bloody tur-
moil of destructive war, but the heirs of all the treasures of the past and the
masters of all the science, the abundance and the glories of the future.
III. 1949, Strasbourg, à Place Kléber à l’occasion de la Première Session de l’Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l’Europe

Dans cette ville ancienne, et encore marquée par les blessures de la guerre, nous sommes réunis pour former une Assemblée qui, nous l’espérons, sera un jour le Parlement de l’Europe. Nous avons fait le premier pas et c’est le premier pas qui coûte... Il n’y a pas beaucoup plus d’une année que nous avons, à notre Congrès de La Haye, demandé la création d’une Assemblée Européenne. Il fallait mobiliser l’opinion publique pour persuader de puissants gouvernements de transformer nos demandes en réalités. Il fallait surmonter de sérieuses hésitations...

Nous sommes réunis ici, dans cette Assemblée nouvelle, non pas comme représentants de nos divers pays ou de différents partis politiques, mais comme des Européens, marchant en avant, la main dans la main, et s’il le faut au coude à coude, pour faire revivre les gloires anciennes de l’Europe et permettre à cet illustre continent de reprendre, dans une organisation mondiale, sa place de membre indépendant et se suffisant à lui-même.

Cette fidélité première et sacrée que l’on doit à son propre pays, il n’est pas difficile de la réconcilier avec ce sentiment, plus vaste, de camaraderie européenne. Au contraire, on constatera que tous les intérêts légitimes s’accordent harmonieusement, et que chacun de nous servira le mieux les intérêts réels et la sécurité de son pays si nous élargissons notre sentiment à la fois de citoyenneté et de souveraineté communes, si nous englobons dans ce sentiment tout ce continent d’États et de nations qui ont la même manière de vivre...

Je ne suis l’ennemi d’aucune race et d’aucune nation du monde. Ce n’est pas contre une race, ce n’est pas contre une nation quelconque que nous nous rassemblons. C’est contre la tyrannie sous toutes ses formes, anciennes ou modernes, que nous nous dressons résolument. La tyrannie reste toujours la même, quelles que soient ses fausses promesses, quel que soit le nom qu’elle adopte, quels que soient les déguisements dont elle habille ses valets.

Mais si nous voulons conquérir notre suprême récompense, nous devons écarter tous nos empêchements, et devenir les maîtres de nous-mêmes. Nous devons nous élever au-dessus de ces passions qui ont ravigé l’Europe et l’ont mise en ruines. Il faut en finir avec nos vieilles querelles; il faut renoncer aux ambitions territoriales; il faut que les rivalités nationales deviennent une émulation créatrice dans tous les domaines où nous pouvons rendre les services les plus réels à notre cause commune.

En outre, nous devons prendre toutes les mesures et toutes les précautions nécessaires pour être bien sûrs que nous aurons le pouvoir, et que nous aurons le temps, de réaliser cette transformation de l’Europe dans laquelle l’Assemblée Européenne (maintenant effectivement réunie à Strasbourg) a un si grand rôle à jouer. Elle ne pourra jouer ce rôle, que si elle montre qu’elle possède ces qualités de bon sens, de tolérance, d’indépendance, et surtout de courage, sans lesquelles rien de grand ne se fait dans ce monde...

Dans notre longue histoire, nous avons triomphé des dangers des guerres de religion et des guerres dynastiques; après trente ans de luttes, j’ai confian-
ce que nous sommes arrivés à la fin des guerres nationalistes. Après toutes nos victoires et toutes nos souffrances, allons-nous maintenant sombrer dans un dernier chaos, dans des guerres idéologiques déclenchées parmi nous par des oligarchies barbares et criminelles, préparées par les agitateurs de la cinquième colonne qui s'infilrent et conspirent dans tant de pays?

Non, je suis certain qu'il est en notre pouvoir de traverser les dangers qui sont encore devant nous, si nous le voulons. Nos espoirs et notre travail tendent vers une époque de paix, de prospérité, de plénitude, ou l'inépuisable richesse et génie de l'Europe feront d'elle, une fois de plus, la source même et l'inspiration de la vie du monde. Dans tout cela, nous avançons avec le soutien de la puissante République au-delà de l'Atlantique, et des États souverains qui sont membres de l'Empire et du Commonwealth des Nations britanniques.

Les dangers qui nous menacent sont grands, mais grande aussi est notre force, et il n'y a aucune raison de ne pas réussir à réaliser le but et à établir la structure de cette Europe Unie dont les conceptions morales pourront recevoir le respect et la reconnaissance de l'humanité, et dont la force physique sera telle que personne n'osera la molester dans sa tranquille marche vers l'avenir.

MOTION OF THE CREATION
OF A EUROPEAN ARMY

IV. 1950, Second Session of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe

I am sure we can all agree with the Committee of Ministers that definite progress has been made in the last year in building up the European conception represented by this Assembly. There are, however, several important points which lie open between us... It is important to the future of this Assembly that it should be brought continually into closer contact not only with the executive Governments but with all the representative institutions upon which, in all true democracies, executive Governments, can alone be founded... I have always thought that the process of building up a European Parliament must be gradual, and that it should roll forward on a tide of facts, events and impulses rather than by elaborate constitution-making. Either we shall prove our worth and weight and value to Europe or we shall fail... We are not making a machine. We are growing a living plant... From an unofficial gathering of enthusiasts, pleading the cause of reconciliation and revival of this shattered Continent, we have reached the scene to-day when we sit as a body, with ever-growing influence and respect, in our own House of Europe, under the flags of fifteen historic States and nations. In all that we do and say here, we must not belie the hopes and faith of millions and scores of millions of men and women
not only in the free countries of Europe but in those which still lie in
bondage...

The Committee of Ministers has, by its Message, virtually invited us to
consider in their broader aspects the military aspects of our position. Certain-
ly it would be futile and absurd to attempt to discuss the future of Europe and
its relation to world affairs and to the United Nations Organization if this
dominating military aspect were arbitrarily excluded...

I am very glad that the Germans, amid their own problems, have come
here to share our perils and augment our strength. They ought to have been
here a year ago. A year has been wasted, but still it is not too late. There is no
revival of Europe, no safety of freedom for any of us, except in standing to-
gether, united and unflinching. I ask this Assembly to assure our German
friends that, if they throw in their lot with us, we shall hold their safety and
freedom as sacred as our own...

The freedom and civilization of Western Europe lie under the shadow of
Russian Communist aggression, supported by enormous armaments. The Sovi-
et forces in Europe, measured in active divisions, in Air Force and in ar-
moured vehicles, outnumber the forces of Western Union by at least six or sev-
en to one. These are terrible facts, and it is a wonder that we are sitting here
in our new House of Europe, calmly discussing our plans for the future hap-
piness and concord of our peoples and their moral and cultural ideals. It is a
wonder, but at least it is better than getting into a panic. The danger is, of
course, not new. It was inherent in the fact that the free democracies of the
West disarmed and dissolved their forces after the war, while the dictatorship
in the Kremlin maintained gigantic armies and laboured tirelessly by every
means to re-equip them.

Two years ago, the Western Union Pact was signed and a number of Com-
mittees were set up which have been talking ever since. Imposing conferences
have been held between military chiefs and experts, assisted by statesmen, and
the pretentious façade of a Western front has been displayed by the Govern-
ments responsible for our safety.

In fact, however, apart from the establishment of the American bomber
base in England, nothing has been done to give any effective protection to our
peoples from being subjugated or destroyed by the Russian Communist armies
with their masses of armour and aircraft. I and others have given what warn-
ings we could, but, as in the past, they fell on unheeding ears or were used to
sustain the false accusation of “warmongering”...

I do not doubt that, as the realization of our mortal danger deepens, it will
awaken that sense of self-preservation which is the foundation of human exis-
tence, and this process is now going forward...

We in this Assembly have no responsibility or executive power, but we are
bound to give our warning and our counsel. There must be created, and in the
shortest possible time, a real defensive front in Europe. Great Britain and the
United States must send large forces to the Continent. France must again re-
vive her famous Army. We welcome our Italian comrades. All –Greece,
Turkey, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Scandinavian States– must bear
their share and do their best.
Courage and unity must inspire us and direct the mighty energies at the disposal of our Governments to solid and adequate measures of defence. Those who serve supreme causes must not consider what they can get but what they can give. Let that be our rivalry in these years that lie before us.

The question which challenges us is: shall we have the time? No one can answer that question for certain, but to assume that we were too late would be the very madness of despair. We are still under the shield of the atomic bomb, possessed in formidable quantities by the United States alone.

The use of this weapon would shake the foundations of the Soviet regime throughout the vast areas of Russia, and the breakdown of all communications and centralized control might well enable the brave Russian peoples to free themselves from a tyranny far worse than that of the Czars. It seems very likely that such possibilities will constitute an effective deterrent upon Soviet aggression, at least until they have by a lengthy process built up an adequate supply of atomic bombs of their own.

There is another reason why the general armed assault by Communism against the Western democracies may be delayed. The Soviet dictators have no reason to be discontented with the way things have gone so far, and are going. Since the world war stopped in 1945, they have obtained control of half Europe and of all China without losing a single Russian soldier, thus adding upwards of 500 million people to their own immense population.

They have a wealth of opportunities for creating trouble and tempting us to disperse our forces unduly through the action of their satellites. Engaged in these diversions they are able to preach peace while planning aggressive war and improving their atomic stockpile.

But in my judgment, which I present with all diffidence, we have a breathing space, and if we use this wisely and well, and do not waste it as we have already wasted so much, we may still greatly increase the deterrents against a major Russian Communist aggression. It is by closing the yawning gap in the defences of the Western Powers in Europe that we shall find the surest means, not only of saving our lives and liberties, but of preventing a third world war.

If in the next two years or so we can create a trustworthy system of defence against Communist invasion, we shall at least have removed the most obvious temptation to those who seek to impose their will by force upon the free democracies. This system of defence in the West will alone give the best chance of a final settlement by negotiation with the Soviets on the basis of our strength and not of our weakness. But there is not a day to be less nor a scrap of available strength to be denied.

As I have already said, this Assembly has no power to act, nor do we seek to relieve the responsible executive Governments of their duties. We ought, however, to make our united convictions known. We should now send a message of confidence and courage from the House of Europe to the whole world. Not only should we reaffirm, as we have been asked to do, our allegiance to the United Nations, but we should make a gesture of practical and constructive guidance by declaring ourselves in favour of the immediate creation of a European Army under a unified command, and in which we should all bear a worthy and honourable part.
Therefore, Mr. President, I propose to you a Motion which, after some previous consultation in various quarters, I have ventured to place upon the Order Paper.

I trust that this Motion will, by an open and formal vote, receive the overwhelming, if not indeed the unanimous, support of this Assembly. This would be the greatest contribution that it is in our power to make to the safety and peace of the world. We can thus go forward together sure at least that we have done our duty. I beg to move that: «The Assembly, in order to express its devotion to the maintenance of peace and its resolve to sustain the action of the Security Council of the United Nations in defence of peaceful peoples against aggression, calls for the immediate creation of a unified European Army subject to proper European democratic control and acting in full co-operation with the United States and Canada».

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La Mozione proposta da Winston Churchill – leggermente emendata durante il dibattito parlamentare con l’introduzione dopo le parole «the immediate creation of a unified Army» dell’inciso under the authority of a European Minister of Defence – fu adottata a maggioranza l’11 agosto 1950 divenendo la Recommandation 5 (Doc. AS (2) 52), così definita da Spaak: «This... was the most important decision yet taken by Consultative Assembly. It reflected the state of disquiet which prevailed in Europe» (Spaak, The continuing battle, p. 217).

Il Comitato dei Ministri rispose, in data 4 novembre 1950, con la seguente Resolution on the European Army ((50) 48):

«The Committee of Ministers, having taken note of the Recommendation of the Consultative Assembly relating to the creation of a European Army,

Bearing in mind that decisions on matters of national defence do not fall within the scope of the Council of Europe,

Notes the turn taken by events and the various lines of action which have since then been initiated,

And expresses the hope that the problem of the defence of free Europe may be satisfactorily dealt with in the near future by decisions of the Governments and the competent international organisations». 