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*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
Harriman  
FEB 15 1950  
[Signature]

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable W. Averell Harriman  
SUBJECT: Western European Political Integration - ECA Support

As [redacted] mentioned to you [redacted] we are presently working on an over-all project that will seek to promote Western European political integration with ECA support. We are convinced that if we are to afford your efforts in this regard genuine and substantial assistance, we must devise an integrated plan that will go into operation in the various countries simultaneously and with the concurrent and full support of our own European field organization. Preparatory to the formulation of such a plan we are conducting a survey of the various organizations and individuals now actively supporting European unity. It is in this connection that your statement [redacted] that (1) the European Movement is by far the most effective organ for promoting the political unity of Europe, and (2) that you are somewhat skeptical with regard to the European Parliamentary Union and have the impression that the Kalergi group is practically non-existent, is of definite interest to us.

1.5(c)  
3.4(b)(1)

A study of the various memoranda on the most recent meeting of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg prepared in the Paris Embassy and forwarded to Washington by Ambassador Bruce with dispatches 816, 820, 821 and 822 has indicated to us that both the European Movement and the European Parliamentary Union maintained headquarters at Strasbourg during last summer's meeting of the Assembly, that both "have the most concrete plans for the coming months", and that they both count "among their followers numerous delegates to the Assembly."

Further, we have noted in these memoranda that the Permanent Committee of the Council of Europe set up at the Consultative Assembly meeting last summer includes at least eight members who signed the European Parliamentary Union's INTERLAKEN PROGRAM which advocates a federal approach to the unity problem and "calls for the election of a European Constituent Assembly by European Parliaments and the establishment of a European Federal Government." We have also noted that Ronald MacKay, who made such a valuable contribution on behalf of European unity during last summer's Strasbourg meeting, is also a signer of the INTERLAKEN PROGRAM.

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We have, of course, also read that the European Movement is "less doctrinaire and far better equipped to further the work of the Council in the next twelve months", but are, at the same time, aware that this organization is presently dominated for the most part by those, including some prominent Britains, who advocate the functional (slow and step-by-step) approach to unity.

In short, we seem to be faced with this dilemma: were we to select the European Movement as the single instrument through which to support unity, would we not run the risk of confirming the domination of the unity movement by those advocating a slow approach to the problem? Also would we not thereby deny our support to just those Continentals and some British who are today among the most active and effective workers on behalf of just that type of unity we most hope to see achieved? Furthermore, ought we not keep in mind the other organizations that favor unity such as the United Europe Movement, the European Union of Federalists, the Economic League for European Cooperation, the French Council for United Europe, the Nouvelles Equipes Internationales, and the Socialist Movement for United States of Europe? Admittedly these have all joined the European Movement's "International Committee of the Movements for European Unity", but it is our impression that this is something of a "marriage of convenience" and that, for our work designed to achieve a "grass root" support for genuine unity, it might be best to afford these organizations assistance individually rather than solely through a coordinating body. We are well aware that the European Movement is the most publicized organization of its type today, and probably merits definite support, but we do question whether it should be the only instrument [redacted] [redacted] We should, therefore, appreciate your views so that we may be better able to formulate an integrated and over-all program in connection with this vital question.

1.5(c)  
3.4(b)(1)

*F. G. Wisner*

F. G. Wisner

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