DO YOU FAVOR the abolition of the political and economic frontiers in Europe and the unification of all European peoples in a European federal state?

This proposition was submitted in July to the residents of two specially selected German communities and the answers were an emphatic "Yes."

On July 9, in the small Rhine town of Breisach, in the southwest corner of Germany near the French border, a 95.6 percent "Yes" was rolled up by 87.5 percent of the town's eligible voters.

On July 16, in the Ruhr mining city of Castrop-Rauxel, the same verdict by a margin of 95.7 percent was rendered by 73 percent of the electorate.

This all happened because Europa Union, a private German organization which believes that Europe must federalize, decided that the time had come to show the rest of the world and particularly German representatives at Bonn and Strasbourg how the German people feel about giving up national sovereignty in favor of intra-European co-operation and organization.

WHY WAS BREISACH, a small community of some 2,400 persons located in a comparatively sleepy agricultural section of Germany, chosen for this first grass roots test of international consciousness among Germans?

There are a variety of reasons, but basically it is because Breisach is a community that epitomizes the troubles which have plagued the European peoples for centuries. Occupying as it does a strategic position on the left bank of the Rhine, it has been a chronic victim of war.

This is the way Paul Neuland, US observer in the French-Zone state of South Baden, describes Breisach after a recent visit there: "I have seen the ruins of Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Munich, Vienna, Stuttgart, Bremen, Hanover and other cities throughout Germany, but never have I seen the totality of destruction which bore mute witness to the intensity of the attacks through which this poor, long-suffering town has been reduced to a rubbish heap of dust, ashes, rubble and desolation. Looking around at this horrible picture of the futility of war, I knew but only too well that I had no further to search for the answer to my query as to what lay behind Breisach's practically unanimous vote for a federal state of Europe."

And further, quoting Mayor Bueb of Breisach, "The history of Breisach is filled with invasions and military occupations... (It) has been part of France and part of Austria at different times... (and) has been occupied, conquered or passed through by invading battalions about 50 times. Ten times it has been destroyed... (In World

Communist propaganda efforts to induce Castrop-Rauxel and Breisach to vote against the European Union plan proved unavailing, the results showed. At left, Breisach's Mayor Bueb looks at poster put up on balloting-place wall by Communist "shock troops." Right, pro-European Union posters urged Rhinelanders, on eve of plebiscite, to remember "Europe is watching Breisach" and "Europe wants peace." (Photos by Internationale Presse-Photo-Agentur)
Sunday, July 9, was a lively day in Breisach. By midafternoon more than 50 percent of the eligible voters had cast their ballots at the polling booths. Breisach, according to its mayor, was second most destroyed city in Germany in World War II: 80 percent of its buildings were razed while other 20 percent, without exception, were severely damaged. Its history is full of wars: it has been destroyed 10 times.

War II it was) the second most destroyed city in Germany, first place being held by the city of Emmerich on the Rhine. Eighty percent of the buildings in Breisach were completely destroyed and the other 20 were, without exception, severely damaged. The children have to go to school wherever a place (can) be found. They say that Breisach's educational system has the longest school corridor in the world: it runs from one end of the city to the other."

FOR TWO MONTHS prior to the balloting at Breisach, Albert Schinzinger, head of the Baden branch of Europa Union and an old line German democrat, personally led an active door-to-door campaign to explain the issue of European federalization to the population of Breisach. With the enthusiastic aid of Mayor Bueb, the interest and assistance of local civic and religious organizations, including the male glee club, the church choir, the voluntary fire department, sport clubs, trade organizations and political parties were enlisted.

On the eve of the balloting, a mass meeting of some thousand persons was addressed by South Baden Minister-President Leonhard Wohleb, by Dr. Ernest B. Steffan, secretary general of Switzerland's European Union, and by Dr. Eugen Kogon, president of Europa Union. In his speech, Dr. Kogon explained the purpose of the Union movement, mentioning that since each American worker is contributing the equivalent of 18 working days a year to European assistance, it is up to Europeans to justify this sacrifice by effecting genuine European unification.

Opposition to the Breisach plebiscite was forthcoming, as might be expected, from the Communists. In the absence of any Communists in Breisach who dared to engage in active opposition, a delegation of Communists from Freiburg demanded and obtained an audience with the mayor in which they tried to force him a state-

ment that the balloting, if it came out affirmatively, really would mean that the Germans are for the evacuation of Occupation Forces in Germany.

According to the mayor, the interview ended summarily when he told the Communists, among other things, "You are the people who are protecting and supporting the robbers on the other side of the Iron Curtain." Other Communist disrupting tactics at Breisach, such as the usual display of crude signs on walls and buildings, ended equally unsuccessfully.

HOWEVER, IN THE MUCH larger community of Castorp-Rauxel one week later, the Communists, stronger and better prepared, swung into high gear. US Deputy Observer Robert Bechtol in the British-Zone state of North Rhine-Westphalia reported on the Communist strategy as follows:

"The KPD put on an elaborate counter-campaign and sent a special representative from Duesseldorf to Castorp-Rauxel to supervise. In the beginning the Freie Deutsche Jugend (Communist "Free German Youth") was the only outward sign of Communist attitude, limiting itself to the destruction of posters. Subsequently the so-called 'Committee against European Union' put up posters. In addition, four other kinds of posters were printed, each in 3,000-4,000 copies. The Communist propaganda became so intense that certain of the townspeople became frightened and some shopkeepers who had displayed European Union posters in their windows removed them. The Communists threatened to take the names of those who voted and ultimately planned a counter-meeting to be held on July 14.

"To counteract this (meeting) the city manager called for a practice run of the city's fire-fighting equipment, to end in the public square near the place chosen by the Communists for their meeting. This was an administrative decision for which the city manager said he would take full responsibility. The move was successful, large crowds gathered to see the fire department in action, and the Communist meeting was failure."

Flags of youths' organizations supported the European Union movement at mass meeting in the town square at Breisach. On platform in foreground is Mayor Bueb, who staunchly supported Europa Union in addressing townsfolk.
Communist roughneck attempts to disrupt meetings and other attempts by them to hold their own meetings were notably unsuccessful.

The people's answer to the Communists was that 31,806 out of 34,239 who voted placed their "X" in the "Ja" (Yes) circle. Many organizations which helped prepare for the plebiscite are agreed that the Communists unwittingly were their best propaganda agents. The story is told of an elderly lady who, confined to her home some two miles from the polling place, became so angry when she heard of Communist tactics that she successfully pleaded for a car to be sent for her in order that she might go to contribute her "Ja."

THE LITTLE KNOWN EUROPA UNION and the inconspicuous communities of Breisach and Castrop-Rauxel temporarily were catapulted to the headlines in almost all West German newspapers after the plebiscites. Another, and final, plebiscite is scheduled for either Frankfurt or Munich, and a number of other cities in West Germany now have asked for Europa Union plebiscites. What is the movement all about and who is behind it in Germany?

EUROPA UNION is the German branch of the Union Europeene des Federalistes (UEF). This is presently among the strongest of several federalist movements in Europe, all of which are affiliated with the European Movement, headed by Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium, Alcide de Gasperi of Italy and, until his recent death, Leon Blum of France.

The groundwork for plebiscites had been done at Paris in October 1949, when a congress of the Union Europeene decided that progress toward the federalization of Europe was moving too slowly, particularly in view of the fact that the powerful stimulus given to European co-operation through the Marshall Plan will end in 1952. In the light of this decision it was resolved that, in order forcibly to bring to the attention of the governments of western Europe the desire of their peoples to unite, plebiscites would be held by the 17 national affiliates of the Union Europeene. The first affiliate to implement this resolution was the German Europa Union.

Three months ago, before the plebiscites, Europa Union counted approximately 25,000 paying members in Germany. It is financed partly by the dues of these members, amounting to six Deutsche marks per year, but more largely from private donations and in certain states from established political parties. However, Europa Union stresses its supra-political character, and accepts gifts from political parties only with a "no strings attached" understanding.

Europa Union counts among its members a substantial number of prominent German political figures and through them it can bring influence to bear on the German parliament and the German delegation to the Council of Europe. Both Heinrich von Brentano, CDU leader in the Bundestag (federal parliament) and a delegate to the Council of Europe, and Carlo Schmid, SPD leader in the Bundestag and a delegate to the Council of Europe, are members of Europa Union.

Dr. Eugen Kogon, founder and president in Germany of the Europa-Union, was among speakers who addressed the eligible voters of Breisach and Castrop-Rauxel on the eve of the test plebiscites. A noted author and editor, Dr. Kogon is publisher of the "Frankfurter Hefte," political and cultural monthly. He was an inmate of Buchenwald concentration camp for all of seven years, from 1938 to 1945.

On July 26, the Bundestag passed a resolution requesting the conclusion of a European federative pact calling for the formation of a supra-national European body with legislative, executive and judiciary powers. This resolution had been prepared by Europa Union, submitted to the Bundestag by deputies belonging to Europa Union, and was adopted exactly as Europa Union had framed it.

The president of Europa Union is 47-year-old Dr. Eugen Kogon. Dr. Kogon is a distinguished German public figure who spent the years 1938 to 1945 in the Buchenwald concentration camp. Since liberation in 1945 he has written a well-known book, "The SS State," and was co-founder of the publishing house Frankfurter Hefte, which published books and brochures on political topics and the magazine Frankfurter Hefte, a scholarly monthly on questions of politics and culture.

The dynamo of Europa Union is Otto Blessing, 40, its executive secretary. A patent attorney by training, he gives the impression of being a hard-headed tactician. According to him, Communist opposition at Breisach and Castrop-Rauxel has given Europa Union the catalyst it needs for success. He sees the Europa Union as the first concrete German movement against Communism.

On July 31, the executive committee of Europa Union approved a five-point program of action which includes production and distribution of education films on political questions, the purchase of a newspaper, intensified publication and dissemination of attractive brochures in

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MANIFESTO
of the Congress for Cultural Freedom

1. WE CONSIDER IT a self-evident truth that intellectual liberty is one of the inalienable rights of man.

2. Intellectual liberty implies in the first place liberty of thought and word, especially when they are in opposition to the controlling regime. Man becomes a slave when deprived of the right to say no.

3. Liberty and peace are inseparable. In all countries, regardless of the political regime, the overwhelming majority of the population fears and is opposed to war. The danger of war becomes acute when governments, by the suppression of democratic, parliamentary institutions, withhold from the majority the means of opposing war.

Peace can be safeguarded only if each government submits its acts to the control of the people it governs and pledges itself to submit all measures which could endanger peace to a democratic, international discussion and to abide by the decisions reached.

4. We consider that the primary cause of the present world insecurity arises from the policy of governments who while paying lip-service to peace, refuse to accept its essential premises. History shows that wars can be prepared and waged under any kind of slogan, including that of peace. Peace campaigns which are not based on acts guaranteed to maintain the peace are comparable to counterfeit money placed in circulation for fraudulent purposes. There can be no renaissance of intellectual equilibrium and security in the world until "the black market" of peace is abolished.

5. Liberty is based on the tolerance of and the respect for divergent opinions. One cannot logically invoke the ideal of tolerance to cloak intolerance.

6. No doctrine can claim exclusive interpretation of the principle of liberty. On the contrary, we consider that the criterion of such doctrines ought to be the degree of real liberty accorded the individual.

Furthermore, we consider that no race, nation, class or religion can claim to represent exclusively the idea of liberty, or arrogate to itself the right to deny liberty to other human beings, no matter how high the ultimate ideal may be.

7. In critical epochs, restrictions are imposed on individual liberty in the name of the real or claimed interest of the community. We consider that such restrictions must be limited to a minimum of clearly defined areas as temporary expedients, and clearly imposed as a sacrifice. Furthermore, measures restricting liberty must be submitted to criticism and to democratic control. Only under such conditions can we hope that extraordinary measures restricting individual liberty will not degenerate into a permanent tyranny.

8. IN THE TOTALITARIAN states the shackles placed on liberty are no longer considered sacrifices imposed on the population, but are regarded as the triumph of progress and the attainment of a superior civilization. We likewise consider that the concrete measures taken by these regimes are contrary to the fundamental rights of the individual and to the essential aspirations of humanity.

9. We consider the danger incorporated in these regimes to be so much the greater in view of the fact that the theory and practice of their tyrannies surpass all of the despotsisms known to history. The citizen of the totalitarian state is not only forced to abstain from crime but is required to formulate all of his actions and thoughts on a prescribed model. The classic form of the "negative tyranny" has been supplanted by the "positive tyranny." Citizens are persecuted and condemned on the basis of indefinite and non-specific accusations such as being "enemies of the people" or "socially dangerous elements."

10. We are convinced that there can be no stability in the world as long as humanity remains divided into the have and the have-nots. The defense of existing liberties and the re-conquest of liberties lost constitute one and the same, indivisible struggle.

11. We consider that the theory and the action of the totalitarian states are the greatest menace which humanity has had to face in the history of civilization. We consider that indifference and neutrality with respect to this menace constitute a betrayal of the essential values of humanity and the abdication of the free spirit. Our response to the menace will determine for decades—perhaps even for generations—whether the human species is going to follow the path of the social insects or that of free men.

12. The defense of liberty and culture imposes upon us the duty of contributing to a culture which gives a positive answer to the revolutionary changes occurring in the world.

13. We address this manifesto to all men who are determined to defend the liberties they enjoy, to regain those they have lost, and to create new ones.