# 70<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE SCHUMAN DECLARATION.

**O**n 9 May 1950, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman made a speech in Paris that would alter the destiny of our continent. There is no doubt that this 70th anniversary is a great opportunity to celebrate the initiative that turned the European dream into a practical reality.

Robert Schuman was dissatisfied with the slow pace of progress towards a united Europe after the Second World War. So in 1950 he chose a revolutionary approach in proposing not only common rules to govern coal and steel production, but also a supranational High Authority to administer the two strategically important industries around a Franco-German core.

Jean Monnet drafted the bulk of the Schuman Declaration, which suggested that pooling the coal and steel industries would be the first stage in a broader integration process ultimately resulting in a 'European federation'. With a view to safeguarding peace, the Schuman Plan also sought to make war between Europeans not just unthinkable, but materially impossible. The Schuman Declaration was therefore a basis for negotiations, the outcome of which, several months later, was the European Coal and Steel Community.

With the Cold War in full swing and in the face of opposition from various quarters, achieving such a result took courage and audacity.

Beyond the economic and social issues, the Schuman Plan also sought to lay the foundations for institutions capable of charting a course to a shared future. The ECSC Treaty, which entered into force in July 1952, therefore established a Common Assembly, a symbol of a nascent Europe, which represented the peoples of the States of the Community. It was the forerunner of our European Parliament.

So now is an excellent time to stage an exhibition like this one. With the European Union facing a number of challenges, let us hope that this slice of history reminds visitors and younger generations of Europeans just how important the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950 was.

Enjoy the exhibition!

David Sassoli President of the European Parliament

# INTRODUCTION

**O**n 9 May 1950, against the backdrop of the Cold War, Robert Schuman issued a declaration which marked the beginning of the process of building the European Community. The aim the French Foreign Minister had set himself was to establish a new supranational organisation with a view to creating a common coal and steel market between France and Germany which was also open to other European countries. It would be the European Coal and Steel Community, or ECSC. Since 1985, Europe Day has been celebrated on 9 May every year.





Postcard produced in 1950 by the French section of the European Movement welcoming the Schuman Plan





Mock stamp (without face value) issued in Germany in 1950 to mark the announcement of the Schuman Plan



# SCHUMAN, A MAN FROM A BORDER REGION

**B**orn in 1886 in Luxembourg, the country of origin of his mother, Schuman was a man from a border region. His father, a German national, came from a village in Lorraine which was annexed to the German Reich in 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War. Schuman spent his entire childhood in Luxembourg, and studied in Bonn, Munich, Berlin and Strasbourg. He then opened a law firm in Metz, where he obtained French nationality after the First World War. Schuman's background thus made him particularly sensitive to the divisions between European countries. A staunch advocate of the European project as a means of strengthening peace and cooperation, from 1949 onwards Schuman called for the Council of Europe to have its headquarters in Strasbourg, the city which symbolised Franco-German reconciliation.





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Portraits of Jean-Pierre and Eugénie Schuman-Duren, Robert Schuman's parents







© All Rights Reserved

Robert Schuman with his mother



Im Jahre taufent acht hundert fechs und achtgig, ben Coffee. Des Monats Juli um ..... Ubr Comittags ift vor Uns und haben bie Comparenten Dieje Urfunde, nachdem fie ihnen vorgelejen morden, mit Uns unterichrieben. human

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© All Rights Reserved

Robert Schuman's birth certificate





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Robert Schuman's school class at the Athénée de Luxembourg



# FRANCO-GERMAN PROBLEMS

**S**chuman issued his declaration at a time when Franco-German relations had reached an impasse. Paris and Bonn disagreed in particular about the status of the Saarland, which was politically autonomous, but had close economic ties to France. The French project sought to anchor the newly formed Federal Republic of Germany in a European structure in order to steer its development and guarantee peace in Europe. By placing Germany on an equal footing with France, the Schuman plan aimed to improve relations between the two countries, by focusing on their shared interests, and bring about reconciliation between the two former'arch enemies'. In geographical terms, the ECSC was built around what might be termed 'the Lorraine industrial basin'.

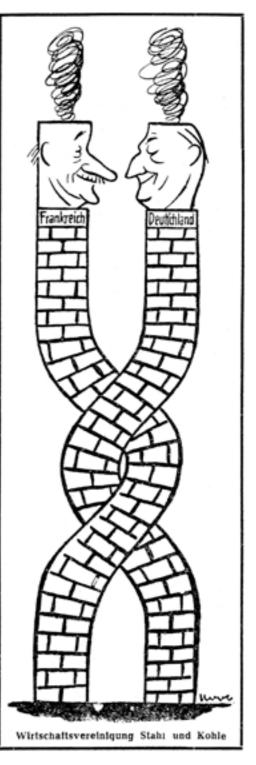




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School poster showing the triangular region in which the main coaland steel-producing centres in in the European Community are located





Der Mittag, 13-14.05.1950 © Der Mittag

'Coal and Steel Union'.

Cartoon by Koob on Franco-German reconciliation





Sinnvolle Demontage



Die Friedenspfeife Hamburger Abendblatt, 17.05.1950 © Hamburger Abendblatt

'Good idea to take these fences down. French steel. German coal. The peace pipe. Steel. Coal. Here lies the hatchet, buried by France and Germany.'

reconciliation

Cartoon by Beuth on the importance of the Schuman Plan for Franco-German





Erfinderstolz: "Hoffentlich entwickelt sich das Ding besser als die Sicherheitsnadeln."

Rhein-Echo, 07.07.1950 © Klaus Pielert

'The inventor's pride and joy: let than the safety pins did'.

Cartoon by Pielert on the Franco-German partnership which formed the basis for the Schuman Plan



## 'The inventor's pride and joy: let's hope it holds things together better



# THE MONNET-SCHUMAN PARTNERSHIP

Jean Monnet, Director of the French National Planning Agency for Modernisation and Infrastructure, regarded economic rapprochement among the states of Europe as fundamental to the prosperity and security of France. He wanted practical European unity in the form of close integration in key sectors, as a way of creating genuine solidarity among the partners. He also saw the pooling of coal and steel resources as the first step towards establishing a 'European federation'. In his eyes, Schuman was the political operator who would bring his plan to fruition.





house in Houjarray in the spring of 1950 to sketch out the Schuman Plan

Robert Schuman, his private secretary Bernard Clappier and Jean Monnet meeting at the latter's





© European Union, 2020

Photo of Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet in Strasbourg in 1950





© Photothèque Ville de Luxembourg. Photo Théo Mey

Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman leaving the seat of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in Luxembourg together after a ceremony held on 9 May 1953 to commemorate the Schuman Declaration.



# POOLING COAL AND STEEL RESOURCES

Very much aware that European states remained attached to their sovereignty, Monnet and Schuman took a step-by-step approach. They hoped that economic integration would lead to political integration. At the time, coal accounted for almost 70% of energy consumption in the countries of western Europe, while steel was the primary raw material for industry and armaments. The coal and steel community brought together 155 million consumers. Pooling these resources made a new Franco-German war unthinkable and materially impossible.



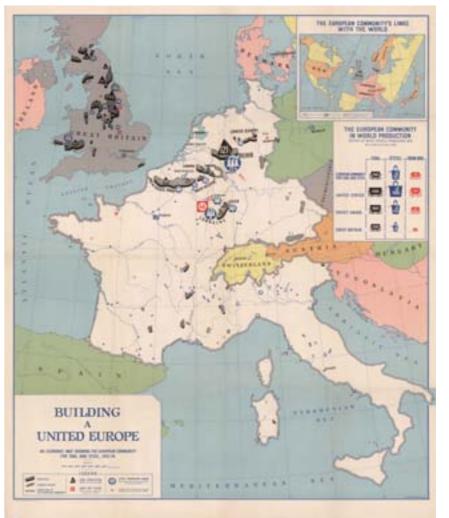
"One Side, Bud - We're Citizens of Europe Now"



The Washington Post, 25.03.1951 © The Herb Block Foundation

'Now we are citizens of Europe'. Cartoon by Herblock on the creation of a common market in coal and steel





© Private Coll. All Rights Reserved

School poster illustrating the size and location of the mining and steel industries in Western Europe





Jean Monnet's idea is that coal and steel should serve as the basis for a European Community with supranational powers.



# INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION

**S**chuman and Monnet saw effective institutions as the only way of creating a common market in coal and steel. Key aims included the coordination of investment, the organisation of production and the imposition of price controls, in full compliance with the rules on competition and social welfare. Joint management of coal and steel resources would be carried out by a financially independent institution, the High Authority, capable of functioning as a collegiate body comprising independent eminent persons; it would be an embryonic European government. By virtue of its duty to act in the general interest, the High Authority was an ingenious response to the problem of competing national interests.





© Photothèque Ville de Luxembourg

In 1952 the High Authority of the ECSC moved into premises at Place de Metz in Luxembourg.





School poster illustrating the role and functioning of the ECSC institutions





Il suo Governo (l'Alta Autorità) il suo Parlamento (l'Assemblea Comune) la sua Corte di Giustiria il suo Consiglio speciale di Ministri

sono gli organi federali della nuova Europa.

Essi lavorano per

l'espansione economica lo sviluppo dell'occupazione il miglioramento del tenore di vita delle popolazioni.

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Promotional poster for the ECSC and its institutions

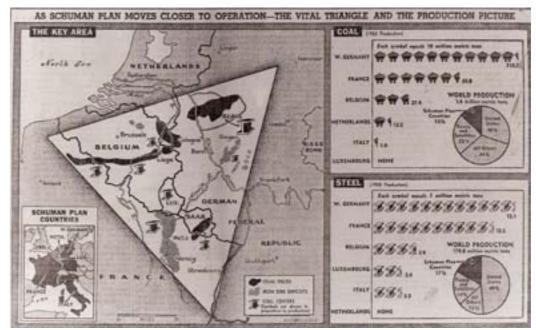




# THE 'SCHUMAN BOMBSHELL' OF 9 MAY 1950

In making his revolutionary declaration on 9 May 1950, Schuman wanted to create a shock wave which would effectively kick-start the European integration process. In government, industrial and trade union circles, consternation at the announcement was all the greater because the surprise was total. The French proposal was a political bombshell. It was also a leap into the unknown. Prepared in secret, the Schuman Declaration sought to change the European mindset in order to win over public opinion and force governments to reach agreement.



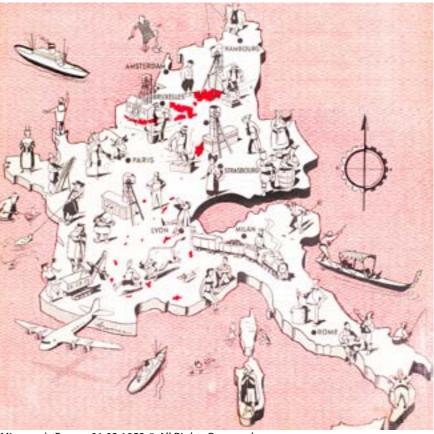


The New York Times, 25.03.1951 © NYTimes

and steel industries are located

Illustration showing the triangular area in which the European Community's main mining





Mineurs de France, 01.02.1953 © All Rights Reserved

For many European citizens, the ECSC holds out the promise of a Europe without borders



# POLITICAL BACKING

**C**onvinced that Monnet's project was the right way ahead, Schuman decided to give it his political backing. The preparations were made as discreetly as possible, in an effort to ensure that the project was not thwarted by opposition from business circles, divisions between political parties and administrative foot-dragging. Schuman kept the French Parliament at arm's length from the diplomatic preparations, because he feared the effect of a premature public debate. Once assured of the support of the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Schuman could finally inform the French Government. Everything was ready for the public announcement of his plan.





Keystone/Eyedea Presse/Photo News

Robert Schuman, French Foreign Minister from 1948 to 1953





---- « Ah ! si vous connaissiez mon poo-oo-oo-oo-ool ! » © Sennep/ADAGP, Paris, 2020

'Aah! If only you knew my poo-oo-oo-ool.'

Cartoon by Sennep showing Robert Schuman promoting the coal and steel pool





Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung, 22.06.1950 © Felix Mussil

"Rêverie" by Robert Schuman'.

Cartoon by Felix Mussil on the French Foreign Minister's hopes for the future



# THE PRESS CONFERENCE

**O**n 9 May 1950, the Salon de l'Horloge in the French Foreign Ministry building on Quai d'Orsay in Paris was transformed into a press room. At 18.00, Schuman gave his speech, which had been through nine drafts. As the press had been informed only at the last minute, very few journalists were in attendance. No photographer covered the event, and no radio or television reporters were present. As a result, Schuman was forced to record his declaration a second time for posterity...



4.

La contribution qu'une Larope organizée et vivante peut appor ter à la civilization est indispensable au maintien des relations pacifiques. En se faisant depuis plus de 20 ans le champion d'une Europe unie, la France a toujours eu pour objet essentiel de mervir la paix. L'Europe n'a pas été faite, nous avons eu la guerre.

L'Europe ne se fara pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble : elle se form par des réalisations comprètes ordant d'abord une solidarité de fait. Le rassemblement des nations européennes exise que l'opposition séculaire de la France et de l'Allemagne soit (liminde : l'action entreprise doit toucher au premier ohef in France et l'Allemane.

Dans de bat, le Gouvernement Français propose de porter imaddistanent l'action mar an point limité mais décisif :

Le Gouvernement Français propose de placer l'ensemble de la production franco-allemande de charbon et d'apier, sous une Haute Autorité commane, dans une organisation cuverte à la participation des satres pays d'Europe.

La mise en commun des productions de charbon et d'acier assuf rura immédiatement l'établissement de basis commanes de développement économique, première étape de la fédération européenne, at changers le destin de ces régions longtemps vouées à la fabrication des armes d guerre dont elles ont été les plus constantes victimes.

© Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe - Lausanne

Final version of the text of the Schuman Declaration (dated 6 May 1950)

Le 6 Mai 1950

La paix mondiale ne anurait être sauvesardée sans des efforts créateurs à la mosure des dangers qui la mennoent.



La solidarité de production qui sera sinsi nouée manifestera que toute guarre entre la France et l'Allemagne devient non seulement impensable, mais matériellement impossible. L'établissement de cette anité paissante de production cuverte à tous les pays qui voudront y participer, aboutissant à fournir à tous les pays qu'elle rassenblera les éléments fondamentaux de la production industrielle nux mêmes conditions, jetters les fondements réels de leur unification économique.

Cette production sera offerte à l'ensemblé du monde sans distinction ni exclusion, pour participer na relevement da nivena de vie et nu développement des ceuvres de paix.

Ainai sera réalisée simplement et rapidement la fusion d'intérêts indispensable à l'établissement d'une commanauté économique et introdait le ferment d'une communauté plus large et plus profonde entre des pays longtemps opposés par des divisions sanglantes.

Par la mise en comman de productions de base et l'institution d'une Haute Autorité pouvelle, dont les décisions lieront la France, l'Allemanne, et les pays qui y adhéreront, cette proposition réalisers les presières assises concrètes d'une Fédération europ(enne indispensable à la préservation de la paix.

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bases suivantes :

Four poursaivre la réalisation des objectife ainsi définie, le Gouvernament Français est prêt à ouvrir des négoclations sur les



2.

La mission impartie à la Haute Autorité commune sera d'assurer dans les délais les plus rapides : la modernisation de la production et l'amélioration de sa qualité; la fourniture à des conditions identiques du charbon et de l'acier sur le marché français et sur le marché allemand, ainsi que sur ceux des pays adhérents; le développement de l'exportation commune vers les autres pays; l'égalisation dans le progrès des conditions de vie de la main d'œuvre de ces industries.

Four atteindre ces objectifs à partir des conditions très disparates dans lesquelles sont placées actuellement les productions des pays adhérents, à titre transitoire certaines dispositions devront mises en ceuvre, comportant l'application d'un plan de production et d'investissements, l'institution de mécanismes de peréé quation des prix, la création d'un fonds de reconversion facilitant la rationalisation de la production. La circulation du charbon et de l'acier entre les pays adhérents sera immédiatement affranchie des tout droit de douane, et ne pourra être affectée par des tarifs de transport différentiels. Progressivement se dégageront les conditions assurant spontanément la répartition la plus rationelle de la production au niveau de productivité le plus élevé.

A l'opposé d'un cartel international tendant à la répartition et à l'exploitation des marchés nationaux par des pratiques restrictives et le maintien de profits élevés, l'organisation projetée assurora la fusion des marchés et l'expansion de la production.

Les principes et les engagements essentiels ci-dessus définis



### 3.

feront l'objet d'un traité signé entre les Etats. Les négociations indispensables pour préciser les mesures d'application seront poursalviss avec l'assistance d'un arbitre désigné d'un commun accord ; celui-ci mura charge de veiller à ce que les accords soient conformes aux principes et, en cas d'opposition irréductible, fixera la solution qui sera adoptée. La Haute Autorité commune chargée du fonotionnement de tout le régime sers composée de personnalités indépendantes désignées mar une base paritaire par les Gouvernemente; un Président sera choisi d'un commun accord par les Gouvernements; ses décisions seront exécutoires en France, en Allemagne et dans les sutres pays adhérents. Des dispositions appropriées assureront les voles de recours nécessaires contre les décisions de la Haute Autorité Un représentant des Sations Unies suprès de cette Autorité sera chargé do faire deux fois par an un rapport public à 1'0.5.0. rendant compte du fonctionnement de l'organisme nouveau notamment en ce qui concerne la sauvegarde de ses fine pacifiques.

L'institution de la Haute Autorité ne préjuge en rien du régime de propriété des entreprises. Dans l'exercice de sa mission, la Haute Autorité commune tiendra compte des pouvoire conférée à l'Autorité internationale de la Huhr at des obligations de toute nature imposés à l'Allemagne, tant que celles-ei subsisteront.



4.



© European Union, 2020

Robert Schuman delivering his declaration in the Salon de l'Horloge in the French Foreign Ministry building at Quai d'Orsay in Paris on 9 May 1950



### REACTIONS TO THE SCHUMAN DECLARATION

 $\mathbf{T}$ he Schuman Declaration provoked a range of reactions. Sceptics saw it as a new agreement between the old bosses, in this case of the mines and steelworks, while for the Communists it was the first step towards a declaration of war against the Soviet bloc. As a whole, however, the public response to the Schuman Declaration was favourable, even if its ultimate implications were not yet clear. On the diplomatic front, and despite the technical difficulties involved, the European countries approached did not want to be on the outside looking in as the project to build Europe took shape.





Poster expressing support for European unity and the Schuman Plan





Daily Herald, 10.05.1950 © Daily Herald

European newspaper headlines in response to the Schuman Declaration





Le Républicain Iorrain, 10.05.1950 © Le Républicain Iorrain













Provingended and Walker

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Lukaschek: Bis zur Grenze des Möglichen

Bonner Rundschau, 10.05.1950 © Kölnische Rundschau

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## THE SCHUMAN PLAN - WHAT WAS AT STAKE?

Very quickly, France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries opened negotiations to prepare a treaty. In institutional terms, the Benelux countries feared Franco-German domination. They called, therefore, for a genuinely independent High Authority. Business circles feared policies which would amount to dirigisme by another name. The economic and technical difficulties involved concerned the breaking up of the cartels which controlled German heavy industry in the Ruhr. Political matters, such as the composition of the High Authority of the ECSC, were also addressed.





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School poster illustrating the economic power and institutional structure of the ECSC

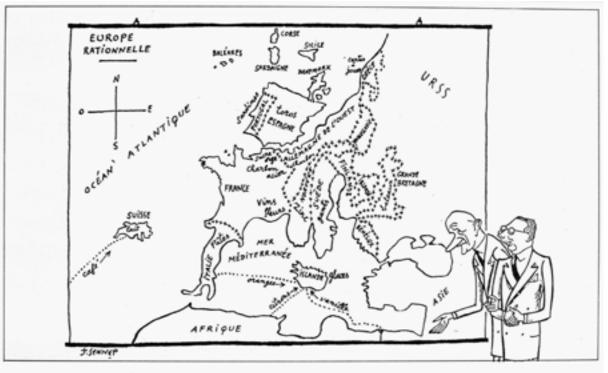




© European Union, 2020

After the Second World War, the mining industry continues to form part of the backbone of the European economy.





Europe rationnelle. -- Je rapproche le charbon de l'acier, le café du lait, le vin du zinc, le sucre de l'orge...

Le Figaro, 14.12.1951 © Sennep/ADAGP, Paris, 2020

closer to the wine glass, the sugar closer to the barley .....

Cartoon by Sennep on plans for economic reorganisation in Europe

# 'A rational Europe — we bring the coal closer to the steel, the coffee closer to the milk, the wine





© European Union, 2020

The European steel industry is a source of p to be a potential catalyst for war.

The European steel industry is a source of prosperity in the post-war period, but continues



## NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ECSC TREATY

 ${f D}$  etermined to act quickly to exploit the enthusiasm triggered by his declaration, Schuman organised in Paris a conference with the task of translating his innovative proposal into clear, detailed texts. From the outset, Schuman stressed the importance of having a joint supranational authority to manage the common market. Hostile to the principle of supranational action, the United Kingdom chose to remain on the sidelines.





© European Union, 2020

On 20 June 1950, Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet jointly chair the opening session of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Schuman Plan in Paris





New York Herald Tribune, 12.06.1950 © NYHT

Cartoon on the United Kingdom's decision to stay out of the planned coal and steel pool





© European Union, 2020

On 12 April 1951, the Foreign Ministers of the Six meet in Paris to finalise the draft treaty establishing the ECSC



### MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS

**O**n 20 June 1950, in Paris, representatives of the Six began negotiations on the Schuman Plan. Open to the idea of an independent High Authority, the Benelux countries called in return for an intergovernmental body, the Special Council of Ministers, to be set up. A Common Assembly was established. There were also plans to set up a Court of Justice to settle disputes. In economic terms, the negotiators endeavoured to give the Community the means to break up the cartels controlling German heavy industry and to organise mining and steel production. The treaty establishing the ECSC was initialled by the six delegations on 19 March 1951.





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On 19 March 1951, at the Quai d'Orsay, the representatives of the Six initial the text of the Treaty establishing the ECSC





*Le Franc-Tireur*, 05.06.1950 © Le Franc-Tireur

Cartoon by Curry on the United Kingdom's refusal to participate in the negotiations on the Schuman Plan







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Poster illustrating the determination of the Six to move forward together towards European unity



### SIGNING OF THE ECSC TREATY

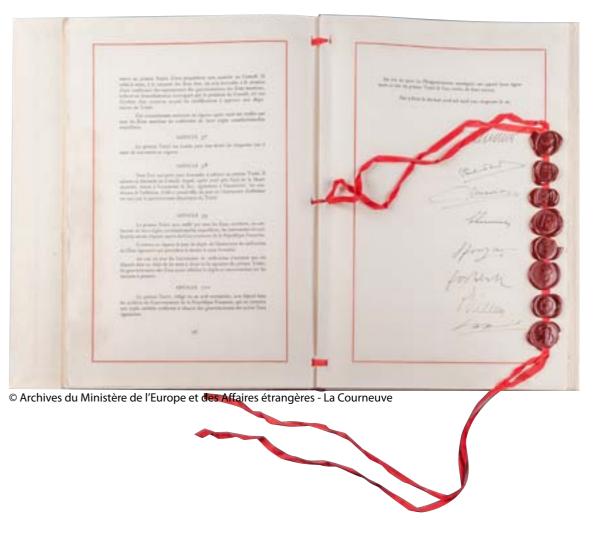
**O**n 18 April 1951, the ECSC Treaty was signed and sealed in Paris by Robert Schuman for France, Konrad Adenauer for the Federal Republic of Germany, Paul van Zeeland and Joseph Meurice for Belgium, Count Carlo Sforza for Italy, Joseph Bech for Luxembourg and Dirk Stikker and Jan Van den Brink for the Netherlands. Its preamble incorporated substantial sections of the declaration of 9 May. Concluded for a period of 50 years, the treaty was a clear, sober document. Schuman's decisive role in securing this diplomatic success earned him the sobriquet 'Father of Europe'.





On 18 April 1951, Robert Schuman signs on behalf of France the Treaty establishing the ECSC.





Signatures appended and sealed in the Treaty of Paris establishing the ECSC





© European Union, 2020

On 18 April 1951, the representatives of the Six welcome the signing of the Treaty establishing the ECSC in Paris



## RATIFICATION OF THE ECSC TREATY

 ${f T}$ he ratification of the ECSC Treaty went fairly smoothly in the six countries. Only the Communists were strongly opposed to the Schuman Plan, which they criticised as an imperialist instrument of war directed against the social interests of workers. It was in France that ratification proved most problematical: while the Communist MPs opposed the idea of a European Community which they saw as being hostile to the Soviet Union, the Gaullists railed against the supranational nature of the High Authority. Nevertheless, the ratification process was completed in summer 1952.





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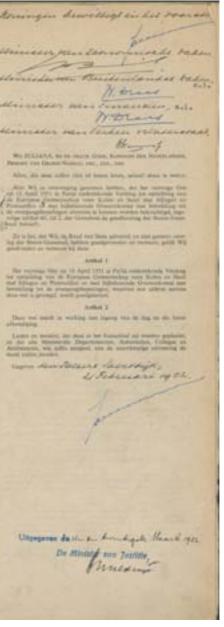
Poster illustrating cooperation among the Six to build a free and united Europe



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© Nationaal Archief, Den Haag

Document attesting to the ratification establishing the ECSC



Document attesting to the ratification by the Netherlands of the Treaty of Paris



### ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE ECSC TREATY

**T**he treaty established the following institutions: a High Authority assisted by an Advisory Committee, a Common Assembly, a Court of Justice and a Special Council of Ministers. Following the signing of the treaty, it remained for the Six to resolve the practical questions concerning the seats of the institutions. In the absence of a definitive agreement, Luxembourg agreed to host the High Authority, the Council and the Court of Justice of the ECSC, whilst the seat of the Common Assembly was established in Strasbourg. The ECSC Treaty, which entered into force on 25 July 1952, barely seven years after the end of the Second World War, is the mould from which today's European Union was formed.

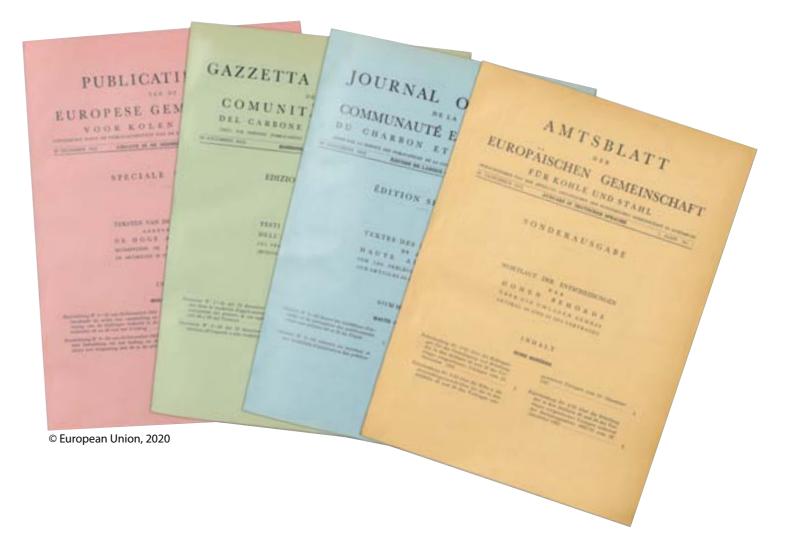




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Brochure advocating that the ECSC institutions should have their seat in Luxembourg





The Official Journal of the ECSC in four on 30 December 1952

The Official Journal of the ECSC in four languages is published for the first time





© European Union, 2020

The European common market fo on 2 May 1956

The European common market for coal and iron ore is symbolically opened



### ROBERT SCHUMAN, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

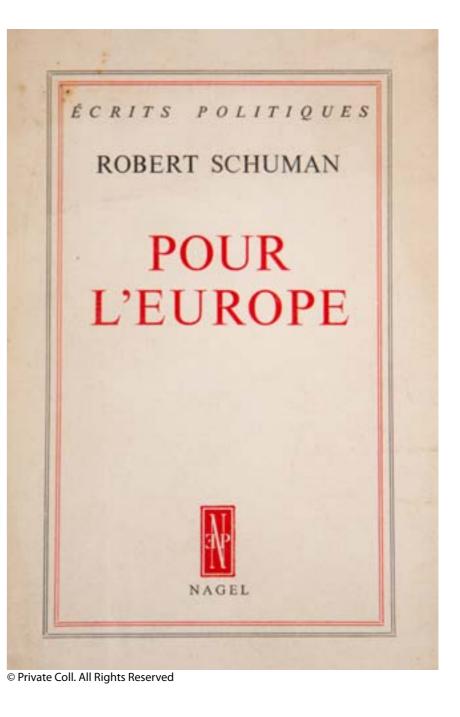
**R**obert Schuman was elected the first President of the European Parliamentary Assembly (EPA) on 19 March 1958; he held that post until March 1960. Despite its limited powers, the EPA was dear to Schuman's heart because it was a political institution par excellence: it was a democratic body representing the peoples, it exercised scrutiny over the executives and it was a unifying force fostering closer links among the European Communities. On 10 May 1960, in marking the 10th anniversary of the Schuman Declaration, the EPA paid tribute to its former President and adopted by acclamation a resolution in which it declared that Europe could be proud of Robert Schuman.





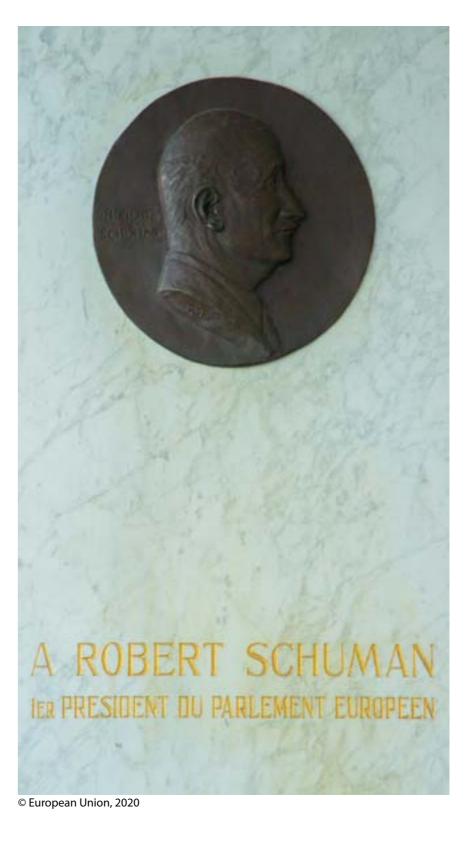
On 10 May 1960, the European Parliamentary Assembly adopts a resolution in which it declares that 'Europe can be proud of Robert Schuman'





Written by Robert Schuman towards the end of his life and published a few days after his death, For Europe is a kind of testament for Europe





Commemorative plaque at the entrance to the Schuman Building in Luxembourg



## STRASBOURG'S PLACE AT THE HEART OF EUROPE

**G**eographically and historically, Strasbourg has always been a European city. Situated at the crossroads between the Latin and Germanic worlds, and often central to rivalries between France and Germany, it is a place whose destiny is bound up with that of Europe. The seat since 1919 of the Central Commission for Navigation on the Rhine, Strasbourg emerged after the Second World War as the symbol of Franco-German reconciliation and peace. That is why, in 1949, the city became the seat of the Council of Europe, whose goals are to consolidate pluralist democracy, the rule of law and human rights. Starting in 1952, that European role took on a new dimension when Strasbourg was chosen as the seat of the ECSC Common Assembly, which became the European Parliamentary Assembly and then the European Parliament, which holds its 12 annual part-sessions in the city.





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Between 1952 and 1957, the Common Assembly of the ECSC holds its plenary sessions in the chamber of the House of Europe in Strasbourg





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Poster illustrating Strasbourg's place at the heart of Europe and its annual trade fair





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The construction of a new building for the Members of the European Parliament (IPE) is intended to strengthen the European Parliament's roots in Strasbourg





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Brochure published in 1957 by the local authorities advocating that the European Parliamentary Assembly should have its seat in Strasbourg



### **E**XHIBITION ENTITLED **'70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SCHUMAN DECLARATION.** 9 MAY 1950'

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