



Ráðstefnur og fundir 1957 – 1970, 3. hluti

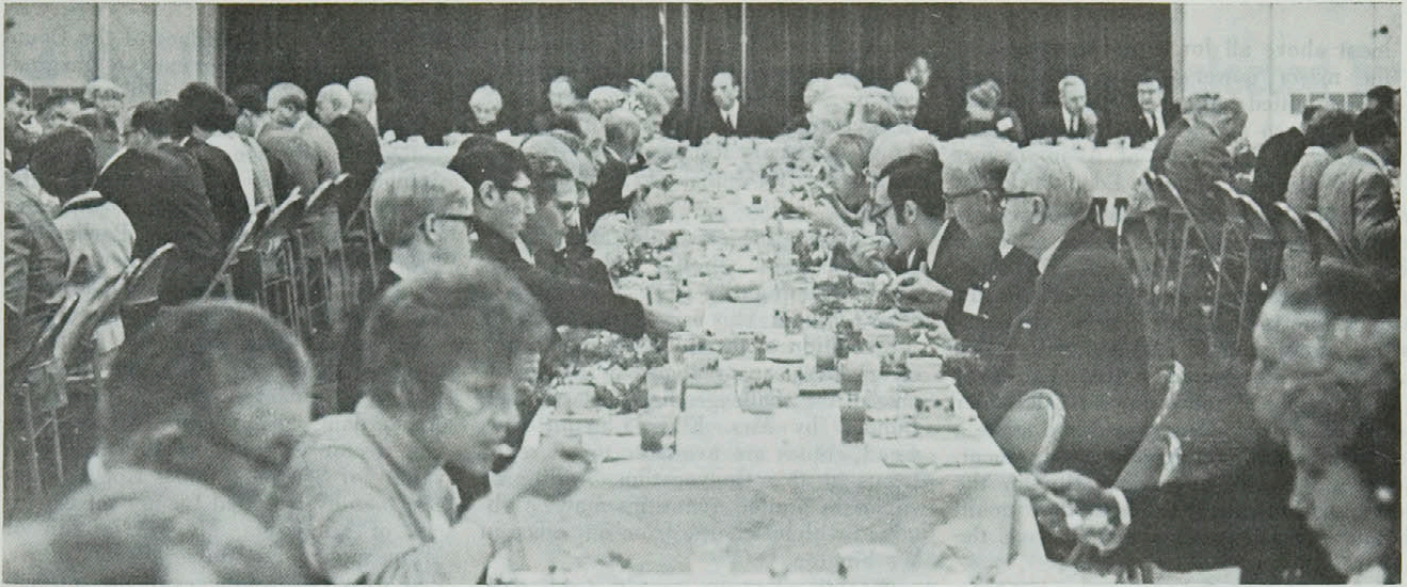
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Luncheon sponsored by International Movement for Atlantic Union where its Vice President, Mrs. Chase Osborn, gave the above progress report before Canadian Senate Leader Paul Martin gave address (see p. 14). Adolph W. Schmidt, Governor, T. Mellon & Sons, was chairman (center).

International Atlantic Union Movement Registers Notable Advance

BY MRS. CHASE S. OSBORN

A DRAMATIC ADVANCE in the progress of the International Movement for Atlantic Union, was the fact, announced as a political surprise by Roscoe Drummond, and wirelessly around the world by the Agence France Presse, April 25, 1968, that the five major candidates for the United States Presidency were in agreement that the Atlantic Union Delegation Resolution should be passed and implemented. Richard Nixon won. He is a doer. This change in the Executive Department and the changed complexion of Congress are covered elsewhere in this Convocation.

Another major advance is being effected here this week in Memphis, with the inauguration of the Estes Kefauver Memorial Lectures by the Honorable Paul-Henri Spaak, former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Belgium, former Secretary General of NATO; with the presence of the Honorable Paul Martin of the Cabinet of Canada, former Secretary of State for External Affairs, and former President of the Council of NATO, to show Canada's particular interest in the proposal. Of similar import is the inauguration here of the first Tri-ennial Estes Kefauver Union of the Free Award. This is a definite, practical, continuing factor.

Less recognizable, yet of major significance, is the light that this Convocation throws on the improving climate of public opinion.

It was believed by leading authorities in the early days that citizens of the

interior of North America would never pay much attention to foreign affairs because of their remoteness from the oceans. Not too long ago the publisher of the *Chicago Tribune* undertook to turn this theory into fact. Today we are underlining at Memphis that among the earliest and strongest Atlantic Union pioneers are a half dozen Mississippi Valley men: Clarence Streit, native of Missouri; Will Clayton, Tennessean and Texan born in Mississippi; Estes Kefauver, Edmund Orgill and Lucius Burch of Tennessee; and Edward Meeman of Tennessee and Indiana.

Moreover, accepting the early custom of including the Great Lakes region as part of the Mississippi system, it is to be noted that Minnesota has produced two leading 1968 candidates for the Presidency who have pioneered for an Atlantic Exploratory Convention: Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Senator Eugene J. McCarthy. Leading House proponents of this Convention include Republican Paul Findley of Illinois, Democratic Clement Zablocki of Wisconsin, and Democratic Donald Fraser of Minnesota.

I, who have plowed a wider than ordinary furrow in the Atlantic Union field, am from Michigan, a native of Ontario. Ontario has produced two top-flight advocates, in fact two of the official originators of the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization and its extraordinary Article II: Former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, and former Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Paul Martin, who is today's speaker for us.

It was Lucius Burch of Memphis who handed a copy of Streit's *Union Now* to the then Representative Estes Kefauver, who set the political pot to boiling for the proposal. This week-end's debt to Edward Meeman shows that what was started here in November 1947 was an artesian spring that flows a Young Man River—as Gertrude Clark put it.

Ed Meeman's *Memphis Press-Scimitar* never claimed to be the World's Greatest Newspaper, but today we may surely nominate it as one of the world's wisest ones. It should not be forgotten that it was from Tennessee, from the field workers of Senator Kefauver, that the Young Citizens' Committee for an Atlantic Convention got its start and chairman in young attorney D. Bruce Shine.

Misconceptions are being cleared away now by Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia. We are turning from hope for security in treaties with a masked adversary, toward collective security and collective responsibility with other democracies, as in 1949. While the world was still paralyzed after the midnight of August 20, a member of the Honorary Council of our International Movement was saying to the House of Lords in London that this was the mo-

ment above all for a new approach by the major powers of the free world. Uncommitted nations would be looking for a haven and the free nations could provide it. The Earl of Avon, former Prime Minister Anthony Eden, declared:

"I would like to see the major powers of the free world get together to try to work out the plans—military, diplomatic, and economic—which they will try to follow to meet the present threatening situation." He called for the same spirit as was shown in the creation of NATO to be devoted now to this wider task. The Communist world had made a sad mess of its affairs for the moment, but it was also an opportunity for the free nations to show how they could lead and where they would have the world go.

A turn of the British mind toward the Atlantic alternative had already been due because of the French blocking of Britain's entrance into the Common Market. The idea of an Atlantic Free Trade Area has been launched on both sides of the ocean. IMAU Board Member Sir Michael Wright has taken a lead in this direction, as chairman of the Atlantic Free Trade Area Study. On this side Senator Javits and David Rockefeller are advocates. This should be helpful in that it draws minds from the dead center concept of European-Union-or-nothing. There are those in this free-trade-area activity who envisioned wider regionalization than the Atlantic, that consider Japan and the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, as possible members of this new aggregation.

The containership explosion which is revolutionizing concepts of shipping is drawing European minds in the western direction as doors to Eastern Europe are being shut. Containerization offers an exciting prospect. It is as if the long search for a Northwest passage to the Far East has finally been successfully completed—by modern technology. North American transcontinental railroads are competing to remake this continent from a land-block to a land-bridge by fast freight trains from containership docks on one ocean coast to containership docks on the other. The commercial advertisements of this development are startling! This is an economic reality which will have inescapable political consequences.

Have you seen Governor Rockefeller's new book, *Unity, Freedom & Peace—A Blueprint for Tomorrow?* You can get a paperback copy. Its Chapter IX, "Unity in the West," should be discussed everywhere in the country. It begins:

"The federal idea, which our Found-

ing Fathers applied in their historic act of political creation in the eighteenth century, can be applied in this twentieth century in the larger context of the world of free nations—if we will but match our forefathers in courage and vision."

Another just-out publication is a pamphlet that should advance our Movement mightily—*The Testament of Will Clayton*. This is a strong, moving presentation of the thinking and feeling of an American greated by the greatness of the challenges he faced and met. Funded by Mrs. Ellen Clayton Garwood, copies are available to all registrants at this Convocation. Additional copies in limited quantities may be obtained without charge from our office in Washington, D.C.

To compound the impact of this Federal Union Convocation and hasten wider public discussion of the proposal to explore federation of the free, paperback copies of Clarence Streit's classic *Freedom's Frontier: Atlantic Union Now* will be given free to those here who file an application.

It should interest you to know that a Mississippi River Valley manuscript entitled *United We Stand—An Atlantic Declaration* is being willed into publication by its Missouriian author, Floyd Nessler, at this moment when positive declarations are again coming into style.

New International Movement Directory

Finally, I have here page proofs of an illuminating and amazing document. Fabulous is the word for it quite often. This presents briefly our proposal that Will Clayton said will go down in history alongside Magna Carta; and records the names of those who may be likened to the barons who played opposite King John at Runnymede. This list of advocates of an Atlantic Union exploration begins with Prince Bernhard of The Netherlands and former Prime Minister Anthony Eden of Great Britain. It includes all three former Secretaries General of NATO, among them Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium who is at this board with us. In the "In Memoriam" division of this Honorary Council are Heinrich von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the German Federal Republic, Christian A. Herter, U.S. Secretary of State, and Robert Schuman, Premier of France.

A striking recent advance in our Movement's Honorary Council is to have added the present Prime Minister of Belgium, Gaston Eyskens; and Paul Martin, Member of the Cabinet of

Canada, former President of the Council of NATO, who has had an imaginative and dedicated part in the creation of NATO and its potent Article II.

Recent advance in the Advisory Council of IMAU is represented by the enrollment of Karl Brommeland and Finn Moe of the Norwegian Parliament, Eric Blumenfeld of the Inner Federal Board of the CDU in West Germany, and General André Beaufre, Director of the French Institute of Strategic Studies; Prof. Dr. van der Hoeven, Rector President of the University of Amsterdam, and Senator Marcel Barzin, Rector Emeritus of the Free University of Brussels; James Goetz, youngest man ever elected Lieutenant Governor of Minnesota, Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis and Mayor Byrne of St. Paul; Jay Cerf, Manager of the International Group of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Also, Dr. Ellsworth Tompkins, executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, U. S. A., and Richard Givens, chairman of the Federal Legislation Committee of the New York State Bar Association, who has just obtained endorsement of the Atlantic Union Delegation Resolution by the largest local bar association in the United States; Lady Kelly, widow of a British Ambassador to Russia, Lady Killearn, widow of a British Ambassador to Egypt, and Miss Louise Card, Immediate Past National President of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Professor Karl Deutsch, just now gone from Yale University to Harvard's Center of International Affairs, author of *Political Community in the North Atlantic Area*; and Mayor Klaus Schuetz of West Berlin.

Foundational and buttressing all this new structuring, there are with us here today two of the towering citizens of our civilization, elder pioneers Adolph W. Schmidt of Pittsburgh and Clarence Streit of Missouri, Montana, and the District of Columbia. Of Clarence Streit, Canada's Paul Martin said to me this morning, "The future will speak of him as we today speak of Pasteur."

This moves me to end on a personal note!

Running the rounds here at Memphis today is a rumor that I am ninety. There are times when I feel even older than that. But often when IMAU scores an advance I am not a day older than 17. This minute I feel like a little girl who has found everything she wanted in her Christmas stocking.

4 Top House Atlantic Union Leaders, D. and R., Re-elected by Biggest Majority Each Ever Got

ATLANTIC UNION resolution leaders in Congress in both Houses and parties did more than well in the November elections. The measure lost few supporters—none because of attacks on it—and these were offset by gains that left its position in Congress stronger, apart from the favorable changes in the White House.

Although it was not an issue in any district or State, it would seem significant that all those most outspokenly for it were not only re-elected but its four top champions in the House won by the biggest majority they ever had.

On the Democrat side, Clement Zablocki, No. 2 majority member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the bill's chief sponsor in his party, carried his Milwaukee district by 73.9 per cent—a record in the 11 elections he has won. Although the Republicans won every major Federal and State office in Arizona except one, the exception, Morris Udall, saw his 58 per cent majority in 1964—year of the LBJ landslide—rise to 70.3 per cent in 1968, the greatest of his five victories.* One of his aides chortled: "This surely proves that it doesn't hurt you with the voters to advocate the Convention to explore transforming NATO into a Federal Union!"

These triumphs were matched on the other side of the aisle by Paul Findley of Illinois, chief GOP sponsor of the bill, and Albert H. Quie of Minnesota, its No. 2 Republican sponsor. Findley, who carried his district by 55 per cent in 1964, despite LBJ's taking it by 32,000 votes in his landslide, increased his majority last year to 66.9 per cent, his "best ever" in five runs.

Since coming out for the Atlantic Union resolution in 1965, Udall increased his majority from 21,487 in 1966 to 59,066 in 1968. (In 1961, in a special election called when his brother, Stewart, left his House seat to become JFK's Secretary of the Interior, Morris barely squeaked through by 1,900 votes.) Meanwhile, Findley, who came out for Atlantic Union in the 1962 election, won it by 10,000. Since then he has become by far the most outspoken Atlantic Union champion in Congress—and his majorities in his conservative, rural Midwest district have risen to

20,000 in 1964, 40,000 in 1966 and 60,000 in 1968, when he carried all 14 of his farm counties and led every candidate in both parties. Like Udall's aide, Findley says: "Atlantic Union certainly hasn't hurt me!"

At the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearings on their Atlantic Union resolution in September 1966, the "three musketeers" from the House who came to testify for it (see October 1966 *F. & U.* for their testimony) were Congressmen Findley, Udall and Quie. How did the latter fare with the voters? That November his majority was 50,000; last year it rose to 70,000—his record.

In the accompanying table, we also give the figures of the victories won by two other active sponsors of the resolution, both members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee: Donald Fraser (D., Minn.) and F. Bradford Morse (R., Mass.) Since the 91st Congress assembled, Fraser has been elected head of the Democratic Study Group, a very influential group of liberal Democrats.

Only a third of the Senators faced the voters last November, and the most active supporters of the resolution among them—Senator Frank Church (D., Ida.) and Jacob Javits (R., N. Y.) were re-elected. The former won a 60.3 per cent majority, and the latter a plurality of 1,079,300 over the Democrat, his nearest rival in a three-man race, and 49 per cent of the total vote . . . in a

state that Nixon lost. Other supporters of the bill who won were Senators Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and George S. McGovern of South Dakota. The only cosponsor who lost in November was Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) in a very close race; another, Sen. Ernest Gruening (D., Alaska) lost earlier in the primary.

The proposal's severest loss in Congress resulted from the decision of Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas, chief Republican Senate sponsor of the resolution, to retire at 76. When he entered the Senate in 1951 with Richard M. Nixon, they both cosponsored the Kefauver Atlantic Union resolution, and remained staunch supporters thereafter. Senator Carlson was the only Republican in the Foreign Relations Committee to vote for the weaker 1960 Atlantic Convention bill it approved in 8 to 7. Mr. Nixon, then Vice President, was instrumental in getting enough Republicans to join him when it reached the Floor for it to squeeze past, 51 to 44. Atlantic Unionists will miss Senator Carlson badly this year.

Fortunately for them, however, Senator Javits has replaced Senator Carlson on the Foreign Relations Committee. On the other hand, the resolution's chief Democratic sponsor, Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota—who gained a national name and following in the 1968 presidential primaries by a gallant fight against great odds that reminded Atlantic Unionists of Senator Kefauver's in 1952—has shifted from Foreign Relations to Government Operations. He too has been replaced on the former body by another cosponsor of his bill, Senator Gale McGee (D., Wyo.) The election changes, and the decision to reduce the committee from 19 to 15 members, leaves in it seven known backers of the resolution—with Senator Church highest in rank—and at least two more believed to favor it.

As for the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the new members on it have not yet been decided as we go to press. Its most important change resulting from the election was the defeat of its ranking Republican member, Mrs. Frances Bolton of Ohio. She was in the minority of one-fourth dissenting when it approved the resolution last July.

By Congressional procedure, the resolution must be introduced afresh in both Houses of the present 91st Congress; its supporters are planning to do this soon.

Election Results for 6 House Leaders of Atlantic Union Delegation Resolution

Democrat Members				
	Vote 1968	Per-cent	Vote 1964	Per-cent
Clement Zablocki (Wis.)†	118,203	73.9**	129,970	72.2
Opponent	44,558		49,138	
Donald Fraser (Minn.)†	108,419	57.9	127,963	61.9
Opponent	78,643		78,787	
Morris Udall (Ariz.)	102,301	70.3**	86,493	58.0
Opponent	43,235		60,782	
Republican Members				
	Vote 1968	Per-cent	Vote 1966	Per-cent
Paul Findley (Ill.)*	121,399	66.9**	118,835	55.0
Opponent	60,933		98,722	
F. Bradford Morse (Mass.)†	125,204	60.4	108,639	55.0
Opponent	81,882		87,799	
Albert H. Quie (Minn.)	138,400	68.8**	137,735	65.0
Opponent	62,916		74,133	

*Udall later gained wide publicity and acclaim by boldly running against Speaker John McCormack, even though to certain defeat.

*Chief Sponsor, Atlantic Resolution.

**Highest he has yet received.

†Member, Foreign Affairs Committee.

Dr. Burns of Federal Union Board Gets High Nixon Post

DR. ARTHUR F. BURNS, whom President Nixon named on Jan. 23 Counselor to the President—a new office which, alone in the White House staff, will enjoy Cabinet rank—is a member of the Board of Federal Union Inc., publisher of this magazine. He was elected to a 3-year term on it by the association's membership in January 1967. He became a Charter Member of the Advisory Council of the International Movement for Atlantic Union in October, 1961.

A week before Mr. Nixon as nominee asked him to tour European financial centers on a fact-finding mission, Dr. Burns attended the Federal Union Board meeting in New York City and gave it highly illuminating insight and information regarding the economic reasons for Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia. They included the previous breakdown of marxist theory there that led Prague to start turning from it, all of which upset communist theoreticians in the Kremlin.

Dr. Burns was born in the former Austrian Empire in 1904 in Stanislau, near the present Czechoslovak frontier, and has kept a special interest in that whole area, although he has lived nearly all his life in the U.S.A. He graduated from Columbia University in 1925, entered its faculty in 1926, and has been Professor of Economics there since 1944. He was Chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, 1953-56.

Stressing the importance of his present post, *The New York Times* on Jan. 24 headlined: "*Nixon's Counselor May Emerge as Super Power in Domestic Problems.*" It said this "long-time friend and adviser to Mr. Nixon, was superimposed on the Council for Urban Affairs that the President set up earlier to oversee programs affecting the cities and help the President formulate policy in this area." The reporter, John Herbers, added:

"It was not clear whether Dr. Burns would assume this overseeing role, but it was clear that he would be in a better

position to do so than Dr. Moynihan or any of the Cabinet members. His age and experience and the fact that he is an 'in' member of the Nixon team give him the advantage in what is a very tough job for any one. From the Nixon point of view, the new domestic White House apparatus was strengthened in both coordinating services and instituting policy, with Dr. Burns acquiring a dominant role in it."

The *Washington Post's* Carroll Kilpatrick called him a "widely respected economist," and said:

"In the last few months Burns has worked with the more than 20 task forces Mr. Nixon named to study domestic programs. He has summarized and coordinated their recommendations for the President. Burns said that his reports to the President covered such projects as electoral reform, taxation, debt management, credit policies, science and technology, education, business regulation, health care, welfare, manpower and civil rights, international economic policies and resources."

N. Y. State Bar Unit Backs Atlantic Union Bill

THE COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL Legislation of the New York State Bar Association approved a report on Jan. 2 recommending that the new 91st Congress favorably consider the Atlantic Union Delegation resolution approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the 90th Congress on last July 2. This impressive action follows similar approval of the measure by the Federal Legislation Committee of the New York City Bar Association.

The State action was taken on the initiative of the committee chairman, Richard A. Givens, Assistant U.S. District Attorney in the state's southern district. He hopes similar committees in other states and cities will follow this example. His committee has sent its recommendation to all members of the competent Senate and House committees. The text of his committee's report follows:

"During the 90th Congress, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved by an overwhelming vote a resolution (H. Con. Res. 48, 90th Congress) calling for a United States delegation to discuss with representatives of other free nations possibilities of future union. H. Rep. No. 1656, 90th Cong. 2d Sess. (1968). Because the proposal has received strong Committee approval in the House, we believe it appropriate to address our comments concerning it to the 91st Congress. We believe that the

proposal for such exploration, although bold, is sound and merits approval.

"The concept has received endorsement of such diverse leaders as Richard M. Nixon, Hubert H. Humphrey, Eugene J. McCarthy, Robert F. Kennedy, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller.

"The basis for the concept is the recognition expressed by former Secretary of State Christian A. Herter that greater than national problems require greater than national solutions.

"Our concern as lawyers is with the legal structure which will permit this nation to meet its large responsibilities in the most effective manner.

"The resolution approved by the House Committee would not commit this country to anything. It would merely give express Congressional approval to exploration of the possibilities of a future Atlantic federation or wider union of free peoples. Although the resolution is drafted in Atlantic terms, we see nothing in it which would preclude inclusion of other free peoples in the discussions proposed or in any resulting union. Likewise, we see nothing in the resolution to preclude consultation with non-governmental as well as governmental representatives from other free nations.

"The tragedy in Czechoslovakia in August, 1968 has lent new poignancy to careful exploration of these possibili-

ties. Although the House Committee acted even before the invasion, the Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York County Lawyers' Association considered the matter immediately thereafter and unanimously approved the House Committee's action. 114 Cong. Rec. No. 157, p. H9168 (daily ed. 9/25/68). Their report termed the need for such consultations "beyond dispute" and noted that a precedent existed in Public Law 86-719, 74 Stat. 818, enacted September 7, 1960 which authorized participation of leading citizens in an international convention of citizens from the North Atlantic Treaty countries.

"The need for such exploration is emphasized by currency crises and the need for cooperation for aiding developing nations, aside from such shocks as the Czech tragedy.

"We accordingly recommend favorable consideration of the House Committee recommendations of the 90th Congress on the part of the 91st Congress." Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION
Richard A. Givens, *Chairman*
Anthony P. Marshall, *Secretary*,
Leslie H. Arps, Harold Baer, Jr.,
Mark K. Benenson, Edward S. Blackstone, Vincent L. Broderick, Mason O. Damon, David M. Dorsen, John T. Elfin, Robert B. Fiske, Jr., Lawrence W. Keepnews, Norman Kellar, Herbert C. Miller, George W. Meyers, Jr., Bernard Nussbaum, Robert Patterson, Jr., Arthur C. Steyer, Jr.

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THE PRESENTER AND THE RECIPIENT OF THE SEVENTH ATLANTIC UNION PIONEER AWARD

“To Be Bold Today Is To Be Reasonable”— Spaak, Pioneering Atlantic Union In 1944

Presentation of the Atlantic Union Pioneer Award
To Hon. Paul-Henri Spaak, Former Secretary-General of NATO
By Clarence K. Streit, President of the Federal Union Association

THE FIRST TIME that I recall having heard of your people, Monsieur Spaak, was in 1913 when, as a high school student in Missoula, Montana, I had to translate then from Latin the opening paragraph of Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, which begins: "All Gaul is divided into three parts," names their inhabitants, and states: "The bravest of them all are the Belgians." That made so lasting an impression on me, I suppose, because this very high compliment came from an enemy, and so renowned a general. I confess, however, that I had forgotten the rest of that sentence until I looked it up a few days ago. It adds—today, at least—a touch of humor. Let me give this condensation of the whole sentence: "The bravest of them all are the Belgians, because they are the most

remote from civilization."

It seems a bit odd that Caesar, who came from Rome—the center of western civilization then—should find civilization and courage apparently incompatible. There is no better proof that they are compatible than Monsieur Spaak, oft-time Premier of the Belgians, who have given civilization so much.

The Mediterranean of modern civilization has long been to me the North Atlantic Ocean. True, there is some cause to doubt this: How can we call the community of free peoples who live on the shores of the North Atlantic truly civilized so long as they have no common government for their common affairs, no Atlantic law but the jungle law of unlimited national sovereignty.

Fortunately, the purpose that brings us together here is to end that state of

Atlantic anarchy by getting free government constituted for its common affairs. Let us then give our lawless Atlantic community the benefit, not of the doubt, but of our faith in its future, and call it civilized—as it certainly is in other respects. If we can also concede that a community without a government can have a capital if its member nations are united at least by military alliance, then the city from which Monsieur Spaak comes is the capital city of our civilization. Yet this highly civilized statesman is as outstanding in courage as were his forefathers in Caesar's time.

A few days ago I was at Arlington National Cemetery for the interment of a dear friend who served with me in the American Expeditionary Force in France in World War I. While he was

being buried with military honors, another flaw in our civilization struck me: We still have no special cemetery and ritual to honor those who give their lives in peaceful ways to preserve and advance freedom, and end war and anarchy—though we all know that peace-making has its risks no less than war.

Monsieur Spaak has long been braving those risks on behalf of the surest, most fundamental way to end anarchy and war—that of replacing them with effective free government between nations. It may seem strange that one who advocates this hard-headed, common-sense way to peace—especially so successful a practical politician as he—should be called (as even he has been) an “impractical visionary,” an “idealist.” That is only one of the risks one runs in seeking to make peace really endure. I would call it a very minor risk, but obviously the fear of being called these names is great enough to keep many good people from working to replace anarchy with free government, or sacrificing for this victory over war itself a fraction of what they sacrifice in time, money and life itself to win a war against another nation.

To win enduringly the struggle against war, Monsieur Spaak has long given of himself as have few heads of governments; he has sacrificed high office and he has incurred the scorn and hostility of powerful men for his championship of the international federal government way to peace—and he has boldly run the worse risks such peace-making requires. He has been called “the Belgian Churchill” and he eminently deserves that name not only for his eloquence (especially in his native tongue) but even more for his boldness and his appeals to the rest of us to be bold in this endeavor.

I first met him in 1944 in Washington, when he was there as the Foreign Minister of the Belgian Government in exile. I sought to see him because of a statement he made early that year in his Government's New York organ called *Belgium*. It so impressed me that I got his permission to reprint it in our own monthly, then called *Federal Union World*. At that time the great majority of Americans were far more concerned with winning the war than the peace. Most of the minority who were concerned with the latter thought that all peace needed was “some kind of world organization”—provided it was fairly universal and included both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. The Communist dictatorship was then at the peak of popularity here.

In 1944—as in other years—the com-

munist *Daily Worker* was denouncing us Federal Unionists as “war mongers” and the chief opponents of the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Why? Because we maintained that its proposed United Nations league of “peace-loving nations” would not suffice for peace and must be supplemented with a federation of freedom-loving—and freedom-practising—democracies. That stand cost us many supporters—and made us warmly welcome Foreign Minister Spaak's statement at that time. Consider these excerpts from it:

“The future League of United Nations . . . should consist only of democracies. I realize, of course, that there are objections to this . . . but I believe that to be less dangerous than to introduce a wolf or wolves into the sheepfold. . . .

“The democracies are necessarily peace-loving . . . but it is also necessary that they should be strong . . . They cannot be strong unless they form a block in which the interests of each will be linked with the interests of all the others, and in which those who pursue other aims and practice other methods will not be allowed to play a dissolving and demoralizing role.

“To return to the past, with its economic disorder and international anarchy, or to create a new world—that is the choice before us. It is not enough to say, ‘I am for the new World.’ We must act. . . . Either we shall sweep away the old selfishness, destroy our prejudices and overcome the obstacles, or else, after having fought and seen our sons fight in their turn, we shall have to begin already to prepare to see the infants of today do the same.

“To be bold today is to be reasonable. May we be bold enough and in good time.”

Thus Monsieur Spaak concluded his statement, which appeared in the March 1944 *Federal Union World*. I recall no other Foreign Minister who spoke out in those terms then. You were a pioneer indeed in the cause of Atlantic Union of the Free. That is one reason why I have dwelt on what you said so wisely and boldly a quarter of a century ago. Another reason is that your record since then is much better known.

Through those 25 years you have been a leader in all the official and semi-official steps taken to organize the world for peace and, particularly, to unite the democracies. Although your advice was not followed in the Charter, so great was the international authority you had already gained that you were elected in 1946 President of the First Assembly of the United Nations.

Four years after its Charter was signed, experience—notably Moscow's brutal take-over of Czechoslovakia in 1948 and its blockade of Berlin that year—had taught the United States Government that peace did indeed require more than a world organization of “peace-loving” nations, that it required the U.N. to be supplemented by at least an alliance of freedom-loving peoples. And so, Monsieur Spaak, you had the satisfaction in 1949—when Prime Minister of your country—of signing with the United States and other democracies the North Atlantic Treaty.

That same year, another statesman of outstanding courage and wisdom, in whose memory the Estes Kefauver Lectures you are about to inaugurate were



Dr. David Alexander, President of Southwestern at Memphis, on whose Campus Convocation met. He presided at both Kefauver Lectures and preceding dinners there.

founded, introduced in Congress the first Atlantic Union resolution. It proposed that the NATO allies meet in a convention to explore how far they could agree to apply among them “the principles of free federal union.” It had impressive bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress, in the American press and in the Atlantic Union Committee headed by such statesmen as Justice Owen J. Roberts and former Under Secretary of State Will Clayton—the inspirer of the Marshall Plan to whom we dedicate our panel discussion tomorrow morning. Nonetheless, the State Department succeeded in blocking the Kefauver resolution and the similar

ones he introduced in 1951 and 1955.

Meanwhile, Monsieur Spaak was already leading the democracies of Western Europe to unite. Chairman of the Committee for European Recovery through the Marshall Plan in 1948, he served as the first President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1949 to 1951, and was chairman of the International Council of the European Movement from 1950 to 1955. I am happy to recall the luncheon of its executive committee in 1951 in Brussels in the home of Baron Boël—now a member of the Advisory Council of the International Movement for Atlantic Union—which I attended at your gracious invitation, and the discussion of Atlantic Union we had there.

The State Department's opposition to the Kefauver resolutions made many Europeans despair that the U.S. would ever agree even to explore federation with them; they centered their efforts all the more on uniting Europe. After six of its nations formed the Coal and Steel Community, Monsieur Spaak took the lead in seeking to transform it into a European federation.

The Assembly of the Six Nations named him chairman of a committee created in September, 1952, to draft a European Constitution. Our magazine, *Freedom & Union*, published in December 1952 the outline of the federal charter his committee drew up, and in April, 1953, a digest of the final text approved by the Assembly, which Monsieur Spaak submitted for it to the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Six Nations.

These brief extracts from its preamble must suffice to show this Constitution's federal spirit: "We the people," it began, constitute a "European Community" to "substitute for our historic rivalries a fusion of our essential interests by creating institutions capable of giving guidance to our future common destiny." "The Community is founded upon a union of peoples and States" with aim No. 1 "the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Member States."

In the Council of Ministers this pioneering European federal Statute died a lingering death and, after the spectacular crash of the European Defense Community in August, 1954, was quietly buried with it.

Such a defeat would have discouraged many, but a few months later we find Monsieur Spaak leading the way, at the Conference of Messina, toward economic integration of the Six Nations. This seemed too premature to risk, even to that other bold European

Union leader, Jean Monnet, who pioneered the Coal and Steel Community and Euratom. Monsieur Spaak, undaunted, persisted; again he was given the steering-wheel in the negotiations that followed. This time he was rewarded with history-making success. On March 10, 1957, he led in signing the Treaty of Rome which founded the European Common Market—the greatest concrete pioneering achievement to this day in our 30-year struggle to unite the free.

A few weeks later, Monsieur Spaak turned his attention to the Atlantic Community and became Secretary-General of NATO. He was the first man in history to accept an international organization post after having held the highest political office in his own country. The result was to strengthen NATO by strengthening the position of its Secretary-General, and in other ways, during the four years he held that office. After leaving it in 1961 he accepted the invitation of our International Movement for Atlantic Union to become a member of its Honorary Council.

Even earlier, when not engaged in uniting Europe, Monsieur Spaak had urged political unification of NATO. Witness this typical passage, drawn from an article in the April 1955, *Foreign Affairs*:

"Only a fool would dare predict with certainty how the Third World War might begin . . . Will it break out in Europe or Asia? Or with a direct attack on the United States? In an area covered or not covered by the Atlantic Treaty? There are many uncertainties and there is no political organization to study and face up to them . . . We risk a period of uncertainty, blunders and misunderstandings which could be fatal . . . Decisions can be taken in the Council of NATO only by unanimity; each of the diplomats who sits there must ask his own government for instructions before acting on any serious matter. A Council of this sort cannot deal with an urgent situation. . . .

If war comes it may be atomic. It will not be for a province . . . civilization itself (will be) at stake. Yet . . . even our furthest flights of audacity have not

yet carried us beyond the stage of alliances. . . . Truly our imagination is not in step with our era. The fact that the United States takes a different attitude from Europe toward recent events in the Far East simply underlines the risks we are running. Let us end our timid efforts . . . and accept the consequences of the plain fact that the fate of all of us in the West is inextricably linked. The atom bomb leaves no room for neutrality or separate national policies. The West is condemned not only to wage war together but to create policy together. Let us urgently act . . . to improve our political relations."

Witness, too, the message to our magazine which *Freedom & Union* published in July, 1955, in which Monsieur Spaak, then Foreign Minister, welcomed the 1955 Kefauver Atlantic Union resolution as "a most praiseworthy effort" and added: "I personally hope that such discussion will take place between citizens of the Atlantic nations soon."

The furthest flights of audacity in the leading governments of the Atlantic community have, alas, still not gone beyond the alliance stage—although since 1955, the Russian dictatorship has led the way into Space, and the Chinese dictatorship has acquired the H-Bomb and long-range missile. Even so the U.S. Government has not yet reached even the stage of calling the proposed convention to explore the Federal way to replace this Atlantic anarchy with a free government for common political, monetary, economic and military affairs. There is, however, much greater cause now to hope, Monsieur Spaak, that it soon will than there was when you welcomed that Kefauver resolution in 1955.

Meanwhile the timidity of the efforts in this vital area made since 1955—or rather since 1944—by the strongest power serves to show how bold and wise a pioneer you have been through that quarter century for Union of the Free. And so we Federal Unionists are happy indeed to have you inaugurate tonight the Estes Kefauver Memorial Lectures, and to confer on you now our Atlantic Union Pioneer Award. [See *facsimile on back cover.*] Please join me here while I read the citation:

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK

*Urging Atlantic Democracies to Unite
He Stated in 1944 this Recurring Truth:
"To Be Bold Today is to be Reasonable."
Father of Europe's 1952 Draft Federal Charter
A Founder of its Common Market
He Built up NATO as Secretary-General
Supported the Kefauver Atlantic Union Bill
And Seeks Still to Federate the Free*

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Einkaskjalasafn Bjarna Benediktssonar © Borgarskjalasafn Reykjavíkur



In January we report the student seminar Spaak spoke to here and Richard Givens (l.) chaired.

Excerpts from Spaak's 2nd Memorial Lecture

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK'S Second Kefauver Memorial Lecture, which he delivered at the Federal Union Convocation on November 9 and which we shall publish in full in our January issue, was devoted mainly to Atlantic Union and the proposed convention to explore it. Here, as a foretaste of it, are some excerpts.—The Editors.

Of the highest interest in his (Senator Kefauver's) activities for those in your country . . . and us, the Europeans . . . is the unconditional support which he gave during so many years to the idea of the Atlantic Union. He was a precursor.

* * *

One can safely say . . . that the immediate future of the Atlantic Union depends on the fate reserved to the resolution voted on the 2d of July 1968 by the majority of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. We have here the resolution presented on the 23d of February, 1967, by Representative Paul Findley. It is drafted in the following terms: [Mr. Spaak then read the text of the resolution's enacting part.] The vote of this resolution has been hailed by the leaders of the Atlantic Union as a great victory. It is, indeed, the first time in 20 years that a Committee of Congress has approved a resolution inviting other nations to a Convention to explore with the United States the possibility of their uniting in a "Federal Union."

This is obviously an event of the first importance. Will the Senate decide to proceed on the same road? . . . What will be its decision and what will be the attitude of the new Administration?

Are we really on the eve of the taking of a spectacular stand by the United States? In the affirmative, what chance of success would it have in the world of today? These are the essential questions to which we must try to find a reply.

The principal leaders of American politics seem to have adopted the idea contained in the resolution. . . . Nixon, Humphrey, Rockefeller and McCarthy have made characteristic statements in support of this point of view.

Is the new Administration, breaking away from the reserved attitude adopted up to now by the State Department, going to take the responsibility of a spectacular proposition? This hypothesis is not to be dismissed.

* * *

It is thus a global study of the United States-European relations which the new Administration will have to make. If, as I hope, it decides to attempt to stem the current by proposing a consolidation of the Atlantic Alliance in all fields, a spectacular element of this policy would no doubt consist in taking up, at the government level, the initiative proposed by the Findley Resolution. This would imply on the part of the new leaders of the American policy, a great audacity in conception and action.

* * *

The initiative must come from the United States, because it is the most powerful and the richest partner of an eventual union.

And, supposing that the United States does take this initiative, what will be Europe's reaction?

I am convinced that a certain number of Governments will respond to the appeal addressed to them, and all the more so because, in its audacity, the Findley resolution is wise. One must not indeed take a hasty decision, or bind oneself without due consideration. The idea of Atlantic federalism must be explored, its advantages and drawbacks examined, its obstacles measured.

* * *

We are now at the crossroads.

Those who are in favor—must one say the dreamers?—of an Atlantic federation are beyond all question indubitably right. They want to solve the problems raised on the bases of the real imperative reasons of the times in which we live.

* * *

. . . Since a world organization and a world government are not yet in the realm of realities, one should at least attempt that which appears possible, such as an Atlantic federation devolving from geography and history.

This is an immense work and yet it is not above our possibilities.

Those in your country who have joined the Federal Union must not be discouraged. They have fought during so many years in such difficult conditions that one can fully rely upon them. They progress but, for the time being, are only a minority. One must draw close to them. Their task is a magnificent one. It is a great dream which must become a reality. A reality which will contribute to assure peace and prosperity in the world.



Roscoe Drummond

The Washington Post
May 18, 1968

Le Monde, Paris, Apr. 27/68

Candidates of Both Parties Urge Foreign Policy Initiative

THE LATEST political surprise: Humphrey, Kennedy, McCarthy, Nixon, and Rockefeller are in agreement—and not just on motherhood.

When you get every Democratic and Republican presidential candidate to agree on anything, you would think it was either meaningless or trivial. It is neither.

They agree on a major foreign policy initiative—that the United States should take the lead to call a citizens' convention of all the North Atlantic Allies to lay the foundation for a "Free Atlantic Community."

The goal would be to expand the military alliance of NATO into some form of political and economic union to strengthen the forces of the Free World.

The very attempt to do this might seem overly ambitious, impractical, and at the very least premature.

But it doesn't seem so to five of the most prestigious political leaders in the Nation, one of whom will be the next President of the United States.

And to others as well, for the convening of an Atlantic conference to which each of the member nations would send a delegation of 18 eminent citizens is endorsed by Gen. Eisenhower, former President Truman, Barry Goldwater, Gov. Romney, former Gov. William Scranton, Dr. Edward Teller, economist Arthur Burns, former NATO commander General Matthew Ridgway, and former

mer Budget Director P. F. Brundage.

THE SUPPORT which the five presidential candidates are giving to this initiative is contained in statements from each of them released by Clarence Streit, editor of Freedom and Union Magazine.

All five urge Congress to pass the resolution which Sen. McCarthy introduced in the Senate and Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.) in the House. These resolutions would have Congress name the U.S. delegation to a convention with similar delegations from "such other NATO nations as desire to participate," making the convention possible even if France rejects it.

The groundwork has already been laid for such a Atlantic convention, initiated by the U.S. Congress, met in Paris in 1962 and unanimously urged "that the NATO governments promptly establish a special governmental commission to draw up plans within two years for the creation of a true Atlantic Community to meet the political, military, and economic challenges of this era."

None of the NATO governments acted.

NOW THE NEXT President of the United States is committed to act. There are, I think, three main reasons why there is growing support for such an initiative in Congress and much wide approval, in the judgment of pollster Elmo Roper, in the country than many realize:

1—While the danger of war in Europe is declining and thus the military role of NATO is less crucial, the primary need is to strengthen the political and economic bonds of the Atlantic Alliance.

2—The U.S., Britain, West Germany, Italy, and the others don't feel they should be immobilized indefinitely by Gen. de Gaulle.

3—There has been no creative American diplomacy in two decades in the Atlantic. U.S. policy today rests almost totally on the initiatives taken in the late 'forties—the Marshall Plan, Foreign Economic aid, the North Atlantic Treaty, and its military arm—NATO. The conviction is growing that yesterday's answers aren't best adapted to today's problems, that something new needs to be done.

Nixon, Rockefeller, McCarthy, Kennedy, and Humphrey agree. That's quite a consensus.

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Frankfurter
Allgemeine Zeitung
April 27, 1968

Für stärkeres atlantisches Bündnis Einmütige Haltung der amerikanischen Präsidentschaftskandidaten

WASHINGTON, 26. April. Daß der für Anfang nächsten Jahres zu erwartende Wechsel auf dem Präsidentenposten der Vereinigten Staaten auch die amerikanische Haltung zur Nato und zu Europa beeinflussen wird, ist nicht nur wahrscheinlich, sondern wird auch durch eine Analyse der politischen Anschauungen der gegenwärtig bekannten Präsidentschaftsbewerber gestützt.

Die von dem Pionier des atlantischen Gedankens, Clarence Streit, geleitete Zeitschrift „Freedom and Union“ hat neue Stellungnahmen der Präsidentschaftsanwärter McCarthy, Kennedy, Rockefeller, Nixon und Humphrey zusammengestellt. Alle fünf Politiker haben sich für eine Wiederbelebung der atlantischen Zusammenarbeit und eine auch institutionelle Weiterentwicklung der Nato ausgesprochen, für die dem Kongreß schon seit Jahren Entschließungsentwürfe vorliegen.

Senator Robert Kennedy sagte, der westliche Zusammenschluß könne sehr wohl die Form einer föderativen Union der atlantischen Mächte annehmen. Richard Nixon setzte sich dafür ein, daß die Vereinigten Staaten die Initiative

TOUS LES CANDIDATS A LA MAISON BLANCHE SONT FAVORABLES A LA TRANSFORMATION DE L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE EN UNION FEDERALE.

Washington, 26 avril (A.F.P.). — M. Clarence Streit, président du Mouvement international pour l'union atlantique, a indiqué jeudi que tous les candidats à la Maison Blanche, ainsi que M. Humphrey, candidat probable, s'étaient déclarés en faveur de la transformation de l'alliance atlantique en union fédérale. Ils ont approuvé le projet de loi que le sénateur McCarthy et M. Findley (représentant républicain de l'Illinois) avaient déposé l'an dernier à cet effet. Aux termes de ce texte, le Congrès désignerait une délégation de dix-huit personnalités, présidée par les anciens présidents Truman et Eisenhower, qui réunirait, de concert avec des délégations analogues constituées par les pays de l'O.T.A.N. intéressés, une convention chargée d'explorer les possibilités de transformation envisagées. Les recommandations de cette convention seraient ensuite soumises à la ratification des Parlements des pays participants.

M. Streit ne pense pas que « la France se tienne à l'écart » de ce projet. D'après lui, la moitié environ des membres du gouvernement français sont favorables à l'idée d'union atlantique. Le président du Mouvement international pour l'union atlantique a notamment cité les noms de deux ministres d'Etat : le général Pierre Billotte et M. Maurice Schumann.

für eine Föderation der freien atlantischen Nationen ergreifen sollten, Senator McCarthy, der einer der Urheber vieler Entschließungsentwürfe für die Stärkung des atlantischen Zusammenschlusses gewesen ist, forderte die Neu-berufung des atlantischen Konventes, der sich im Jahre 1962 in Paris vergeblich um eine Umformung des atlantischen Bündnisses in eine Föderation bemüht hatte.

Gouverneur Rockefeller sagte ebenfalls, der erste Schritt für eine große politische und wirtschaftliche Konzeption wäre die Bildung einer föderativen Struktur für das atlantische Gebiet. Nicht weniger entschieden hat sich vor seiner Zeit in der Regierung Johnson auch Vizepräsident Humphrey für die Stärkung des atlantischen Bündnisses eingesetzt, der an diesem Samstag seine Präsidentschaftskandidatur anmelden will. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß er im Wahlkampf seine früher geäußerten Vorstellungen von der Notwendigkeit einer Stärkung des atlantischen Bündnisses verleugnen könnte, von denen er in seiner Amtszeit als Stellvertreter Johnsons notwendigermaßen einige Abstriche machen mußte.

HOW THIS NEWS WAS PRESENTED IN EUROPE'S LEADING DAILIES IS REFLECTED HERE. HOW IT WAS WIRELESSED AROUND THE WORLD, TURN TO OTHER SIDE OF THIS PAGE.

Freedom & Union

1736 COLUMBIA ROAD, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

ATLANTIC UNION RESOLUTION ENDORSEMENT BY
TOP FIVE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WIRELESSED ROUND THE WORLD

Note: This is part of the French text of a dispatch which AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE cabled the newspapers it serves not only in France and Europe, but in Africa, Asia, Latin America and North America, on the news to which Roscoe Drummond devoted his column (see other side).

5 UNION ATLANTIQUE UN. WASHINGTON -

A L'INSTAR DES AUTRES CANDIDATS DECLARES OU POSSIBLES A LA PRESIDENCE, LE SENATEUR ROBERT KENNEDY ACCORDE SON PLEIN APPUI AU PROJET DE LOI TENDANT A TRANSFORMER L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE EN UNION FEDERALE.

CE CANDIDAT DEMOCRATE A LA PRESIDENCE S'EST PRONONCE AVEC INSISTANCE EN FAVEUR DE L'ADOPTION DE TEXTES LEGISLATIFS DEPOSES DANS CE SENS L'AN DERNIER PAR LE SENATEUR EUGENE MCCARTHY, L'AUTRE CANDIDAT DEMOCRATE A LA PRESIDENCE, ET PAR LE REPRESENTANT REPUBLICAIN DE L'ILLINOIS PAUL FINDLEY, L'UN DES PLUS INFLUENTS PROTAGONISTES DE L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE AU CONGRES. "NEGLIGER D'ETUDIER CE CONCEPT, A NOTAMMENT DECLARE LE SENATEUR KENNEDY, SERAIT TOURNER LE DOS AUX LECONS DE L'HISTOIRE".

CETTE COMMUNICATION DU FRERE DE L'ANCIEN PRESIDENT DES ETATS-UNIS A ETE PUBLIEE JEUDI PAR LE PRESIDENT DU "MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL POUR L'UNION ATLANTIQUE", CLARENCE STREIT, AU COURS D'UNE CONFERENCE DE PRESSE A WASHINGTON.

M. STREIT A D'AUTRE PART SOULIGNE QUE, DU COTE REPUBLICAIN, A LA FOIS L'EX-VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON ET LE GOUVERNEUR NELSON ROCKEFELLER SONT EUX AUSSI D'ACTIFS PROMOTEURS DE LA FONDATION D'UNE UNION FEDERALE ATLANTIQUE. "LES ETATS-UNIS DEVRAIENT CONSTITUER LA FORCE PRINCIPALE EPAULANT LA RECHERCHE DE LA BASE D'UNE LARGE FEDERATION DE PAYS ATLANTIQUES LIBRES" DE CONCERT AVEC LEURS ALLIES, A NOTAMMENT AFFIRME M. NIXON. DE SON COTE, M. ROCKEFELLER ESTIME QUE "L'HEURE A SONNE POUR L'AMERIQUE ET SES ALLIES ATLANTIQUES DE PRENDRE LA TETE (DE CE MOUVEMENT) EN NOMMANT UNE CONVENTION PREPARATOIRE DE DELEGUES" QUI S'APPLIQUERAIENT A PREPARER L'UNION FEDERALE EN QUESTION. (SUIVRA)

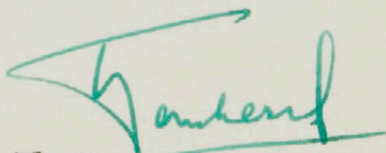
Apr 25 1968

Soestdijk Palace, December 1967

Dear Mr. Benediktsson

I have the honour to invite you to the next Bilderberg Meeting which will be held at „Mont Tremblant Lodge” at Mont Tremblant, Province of Quebec, Canada, on 26, 27 and 28 April 1968.

You will find the agenda for this conference at the inside.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Bernhard', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

The Prince of the Netherlands

R.S.V.P. Bilderberg Meetings
1 Smidswater, The Hague

AGENDA

- I. The relations between the West and the Communist Countries.
- II. Internationalization of Business.

Einkaskjalasafn Bjarna Benediktssonar © Borgarskjalasafn Reykjavíkur

Particulars concerning this Conference will be sent to you after
your acceptance of this invitation.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Bruges, 1957

AN OUTLINE OF AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY EXTENSION SERVICE

(A C E S)

Paper prepared by Mr. Adriano Olivetti, Italy, and reflecting the views of a group of Italian participants. Ivrea, the 31st of August, 1957.

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State
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SECTION 1

DECAY OF PARLIAMENTARISM

"This devitalization of the governing power is the malady of democratic states. As the malady grows the executives become highly susceptible to encroachment and usurpation by elected assemblies; they are pressed and harassed by the higgling of parties, by the agents of organized interests, and by the spokesmen of sectarians and ideologues. The malady can be fatal. It can be deadly to the very survival of the state as a free society if, when the great and hard issues of war and peace, of security and solvency, of revolution and order are up for decision, the executive and judicial departments, with their civil servants and technicians, have lost their power to decide".

(Walter Lippmann,
"The Public Philosophy", Boston 1955)

1.

DECAY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

When the Second World War broke out in September 1939, liberty and democracy had already for a time been suppressed in most of the countries of Continental Europe. The experiments in parliamentary democracy, begun in 1919, had signally failed. The sad distinction of first police State in Europe belongs to Italy, but similar developments followed in other countries. Spain lost its liberty in 1923, regaining it for a brief period between 1931 and 1936. In Bulgaria in 1923 the liberal Agrarian Government was overthrown. Greece in 1935 restored the monarchy, which was succeeded in the following year by the dictatorship of Metaxas. In Poland, after the coup d'état of 1926, the role of Parliament was increasingly restricted; and with the constitutional revision of 1935, the democratic republic was transformed into a totalitarian State. Almost unlimited powers were given to the President, who was exclusively entrusted with the nomination of the President of the Council and of the Ministers; he was also Commander-in-Chief of the Army, deciding on questions of peace and war.

In 1931 the Yugoslav parliamentary monarchy was suppressed, and the new regime, defined as constitutional and no longer parliamentary, gave extensive powers to the Crown. Austria, even before the Anschluss, was a semi-dictatorship. The Federal Constitution of 1920 was first revised in 1929. This first revision, which strengthened the executive at the expense of Parliament, nevertheless gave nominal guarantees that democratic institutions would function normally. The subsequent constitutional revision of 1934, however, introduced corporative and neo-absolutist forms.

The list continues. Portugal in 1926 became a military dictatorship and in 1935 a corporate state under Salazar. Lithuania also established a dictatorship in 1926; and Estonia and Latvia in 1934.

Meanwhile in Germany the Weimar Republic came to an end. In France, although the parliamentary system survived, it was in a weak, unstable form; and after the fall of the Popular Front in 1937 it degenerated into a succession of governments functioning only by virtue of abnormal emergency powers.

The causes of these developments are necessarily complex. All the crises - social, economic, political - are so closely connected, so intimately related, that it is impossible to examine any problem without seeing the continual reflections of the others.

Today, after a world-wide catastrophe, from which new form and values might have been expected to emerge, nominal liberties are again enjoyed. That type of democratic parliamentary Republic which nearly everywhere had proved powerless to resist the attacks of reactionary forces, was reborn, slightly modified, in the first European constituent assemblies (Italian and French), although no new ideas have penetrated into their Bills of Rights.

At Weimar in 1919 many guarantees of individual liberty, of social rights, of public control over the economy, of industrial democracy, of economic reforms, were written into the German Constitution; yet the end is inseparable in the memory from the lurid glow of the Reichstag fire.

So today, at the dawn of what we had hoped would be a new world, we find ourselves in a harsh and difficult period, with many illusions dispelled, many opportunities lost. Our legislators have looked to the past and have lacked coherence and courage. Italy still follows the road of compromise, of the old system of political transformism, of bureaucratic power, of great plans and vast promises, with little realization.

We frankly recognize a lack of ideas and men, a crisis in party politics.

After the First World War, Piero Gobetti, then 18 years old, described a similar situation :

" The framework within which our political life is carried on
 " (party politics) does not allow men sufficient vitality and scope. In practical life men require concrete ideals which take
 " into consideration their needs and desires. Today the political
 " parties are limited to vast and vague formulas, from which
 " nothing may be logically and clearly deduced. In the actual
 " life of the parties, there is only one definite feature: a vicious
 " circle in which men ruin the parties, and the parties do not
 " help the progress of mankind.
 " In short, the party framework is a century behind the times .
 " And men fit uneasily into this system. The tide of history goes
 " on, and men with it. The system cannot remain the same. It
 " must change: if it does not disappear altogether, it is subject
 " in practical reality to modifications, sometimes deformations,
 " which individuals force upon it. A system which was born to
 " organize and clarify now promotes disorganization and confusion".

A critical history of political parties up to their present predominance (ensured by the extension, without correctives, of proportional representation) would exceed the limits of the present exposition. The party has succeeded in breaking every effective tie between the citizens and the economic and cultural groups, on the one hand, and Parliament on the other; between society, in a word, and State.

We have therefore reached a climax in the power of large organized parties. The present political regime, supported by a hidden and complex labyrinth of interests and personalities, is justly given the name "partocracy". And the climax is the beginning of decay.

Up to 1913 the uninominal system guaranteed a certain personal independence to political men. But the inconveniences, the weakness, and the dangers of the political parties had already appeared in the liberal Europe of the 19th century. To quote Vincenzo Gioberti: ¹

"The expressions 'partisanship' and 'faction', indicating the disjunction and break-up of the whole, signify something negative, defective, vicious; though in accepted language these factions and splits go under the name of political differences, heresies, as it were, and schisms in the opinion and unity of the

¹ Gioberti: "Del rinnovamento civile d'Italia", Vol. I, chapt. 3.

country. In fact, each does represent a single aspect of the multiform idea which embraces the concept and the fact, the spirit and the existence of the nation...

"But since in the workings of the spirit, emotional inclination does not follow intellectual concept, the factions are turbulent and not pacific, intolerant and not conciliatory, partial and not just, excessive and not moderate, vulgar and not noble, anxious for themselves and not for the country, and licentious as far as the means used to realize their intentions are concerned. So that all in all they are ruinous and retrograde, even when they think themselves progressive or conservative".

At that time another philosopher and political writer, certainly of greater importance, Antonio Rosmini, wrote :

"The political parties hinder justice and social morality. Here is the canker which gnaws at society, which confounds the prevision of the philosophers, which renders vain the truest theories. How may civil society defend itself against the danger of parties? Here is one of the most difficult problems for statesmen and for political philosophy".

In a very fine article, recently reprinted, "The Political Parties and their Intervention in Public Administration", where the preceding quotations are amplified, Marco Minghetti was the first to attempt to resolve the question set by Rosmini: whether parliamentary government is possible without parties. Minghetti examines the advantages and defects of party and parliamentary government.

"As proof of the possibility of government which is free without being party government, we point out certain cantons of Switzerland, where in the Council of State (which is the executive power) men of diverse and even opposite opinions are gathered together. This is the result of the form of election, which does not take place in the assembly, but directly among the people. Thus, one of the cardinal points of the parliamentary system is eliminated: that is, the dependence for its very existence of the executive power upon the elective assembly".

Minghetti therefore saw, in administrative decentralization and in self-government, the first essential measures to reduce, but not to dissolve, the power of the parties, and to attenuate the inconveniences of the parliamentary system. To these Minghetti (together with Spaventa) added as an integral part the independence, on the English model, of the administrative branch.

We here transcribe Minghetti's conclusion :

"Reason and experience show that parliamentary government is a government of parties, and as such, tends to favor friends,

oppress enemies, and therefore, interferes unduly with justice and administration, loses sight of its ends, and mars its salutary effects. This form destroys substance; and the means, considered to be guarantees, are found to be in contradiction with the ends. If these facts were inevitable, one would conclude that parliamentary government is little suited to a mature civilization. I am far from pronouncing such a verdict. In fact, I have attempted to outline certain remedies to avoid or lessen the defects. But I have no doubt in saying that the problem as it stands will long occupy the minds of students. I shall be content to have called them to meditate on this theme, and to have pointed out a few of its more relevant aspects. But what appears certain to me is this conclusion: that the duration and the efficacy of the parliamentary system will greatly depend on such an order as may save justice and administration from the interference of political parties".

2

INADEQUACY OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

In the last decade, through the works of theorists of various tendencies, the democratic representative edifice was ideologically demolished, not without ability and capacity. But the remedies, even as theory inadequate or unacceptable, did not evolve along the lines laid down by the politically wise statesmen of the Risorgimento: that is, towards federalism, decentralization, and self-government. They were predominantly an autocratic conception founded on power and on the consequent limitation of freedom and the rights of the individual.

In truth, political consciousness, political science, and, as a result, the structure of the State, evolve so incredibly slowly that even today, in order to build an ideal State, one might make almost exclusive use of the first grammars of politics, that of Aristotle, or the Republic of Plato.

But the world today finds itself faced with the prolongation of one crisis and the beginning of another of even greater proportions. Humanity faces its greatest fear as well as its proudest hope. This atomic era is truly apocalyptic; for the first time in history it is possible to say that there remain only two alternatives before us: either the fulfilment of civilization or its destruction.

There is a hope, a light in the world which makes it no lon-

ger useless to talk of new ends for man, because man has new means at his disposal. These means can be placed either at the service of God to create, or of Satan to destroy. Finally, for the first time in the history of technology, the material means at man's disposal, that energy which man redeemed from labor - because labor was the condemnation and expiation of man - is given to us in unexpected and inexhaustible forces, perhaps to liberate man from his condemnation. Now let us look at the desolate picture of our political life, to see whether or not the parties are able to give us this hope - a really free society in which man redeemed, may fulfil his mission in peace and joy.

We are looking on, at least in Europe, at a dangerous, a mortal duel between communism and catholicism. The third force is weak, confused, uncertain; it has no real doctrine, and sadly lacks both man and means. There is no need to stress its low vitality and inefficiency.

Since the most vital and historically important art of the third force is democratic socialism, we would certainly not wish to reject that abstract ideal of socialism and democracy in which we also believe. But we say frankly and explicitly that socialism has to be reformed. Much useless baggage must be thrown out or revamped if we wish to save what vital, true and human elements there are and always will be in socialism and democracy.

When socialism was born in Italy, when Filippo Turati, Leonida Bissolati, Camillo Prampolini, and the other apostles of socialism were preaching to the field-hands in the country and the workmen in the city suburbs, that socialism could give them a better world, they were inspired by a faith which reinforced their actions and which could have altered the balance of the political struggle. Now this faith has not been lost; but no one can say that it still has the same predominance, the same vital forces, the same emotional dynamism. Something has changed, and socialism has not taken it into consideration.

Transformed into a number of political parties, socialism has suffered the corruption inherent in parties. It has seen its church turned into a multiplicity of sects. Divided by the tragic alternatives of a revolutionary socialism which denies liberty, and a democratic socialism unable to carry out its program, socialism has

lost its creative force as a doctrine of action.

Of the other two great forces, the two great protagonists of the struggle - Catholicism and communism - we wish to speak only in relation to our subject. Neither the Catholic parties nor communism give man a purpose or put an end to party politics.

To judge a system, one must see if it answers all those questions, resolves all those necessities that the crisis of contemporary society, the crisis of the political systems, and the crisis in the economy urgently demand.

Let us analyze some of the principal problems and see what their solutions are.

The first big question to take up is: the crisis of the parliamentary system and the crisis of democracy.

No one denies that democracy and the parliamentary system are in crisis. We of the Community Movement have so often analyzed this question critically, there is no need to go into it again here.

3

REJECTION OF PROFESSIONAL REPRESENTATION

The Christian parties admit that a crisis exists, but they answer it in a vague generality, maintaining that it can be solved in only one way, by reinforcing the principle of authority (to a greater or lesser extent, according to the tendencies).

We see that all the Catholic parties in Europe aim at solutions in which parliament, at least in one of its branches, becomes the corporate type. The tendency is towards the representation of social groups, of families, of professions, of the arts, of economic interests.

Many well-meaning people must be warned of the grave danger to which a democracy exposes itself when it makes use of these systems to cure its ills. We repeat once more that professional and economic representation are wrong answers to the problems; they are an explicit admission that the traditional system of representation, of parliaments elected through universal suffrage, no longer works.

Not having found a precise theoretical solution, the Catholic parties, confusing political with professional functions, promote a solution which would transfer political supremacy from the more numerous classes - the workers and peasants - to the less numerous professional and owner classes. It is clear how these

solutions, which we repudiate, contribute to the defence of vested interests, to the crystallization of class differences, to a pure conservatism which would hinder those economic reforms without which any talk of Christian civilization is false and hypocritical.

The corporative and professional system is to be criticized from another point of view. It is appropriate to cite the words of a great legal mind, of the philosopher Hans Kelsen, creator of the Austrian Federal Constitution of 1921, and at present professor at the University of Berkeley in California :

"Even stronger criticisms have been brought forward against parliamentary democracy, which in its various manifestations may be considered as the contemporary political form, as the form of the modern state of culture. Evidently it has not fulfilled the hopes which once it seemed to justify when it had to be fought for in the times of absolute monarchy. And thus, once more the idea of autocracy is opposed to it, under the form of dictatorship; or a third political form is looked for, which would avoid the alternative of autocracy or democracy. We may think we have found it in professional organization. But this is an illusion, since the conflict of interests which is also to be found within this organization cannot be resolved according to a principle deriving from the system of professional organization, but is, after all, to be resolved either autocratically or democratically. This conflict, already known to ancient writers on the State, neither political reality nor theory can escape, since, in its deepest essence, it is bound to the eternal conflict, which fetters human knowledge and human will. (Gundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie des Staates, Vienna, 1926, p. 64).

4

OTHER RAMIFICATIONS OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

In other recent and false conceptions of the State - which do their best to appear modern - the same error made by the Catholic parties is almost always to be found. Technocrats, corporativists, and organicists misinterpret in the same way the real nature of politics and of the State. The technocrats present a thesis which always finds success among the ingenuous: a thesis according to which only good administrators should govern, these wise administrators being found only among persons who have shown their capacities in a practical field. The corporativists propose a doctrine which, through an astute and unjust capital-labor equation, would soon cause the decay of an authentic democracy. Fi-

nally, there is the organicist position, to which many persons of good will adhere. They admit that democracy, and in consequence parliament (only, child of universal suffrage), is no longer the true expression of social reality; and they want the whole of society to be represented by delegates from among the professions, the arts and sciences, and the families.

Thus would be created a complex disorderly structure which would certainly be more varied and multicolored than an ordinary political House. But it is easy to see in this a complicating and disturbing falsification of popular sentiment and will, because representation weighted by the influence of the middle and upper classes is not typical. Moreover, the idea that this kind of assembly, called organic, would be politically more competent, is an illusion.

5

DEMOCRACY MUST BE INTEGRATED

We ourselves are highly critical of the parliamentary system as it is found on the Continent, in imitation of the Anglo-Saxon forms, but corrupted by altered conditions and by the different historical environment in which it was called upon to function. But we also try to apply a clear, orderly, and scientifically honest approach to this mysterious business of a new type of political representation. Therefore we support the institution of political orders analogous to religious orders, in which political competence and capacity, functional specialization, and, last but not least, the valid aims of a true democracy (authenticity of mandate, consent of the citizens, alternation of the executive functions) may finally form a harmonious whole - or, to use the words of Carré de Malberg concerning the collaboration of the executive and legislative, an organic fusion.

To replace the authoritarian democracy of the catholic parties and the progressive democracy of the communist parties, we propose an integrated democracy, a new type, a new form of stronger representation which is more efficient than ordinary democracy, but equally respectful of certain eternal principles: the fundamental equality of men, freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of political thought.

Ordinary democracy is too weak, too exposed to the influence of money or the pressure of organized groups which are not the expression of the majority. Thus it gives rise either to neo-abso-

lutist regimes or to a state of mass rule, both objectionable so far as the liberty of the human person is concerned.

Democracy, and with it, universal suffrage, must therefore be integrated. As a thin length of wood alone is weak and bends to every wind, but joined to other lengths becomes rigid and resists all weathers, so must democracy be stiffened and reinforced if it is to be strong and durable. The forces which we must introduce into the State in order to bring about a true democracy, along with universal suffrage, are scientific, social, and esthetic values. We proclaim the supremacy of spirit over matter; the subordination of the economy to political criteria; the accord of ends and means. Finally, we declare that the realization of such a society cannot be separated from the idea of the concrete, working community.

Analysis of the political structure of the State allows us to suggest which forms or which bodies - traditional or otherwise - should be entrusted (in the community, in the region, in the State) with the defence of values, the promotion of human knowledge and growth. Only by leaving its people free to express and develop themselves can a State guide them to spiritual ends; for the design originates not in the State, but in the inspiration of men, that is, in the providence of God.

We must understand that every political department - justice, labor, town planning, industry, commerce, education - formulates its own regulations, and adopts its own political attitude towards the common goal of cultural development, and legitimately established organs of representation and government.

In this way, every political function has a special, empirical relation between life and certain scientific disciplines. These manifold functions and types of knowledge and experience, must be fused into a unity through a vast and uniform cultural process, inspired by a homogeneous ideal - the idea of a Christian society. A real community, based on land and on a productive, functional order, leads to the new integrated democracy. These, opportunely employed, are the three principles necessary to create the new order.

SECTION 2

ON STATE FUNCTIONS

The great mass parties have been organized on pluralist or syncretistic principles. Accordingly, their lack of theoretical clarity and the dynamics of power for power's sake have led them to improvise agencies, institutions, organisms and associations, which rarely perform any organic function. Yet it is only these organic functions, represented by associations federated in a movement or party, that could make the movement or party a real dynamo of civilization.

In Italy, the Communist party and the Christian Democratic party are highly articulated organizations: both have elaborated a costly internal structure that permits them to propagandize their respective ideologies and to carry on political action in various sectors of national life. Around the central political bureaucracy, they have created sectional satellites manned by volunteers, which are apparently non-political and perform far-reaching activities at all levels.

Let us examine summarily the organizations controlled by the Communist party, which have provided it with an effective means of infiltration.

This list (probably incomplete) of the "independent" organizations formed wholly or in part by the Communist party includes:

- Unione Donne Italiane (Union of Italian Women)
- Unione Ragazze Italiane (Union of Italian Girls)
- Pionieri d'Italia (Pioneers of Italy)
- Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia (National Partisans Association of Italy)
- Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative (National League of Cooperatives)
- Alleanza Giovanile (Youth Alliance)
- Associazione Giuristi Democratici (Association of Democratic Jurists)
- Associazione Italiana per i rapporti culturali con l'URSS (Italian Association for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R.)
- Libera Associazione degli Ufficiali in Congedo (Free Association of Reserve Officers)
- Associazione per la difesa della Scuola Nazionale (Association for the Protection of the Nonsectarian National School System)
- Lega dei Comuni Democratici (League of Democratic Municipalities)
- Centri di Diffusione del Libro Popolare (Centers for the Circulation of Low-Cost Books)

To these organizations should be added the C.G.I.L. (General Italian Confederation of Labor, the great labor union), whose top positions are well known to be held predominantly by members of the Communist party.

Because of the narrow party character of these associations, they cannot aspire to perform any organic function within the State, since:

- a) they lack unitary character, and because of their partisan nature they cannot include the totality of citizens engaged in their respective functions or cultural interests;
- b) they lack internal democracy;
- c) they lack a permanent organic connection with any specialized organization in their field, such as university institutions.

To clarify for the reader what organizations are legitimate and useful for the purposes of political reconstruction, therefore political in the original sense of the word, it will be useful to consider the functioning of local government administrations.

There are functional constants in the local organs of every State: in the Italian provinces, in the Swiss cantons, in the counties of the United Kingdom, in the districts of the Federal German Republic, etc. There, almost always, in the Council or Boards of Aldermen, are found the following divisions or departments: presidency, justice, education, public assistance, public works, labor, economy. In countries where separation of powers is the rule, the persons responsible for these functions are nominated directly by the local communities; in the others, by corresponding legislative councils. Although these functions may be con- sidered technical or administrative, there is no doubt that they are essen- tially political.

In the national or federal executives practically the same functions are found again; to these are added others that are primarily technical (postal service and transportation) or that deal with necessities of an international order (foreign affairs, defense, foreign trade).

I have discussed executive functions as they operate in a proper local administration, in Ordine Politico delle Comunità (The Political Order of the Communities). To recapitulate, the problem may be stated as that of defining the real nature of such functions. Once defined, they can be made autonomous and the people concerned with them can be organized in democratic associations on a national level. We can finally hypothesize a situation in which such associations would be the only ones authorized to put up candidates in local elections. In this way an entirely new situation would be delineated, which could effectively replace the party system. Democracy would be safeguarded first by the functional association having a democratic statute, second by selection of administrators and technicians at the local level.

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These statements are intended to convey in part a general idea of our thesis. In truth, a working democracy involves more comprehensive safeguards, but cannot be organized too rigidly without dampening social vitality.

Some of the requisites for a functional association are to be seen in the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (National Institute of Town Planning), in Italy, a living experiment of great interest also from the theoretical point of view.

- a) The Institute's activity centers around a precise function of the State: Town Planning. This function is represented not at all in the Italian Parliament and very weakly in the government structure, where it has the form of an administrative department under the Ministry of Public Works, although its theoretical and practical importance should give it a prominent place, as in other countries. (A socially advanced state could not do without a ministry of town and country planning.)
- b) The Institute has a thoroughly democratic constitution that is federalist in structure. Its charter, adopted in 1946, after the Fascist period, is a sound constitutive instrument that has been of fundamental importance to the fortunes of the organization. The principal feature of the organization lies in the fact that this association (State-recognized as serving a public interest) is governed by a National Executive Council composed of seven members directly elected by the Institute's Assembly two members elected by the Associate Members (public agencies, municipalities, etc.) and Regional representatives. Regional representation includes the elective Presidents of the regional sections and one member designated by each section for the occasion.

Thus, this organization is protected by its federalist structure from the vicissitudes that weigh on traditional associations, which are subject to arbitrary moves by artificial majorities.

Moreover, the presence of national representatives - elected by the Assembly, in which all the members participate - corrects whatever defects there may be in purely regional representation, which sometimes does not permit the expression of universal needs and tends to restrict the opportunities for individuals of latent ability. It might be that at a given moment some Region, for example Sicily, would have four town planners of national reputation and importance. Under an ordinary statute, only two of these could represent the Region on the National Council. A federal statute eventually allows the other two as well to perform a national function. Furthermore, the services of talented members who are not appreciated within their region can also be utilized by the nation in the same way. Associations of this type, one for each of the fundamental functions of the State, making use of available sources of research, such as universities,

laboratories and other institutions, in the future could be the direct heirs of the political parties.

This pattern maintains a regard for the real structure of the State, the worth of men, the rhythm of democracy and the freedom to criticize, whereas an organization controlled by a political party must operate primarily in the interest of the party's hegemony. The validity of such procedure consists in the correct selection of the functions; that is, in limiting the choice only to those that contain spiritual forms, leaving aside those that are merely technical.

"A system or organization is functional where the competence of the various executive organs is derived from divisions containing homogeneous activities, precisely delimited and subject to a single authority. Functionalization is therefore a well-defined case of specialization, and theoretically is distinguished from the latter by the scientific, not simply empiric, character of the analyses that have given rise to the division of tasks. Only by satisfying this condition can a political system transcend the dangers of exclusiveness and the inadequacies of specialization, for it draws its cultural nourishment from an organized body of doctrines that are always subordinate to higher needs and are coordinated with other activities of the spirit. Therefore, in the political and administrative organization of the Communities, there will not be a Division of Public Works, but the activities concerned will be considered as techniques subordinate to Town Planning, which is Esthetics applied to social life. Nor will Industry and Agriculture be constituted as independent functions, for they also are to be considered as subordinate techniques, and will come under political economy, which is a science of means at the service of ethical ends". (L'ordine Politico delle Comunità, p.53.)

Relevant to our discussion, it will be recalled that Croce distinguishes four forms of the Spirit: two practical (Economics and Ethics) and two theoretical (Esthetics and Logic). To these correspond as many functions in politics. "At the beginning of my random philosophizing some fifty years ago", writes Croce in Inquiries into Hegel, "I made the proposal of adding to the venerable triad of value and forms of the spirit, the True, the Good and the Beautiful, the form that I designated as the Useful or the Economic, and afterwards, and perhaps better, as pure and simple Vitality: fourth category that amplified that sacred number of the triad to tetrand, which also figured in antiquity with some peoples as sacred and is, as perhaps the other is not, rich in relations and internal harmonies that the Pythagoreans sensed."

Economics, when directed toward social ends, is clearly a political function. No one can fail to recognize in the state organization of justice - politically regarded as law, legality - an ethical phenomenon.

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We have attempted to show elsewhere how logic (logic=truth=science) is utilized practically in the course of scientific activity; which has as its corresponding political function (function=mediation of State-Society) the cultural education of citizens. And there is the fourth function: Esthetics .

Esthetics, for example, is reflected in the political order in the organization of town planning, which may also be defined as social architecture. This is utilitarian Esthetics at the service of superindividual, thus ethical, ends. (So that art may be free, no other province of the arts can be the business of the State.)

To the four fundamental forms of the Spirit that correspond directly to political functions should be added three other spiritual manifestations : authority, charity, labor. Neither Marxism nor idealism recognizes authority and charity as foundations of a social order. With respect to labor, there is no doubt that both Marxism and the Christian Socialist schools place themselves in error; the first giving labor a supreme importance that leads to underestimating the other functions, the second too often subjecting it to the sacrosanct idol of private property.

Authority, the first and most important spiritual form, is concerned with the power of coordination, which implies ideas of responsibility, experience and democratic justification. Thus it would be necessary to formulate the concept of authority within the framework of a given community. And as an instance of authority having form and autonomy, we would have the functional political association bringing together the skills of experts , scholars , administrators and parliamentarians .