WOLFGANG SCHMALE

For a Democratic "United States of Europe" (1918–1951)

Freemasons – Human Rights Leagues – Winston S. Churchill – Individual Citizens

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1   In spring 2018, the BDIC changed its name to *La Contemporaine. Bibliothèque, Archives, Musée des mondes contemporains* (see http://www.lacontemporaine.fr/). I will nevertheless use "BDIC" as an abbreviation in the footnotes. For the history of the BDIC/La Contemporaine, see La Contemporaine, ed. (2017): Cent ans. De la BDIC à la contemporaine = Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps, N° 125–126.

2   Schmale, Wolfgang; Treiblmayr, Christopher, eds. (2017): Human Rights Leagues in Europe (1898–2016). Stuttgart.

PROLOGUE

I am truly shocked by what can be considered the "official doctrine" of the European Union today, namely that European integration was the work of a scant few politicians and diplomats following the Second World War. I naturally have no intent of derogating the merits of a Charles de Gaulle, Konrad Adenauer, Altiero Spinelli, Hendrik Brugmans, Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet or Winston Spencer Churchill, to name only a few – but historically speaking, this doctrine is wrong.

I call it an "official doctrine" of the European Union because the notion is explicitly stated in the solemn declaration on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Rome Treaty in 2017, a joint declaration of 27 EU member states (without the UK), the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission.[1] Most officials in the European Union like to refer to the "founding fathers" while at the same time failing to give credit to the "founding mothers" as well as the many others who were in favour of unification and worked towards it as active members of European associations or simply as active citizens.

This is akin to a contemporaneous "rapture of Europe" because the true originators of the idea of a united Europe – regardless of the legal form it would eventually adopt – are divested of their rights. It is my intent to reinstate these rights. These originators were "ordinary citizens", some of them perhaps "exceptional citizens" – but at any rate, they were the type of people who form the basis of every civil society. I will return to the definition of "ordinary citizens" and "civil society" in my introduction.

I hope I am making very clear what the intention of this book is: In this early phase of the 21st century, Europe – and more precisely the European Union – is in crisis, and the ordinary citizens that make up civil society are among the actors who can help to resolve this crisis. They can help because they have a historical claim to authorship, or co-authorship, of the fundamental process of European integration and unification. A reform of the European institutions and the political agenda as well as of the rules of conduct is necessary, of course, and it is what many politicians are demanding. But this alone is not sufficient. The European idea itself needs new impulses, and over the past one hundred and sixty years since the notion of a "United States of Europe" was first voiced by citizens'

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1   "European unity started as the dream of a few, it became the hope of the many." See http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/03/25/rome-declaration/ (accessed 13 November 2017).

movements on the occasion of the revolutions of 1848 – and even somewhat earlier – such impulses have always come from the base.[2]

Special emphasis will be placed on the question to what extent civil society actors based their idea of a United States of Europe on democracy and human rights.

As it is still too early for a synthesis of the history of civil society's contributions to European unity and union, I was forced to consider which alternative approach to choose. The interwar period was characterized by a dense network of civil society associations and organizations. Which of them – and which actors – could rightly claim to be representative? This question remains difficult to answer. For reasons I will explain in the following introduction and expand on in the respective chapters, I ultimately selected two influential groups of activists: the Freemasons and the human rights league activists. Many of their members were also active in other associations and/or organizations, of course. And although it is impossible not to make a contribution to the history of Freemasonry and the human rights leagues in the interwar years by delving into their source material, that is not my primary goal. Instead, I hope to approach individual actors closely enough to obtain an impression that is characteristic for these citizens engaging with the idea of creating a United States of Europe. The mixture they represent in terms of social stratification, education, professional background, age, life experience, networking etc. seems characteristic for the epoch. Nevertheless, I do not claim them to be *representative*, since this would require statistics and systematic comparisons between different associations in regard to their social composition – a task too large for an individual researcher.

The same is basically true for the postwar period from 1945/46 to the early 1950s. I have decided to take a detailed look at people who sent letters to Winston S. Churchill, the most famous and leading "Europeanist" during this brief period. To some extent, these people are characteristic for the many who joined the young European movements or at least supported them on an ideational level.

If the combination of these three case studies seems a bit arbitrary at first glance, I sincerely hope the following chapters will convince the reader that it is in fact well-chosen and meaningful.

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2   I provide an outline of these processes in my book "Geschichte Europas" (Europe's History). See Schmale, Wolfgang (2000): Geschichte Europas. Vienna, ch. 5.3–5.4, p. 100–114 (early 19th century to 1933).

I. INTRODUCTION

THE CHURCHILL MOMENT

"My Dear Mr Churchill" is a typical salutation used by English-speaking writers – women and men from various countries – of letters addressed to Winston S. Churchill between 1946 and around 1951. Such letters were sent not only by people living in English-speaking countries, but also from France, Germany, Switzerland and other countries such as Uruguay or Cuba. People wrote in their native language, in English, or in other foreign languages they had adopted as theirs in the host countries to which they had emigrated. It was a time during which Churchill travelled to several European countries and the USA and gave dozens of speeches – frequently because honorary degrees, usually doctorates in Law, were being conferred on him, but also often at the invitation of national parliaments.

One of Churchill's speeches, namely the one given at Zurich University on 19 September 1946, became famous for its exhortation of the Europeans to build a United States of Europe.[1] It was not the first time Churchill had advocated this project. I will pass over his many comments on Europe in the interwar years and during the Second World War, but in most of his speeches between 1945 and 1948, Churchill at least mentioned or in some cases even expressly detailed the concept of a United States of Europe (USE): Brussels, 16 November 1945 (speech to the joint meeting of the Senate and the Chamber)[2]; The Hague, 9 May 1946 (speech to the States General of the Netherlands)[3]; Zurich, 19 September 1946 (the aforementioned "Zurich speech", Zurich University)[4]; London, 14 May 1947 (Albert Hall, United Europe meeting)[5]; The Hague, 7 May 1948 (Congress of

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1 The history and chronology of the Zurich speech were established by Sauter, Max (1976): Churchills Schweizer Besuch 1946 und die Zürcher Rede. Herisau (Philosophical dissertation, University of Zurich). Sauter prints the *spoken* version (recording by Radio Zurich), which differs in some details from the version printed later in "The Sinews of Peace" (see next footnote). A third version, likewise differing from the delivered speech in some details, was circulated to the press after the speech (see Sauter, p. 77, footnote 241). See also Klos, Felix (2016): Churchill on Europe. The Untold Story of Churchill's European Project. London – New York (Klos does not quote Sauter, so the story is less 'untold' than he claims …). Klos wanted to clarify Churchill's position with regard to the Brexit debate in the UK: Brexiteers and Remainers alike claimed Churchill as support for their opinion.

2 See Churchill, Winston S. (1948): The Sinews of Peace. Post-War Speeches, ed. by Randolph S. Churchill. London, p. 41–44.

3 See Churchill, The Sinews of Peace, op. cit., p. 128–134.

4 See Churchill, The Sinews of Peace, op. cit., p. 198–202.

5 See Churchill, Winston S. (1950): Europe Unite. Speeches 1947 and 1948, ed. by Randolph S. Churchill. London, p. 77–85.

Europe)[6]. In several other speeches, he did not mention the USE explicitly, instead speaking of a "united Europe": Metz, 14 July 1946[7]; Amsterdam, 9 May 1948 (open-air meeting)[8]; London, 17 November 1948 ("United Europe" exhibition, Dorland Hall)[9].

Nearly all of Churchill's speeches, or at least their key messages, were disseminated by the international media. His public was international and as large as one could imagine, and the reason is clear: After the war, there was no statesman more renowned than Churchill, whose excellent speeches had always had the quality of practical acts with a deep impact on public opinion. It is no coincidence that he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature some years later in 1953, for his rhetoric was exceptional and could be understood by everyone.

It is noteworthy that Churchill was a Freemason. This is not to say that his ideas pertaining to Europe originated exclusively in Freemasonry, but they were certainly encouraged by it as we will see below in chapter II. And although he was an avowed conservative and Christian, his speeches also reached people who held other political opinions or referred to Christianism less than he did.

In the postwar years, Churchill ceaselessly attempted to foster a new European spirit of unity and collaboration, at least in the West. He (and one is tempted to say: he alone) was able to outline in a single speech the global political situation and the roles played by the different powers, the development of Europe during the early "Cold War" (the expression is not contemporaneous) and the diminishing influence of the British Empire or Commonwealth. He was historian enough to convincingly evoke the *longue-durée* phenomena in the postwar present, and he was a staunch and convincing democrat who stood on a foundation of solid values. One may object that he argued in favour of colonialism, and we will see in the coming chapters how the representatives of civil society dealt with the issue of democracy and colonialism. Nevertheless, Churchill's analyses of the global political, military, economic and social situation were clear and mostly factual, and they were characterized by a pronounced fairness.

In short, Churchill was unique in that he was simultaneously an intellectual, an outstanding politician, and a man whose speeches touched people of all social strata, whether they were from allied nations or from former enemies such as Germany. He became the link between ordinary citizens' ideas of a united Europe on the one hand and the political project of a European union – or a United States of Europe, the term preferred by Churchill – on the other. There was something like a "Churchill moment", a specific impetus, in the early years of European unification following the Second World War, and this is why it seems reasonable to me to bring together Winston Spencer Churchill and the "ordinary citizens".

The pinnacle of this Churchill moment was undeniably the Congress of Europe in The Hague in 1948 (7–10 May), a decisive and emotional event in the

6   See Churchill, Europe Unite, op. cit., p. 310–317.
7   See Churchill, The Sinews of Peace, op. cit., p. 171–175.
8   See Churchill, Europe Unite, op. cit., p. 318–321.
9   See Churchill, Europe Unite, op. cit., p. 465–466.

history of the European unification movement. The congress united representatives of European civil society as well as intellectuals and representatives of the political class, some of whom had been active in resistance movements during the Second World War or participated in one of the committees or commissions of the League of Nations, in a human rights league, or in an association or society supporting European cooperation, European unification or the idea of a United States of Europe. It provided a massive impulse for the European federalist movements and had an impact on the founding process of the Council of Europe as well. In his opening speech, Churchill aptly declared: "This is not a Movement of parties but a movement of peoples."[10]

The Congress of Europe and the establishment of the *European Movement International* in Brussels in October 1948 evoked a broad media echo, encouraging many ordinary people to write letters to Churchill (and presumably to other politicians as well) and become activists – Europeanists – themselves. These letters, which will be examined in chapter IV, are characteristic of the late 1940s and early 1950s as a period in between the dynamics of a civil society inherited from the interwar period and the resistance movements on the one hand and the new dynamics of institutionalized European integration on the other.

This is not to say that the letters to Churchill do not raise certain questions. Not all of the writers were without doubts, and some were – at least formerly – fascists. The background of the latter's European ideas can be traced back to fascist conceptions of a European "unity". Nevertheless, they were part of the numerous chorus that sung, after the war, the song of European unification in a European Union or a United States of Europe.

In their totality, these letters illustrate very well who were the individuals wishing to be part of the European movements as active members or as supporters backing their idealism. One could say they represent the "European movement generation" of the early postwar years, with their authorship comprising teenagers going to school, university students, young people who had experienced their late youth in the war, "mature" adults, and elderly men and women.

European integration has always been advanced by the many and not only by the few, though this fact has largely been forgotten in the meantime. The institutionalization of the integration process by creating "first"[11] the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), then the European Economic Community and so on all the way to the European Union has slowly but noticeably alienated citizens from the idea of Europe. It was with good reason that pro-European associations such as the European Federalists were initially sceptical regarding the path paved by the ECSC, though they did not resist the developments in a fundamentalist fashion.

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10   Speech at The Hague, Congress of Europe, 7 May 1948. In: Churchill, Europe Unite, op. cit., p. 311.
11   "First" refers to those institutions that were, at least in hindsight, the forerunners of the European Union of today.

Institutionalization relegated the pro-European civil movements to the background. They continued to exist and disseminate the idea of European unity, but the information machine created by the European Communities became stronger and appropriated public attention.[12] With the economic and financial crises becoming a political crisis of the European Union in recent years, existing pro-European associations have found their way back into the public eye and new organizations such as "Pulse of Europe" have been established.[13] In hindsight, Europe as the "project of an elite" was no more than an episode. The new generation of ordinary citizens marching in favour of European-Union Europe do so because they know there is much to be lost. The interwar and early postwar generations of ordinary citizens – not without exception, of course – were willing to unite Europe, and while the fundamental motives have necessarily been modified, what has not changed to this day is the fact that ordinary citizens stand up to do what is necessary when Europe is in crisis. They did so after the First World War (and of course even earlier as well, but that is not the topic of this book), they did so *during* both World Wars under life-threatening circumstances, they continued to do so after the Second World War, and they are doing so now.

In his opening speech to the Congress of Europe in The Hague in 1948, Winston Churchill said:

> The Movement for European Unity must be a positive force, deriving its strength from our sense of common spiritual values. It is a dynamic expression of democratic faith based upon moral conceptions and inspired by a sense of mission. In the centre of our movement stands the idea of a Charter of Human Rights, guarded by freedom and sustained by law.[14]

This statement provides an excellent summary of what organizations like the human rights leagues that were active during the interwar period believed in. At its height between the wars, the French *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* had more than 180,000 members. It was a major civil society agent, and most of its members must be considered "ordinary citizens". Like many of his other speeches, Churchill's words in The Hague established a connection between the prewar goal of a democratic and pacifistic civil society largely composed of ordinary citizens and supporting the notion of a new Europe – one that would consist of a union or

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12 See as an exemplary study Reinfeldt, Alexander (2014): Unter Ausschluss der Öffentlichkeit? Akteure und Strategien supranationaler Informationspolitik in der Gründungsphase der europäischen Integration, 1952–1972. Stuttgart.

13 See Leggewie, Claus (2017): Europa zuerst! Eine Unabhängigkeitserklärung. Berlin. Leggewie's approach focuses on grassroots movements. In this he differs radically from other studies that prefer a view from above: Marcowitz, Reiner; Wilkens, Andreas, eds. (2014): Une "Europe des citoyens". Société civile et identité européenne de 1945 à nos jours. Bern.

14 Churchill, Europe Unite, op. cit., p. 312. A French version of the speech was also distributed to the press on 7 May 1948 (after 3.30 p.m.): This material was collected by Robert Aron, one of the French participants, who later donated his congress papers to the *Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine* (hereafter BDIC), Paris-Nanterre in December 1955. For the imprint of Churchill's speech in French, see Fonds Congrès de l'Europe (1948), BDIC, F delta res 0114.

"United States" of democratic European countries respecting basic human rights – and the postwar civil society and governments.

That being said, this book focuses on a small number of case studies that help to round out our knowledge on who these ordinary citizens were that formed the basis of civil society in regard to European unification and what role they played in Europeanism. For the interwar years, I have chosen the cases of the *Freemasons* on the one hand and the *human rights leagues* on the other. Both were intertwined with each other and combined national and international structures and elements extending far beyond geographic Europe. The reason for this choice is that prewar and interwar societies were conducive to a rich landscape of leagues, associations, societies, committees etc. that were connected in national, transnational and international frameworks. The establishment of the League of Nations proved to be propitious for this kind of organized civil society – though the term "civil society" should not be interpreted as signifying a societal sector separated from or flatly opposed to politics. Active members of leagues, committees, societies and the like often appear to have been active politicians as well. This fact does not change the civil society character of these organizations, however, and Freemasons and human rights league activists thus constitute an excellent way of opening doors to understanding the civil society during the interwar period.

The third, postwar case study deals with the many people who wrote letters to Churchill. For the most part, they were ordinary citizens acting outside of any organizational framework at the time they penned their letters. There was also no organizational link or network between them individually like there was in the case of Freemasonry and human rights activists. What they did have in common was a conviction – namely that Europe should unite – and a leading personality they believed in: Winston S. Churchill. Some of them were of course involved in certain civil society organizations or had applied to join one or the other, but I have chosen to study them as individuals since that is what they appear as in their letters. As mentioned above, these writers of letters to Churchill represent quite aptly the generation in which the emerging European movements[15] found active members and supporters of their ideas. They were the door openers to this field of recruitment.

Compared to the more or less illustrious assembly at the Congress of Europe in The Hague, our letter writers were also more frequently members of the lower social classes. Churchill himself sketched a picture of the assembly:

> This Congress has brought together leaders of thought and action from all the free countries of Europe. Statesmen of all political parties, leading figures from all the Churches, eminent writers, leaders of the professions, lawyers, chiefs of industry and prominent trade-unionists

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15 European overview of European Movements: Pistone, Sergio, ed. (1996): I Movimenti per l'Unità Europea 1954–1969. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Genova, 5–7 novembre 1992. Pavia.

are gathered here. In fact a representative grouping of the most essential elements in the political, industrial, cultural and spiritual life of Europe is now assembled in this ancient hall.[16]

Most of the letter writers definitely did not belong to these classes, and the same can be said about prewar Europeanists. Organizations or associations such as human rights leagues, Freemasons, pacifists and others were backed by a massive base in various countries. Their members numbered in the tens of thousands or even more than a hundred thousand besides the few well-known representatives. One could nevertheless argue that this still did not place them outside of the realm of the social elites; I will revisit this aspect in more detail in the respective chapters.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF EUROPEAN UNITY

"Civil society", and even more so "ordinary citizens", paved the way for a "social history of the idea of European unity". Since the medieval period, important figureheads like Dante Alighieri ("De Monarchia", early 14th century), Erasmus of Rotterdam ("Querela Pacis", early 16th century), Sully ("Grand Design", early 17th century), Abbé de Saint-Pierre ("Paix perpétuelle", early 18th century), Rousseau (new edition of de Saint-Pierre's treaty, mid-18th century) and Kant ("Perpetual Peace", late 18th century), Henri de Saint-Simon (European monarchical state, early 19th century), Victor Hugo (concept of fraternal nations, mid-19th century), Richard Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi ("Pan-Europe", interwar years), Jean Monnet (institutional integration, interwar and postwar period) and many others have been studied copiously in regard to their contributions to the political-philosophical notion of European unity.[17]

The idea of seeking a broader social base for such a unified Europe was first explored by scholars and especially historians during the Second World War. In a first phase, which can be distinguished from the second phase starting around fifteen years ago, scholars enlarged the group of studied authors writing about Europe and its unification. Heinz Gollwitzer conducted research on the notion and imagination of Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century during

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16   Churchill, Europe Unite, op. cit., p. 311. The social stratification of national delegations to the Congress is examined in Guieu, Jean-Michel; Le Dréau, Christophe, eds. (2009): Le "Congrès de l'Europe" à la Haye (1948–2008). Brussels: French delegation, studied by Bernard Lachaise, p. 151–167, especially p. 155; British delegation, studied by Christophe Le Dréau, p. 169–185; Belgian delegation, studied by Geneviève Duchenne, p. 187–197; Dutch delegation, studied by Annemarie Van Heerikhuizen, p. 199–209; Italian delegation, studied by Simone Paoli, p. 211–222; Greek delegation, studied by Alexandra Patrikiou, p. 223–232; Hungarian delegation, studied by Gergely Fejérdy, p. 233–242. The question of "elites" is posed by Alexander Reinfeldt, p. 287–298.

17   The main authors of plans for Europe are presented in Böttcher, Winfried, ed. (2014): Klassiker des europäischen Denkens. Friedens- und Europavorstellungen aus 700 Jahren europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Baden-Baden. See also Hewitson, Mark; D'Auria, Matthew, eds. (2012): Europe in Crisis. Intellectuals and the European Idea, 1917–1957. New York.

the Second World War, and the resulting book on "Europabild und Europagedan-ke" was first published in Munich in 1951.[18] Gollwitzer took into consideration not only the figureheads of the epoch, but also included a number of second-line authors. In the 1960s, Walter Lipgens set out to investigate the history of resistance groups in Europe. He published hundreds of documents showing the richness and inveteracy of the idea of European unity in various political, reli-gious and ideological milieus. The four volumes "Documents on the History of European Integration" (published 1985–1991, all documents translated into Eng-lish or printed in their original English versions) impressively present the sizeable and diverse social base that Europe was intellectually built upon after the war. Lipgens died while editing this enormous collection of records (ca. 750 docu-ments dating from 1939 to 1950), and it was Wilfried Loth who eventually com-pleted the editorial work in 1991.[19] A few years later in 1995, a valuable synthesis was provided by Michel Dumoulin in "Plans des temps de guerre pour l'Europe d'après-guerre 1940–1947"[20]. This collection of research articles includes the ideas of Nazis and their collaborators on Europe. In general, the participation and impact of extreme right-wing and fascist groups should not be underestimated – as shown in the studies by Bernard Bruneteau ("Les 'collabos' de l'Europe nou-velle")[21] and Robert Grunert[22], for example. While this aspect has been a subject of intensive research for only around thirty years, Lipgens had already collected and published such documents as well.

In the meantime, several synthetic studies have also been published that focus on individual participants, groups (interest groups, professional groups, associa-tions) and networks. Among these, one might highlight (in chronological order) Gérard Bossuat's "Inventer l'Europe. Histoire nouvelle des groupes d'influence et des acteurs de l'unité européenne" (2003)[23], Olivier Dard and Étienne Deschamps's "Les relèves en Europe d'un après-guerre à l'autre" (2005)[24], Jean-Michel Guieu and Christophe Le Dréau's "Le 'Congrès de l'Europe' à La Haye (1948–2008)" (2009)[25] and Veronika Heyde's "De l'esprit de la Résistance

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18 Gollwitzer, Heinz (1951): Europabild und Europagedanke. Munich.

19 Lipgens, Walter; Loth, Wilfried, eds. (1985–1991): Documents on the History of European Integration, 4 vols. Berlin. Vols. 1 (1985) and 2 (1986) cover 1939–1945, vols. 3 (1988) and 4 (1991) cover 1945–1950.

20 Dumoulin, Michel, ed. (1995): Plans des temps de guerre pour l'Europe d'après-guerre, 1940–1947 / Wartime Plans for Postwar Europe, 1940–1947. Actes du colloque de Bruxelles 12–14 mai 1993. Baden-Baden – Brussels.

21 Bruneteau, Bernard (2016): Les "collabos" de l'Europe nouvelle. Paris.

22 Grunert, Robert (2012): Der Europagedanke westeuropäischer faschistischer Bewegungen 1940–1945. Paderborn.

23 Bossuat, Gérard, ed. (2003): Inventer l'Europe. Histoire nouvelle des groupes d'influence et des acteurs de l'unité européenne. Avec la collaboration de Georges Saunier. Brussels.

24 Dard, Olivier; Deschamps, Étienne, eds. (2008): Les relèves en Europe d'un après-guerre à l'autre. Racines, réseaux, projets et postérités, 2nd ed. Brussels (1st ed. 2005). This collection of articles covers a wide range of conceptions of Europe from right-wing to left-wing political orientations, from religious to non-religious approaches, etc.

25 Guieu/Le Dréau, eds., Le "Congrès de l'Europe" à la Haye, op. cit.

jusqu'à l'idée de l'Europe. Projets européens et américains pour l'Europe de l'après-guerre (1940–1950)" (2010).[26] The idea of a United States of Europe as discussed among labour movements was studied by Willy Buschak (2014).[27]

Some authors like Wolfram Kaiser, Brigitte Leucht and Morten Rasmussen (2009)[28] or Kaiser, Leucht and Michael Gehler in "Transnational Networks in Regional Integration" (2010)[29] have focused specifically on networks of Europeanists. Christina Norwig studied the European Youth Campaign in the 1950s, which allowed her to enlarge the social base of the European idea.[30]

Other scholars have studied pro-European movements and groups of interest in individual countries in depth. I will list but a few of these, again in chronological order: Heinz Duchhardt and Małgorzata Morawiec's "Vision Europa" (2003) dealing with German and Polish Europeanists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries[31]; Anita Ziegerhofer's "Botschafter Europas. Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren" (2004)[32]; Vanessa Conze's "Das Europa der Deutschen" (2005)[33]; and Geneviève Duchenne's "L'européisme dans la Belgique de l'entre-deux-guerres (1919–1939)" (2008)[34].

Finally, a ground-breaking effort was undertaken by Gabriele Clemens with her study examining pro-European advertising films.[35]

Pacifists and their movements, League of Nations associations, European federalist movements, and the Europeanism of political parties of all colours and ideological orientations have also been examined. The emergence of various

26 Heyde, Veronika (2010): De l'esprit de la Résistance jusqu'à l'idée de l'Europe. Projets européens et américains pour l'Europe de l'après-guerre (1940–1950). Brussels. In addition, the reader may consult the following book: Henrich-Franke, Christian, ed. (2014): Die "Schaffung" Europas in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Politische, wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Konstruktionen eines vereinten Europas. Berlin.
27 Buschak, Willy (2014): Die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa sind unser Ziel. Arbeiterbewegung und Europa im frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Essen.
28 Leucht, Brigitte; Rasmussen, Morten; Kaiser, Wolfram, eds. (2009): The History of the European Union. Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity 1950–72. New York – London.
29 Leucht, Brigitte; Gehler, Michael; Kaiser, Wolfram, eds. (2010): Transnational Networks in Regional Integration. Governing Europe 1945–83. New York.
30 Norwig, Christina (2016): Die erste europäische Generation. Europakonstruktionen in der Europäischen Jugendkampagne, 1951–1958. Göttingen.
31 Duchhardt, Heinz; Morawiec, Małgorzata, eds. (2003): Vision Europa. Deutsche und polnische Föderationspläne des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. Mainz.
32 Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, Anita (2004): Botschafter Europas. Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren. Vienna.
33 Conze, Vanessa (2005): Das Europa der Deutschen. Ideen von Europa in Deutschland zwischen Reichstradition und Westorientierung (1920–1970). Munich. See also Conze, Vanessa (2004): Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. Umstrittener Visionär Europas. Gleichen (brief biography for 'popular' use).
34 Duchenne, Geneviève (2008): Esquisses d'une Europe nouvelle. L'européisme dans la Belgique de l'entre-deux-guerres (1919–1939). Brussels.
35 Clemens, Gabriele, ed. (2016): Werben für Europa. Die mediale Konstruktion europäischer Identität durch Europafilme. Paderborn.

European movements in the period since the end of the Second World War has inspired a number of scholars to study this Europe "from below". Paolo Caraffini tellingly entitled his 2008 book on the subject of the "Consiglio italiano del movimento Europeo" from 1948 to 1985 "Costruire l'Europa del basso" (Building Europe From Below).[36]

All of these works together form a rich spectrum to which I hope to add the perspective of "civil society" and "ordinary citizens". Naturally, this approach overlaps with previous studies – but not in relation to the specific case studies on the Masons, human rights leagues and writers of letters to Churchill, nor in the aspect of its unique viewpoint.

EUROPEAN CIVIL SOCIETY
AND THE IDEA OF EUROPEAN UNITY

Definition of "Civil Society"

The rise of civil society is commonly placed in the eighteenth century in terms of both theory and practice.[37] The idea of dissociating state and society grew slowly from its beginnings in the seventeenth century, but was apparently quite well

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36 Caraffini, Paolo (2008): Costruire l'Europa dal basso. Il ruolo del Consiglio italiano del movimento europeo (1948–1985). Bologna.

37 The following 12 paragraphs are partially identical to Schmale, Wolfgang; Treiblmayr, Christopher: Human Rights Leagues and Civil Society (1898 – ca. 1970s). In: Historische Mitteilungen 27 (2015), p. 186–208, here p. 199–201 (the author of this part of the article being Wolfgang Schmale). The historical draft is based specifically on: Adloff, Frank (2005): Zivilgesellschaft. Theorie und politische Praxis. Frankfurt am Main – New York. Bauerkämper, Arnd, ed. (2003): Die Praxis der Zivilgesellschaft. Akteure, Handeln und Strukturen im internationalen Vergleich. Frankfurt am Main – New York. Becker, Marvin B. (1994): The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century. A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland, and France. Bloomington. Bermeo, Nancy; Nord, Philip, eds. (2000): Civil Society before Democracy. Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe. Boston. Colás, Alejandro (2013): International Civil Society. Social Movements in World Politics. Hoboken. Davies, Thomas (2013): NGOs. A New History of Transnational Civil Society. London. Edwards, Michael, ed. (2011): The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society. Oxford. Eyffinger, Arthur (1999): The 1899 Hague Peace Conference. 'The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World'. The Hague – London – Boston. Geremek, Bronisław; National Humanities Center, eds. (1992): The Idea of a Civil Society. National Humanities Center Conference. Research Triangle Park, NC. Hall, John A., ed. (1995): Civil Society. Theory, History, Comparison. Cambridge. Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig (2006): Civil society, 1750–1914. Basingstoke, Hampshire. Jessen, Ralph; Reichardt, Sven; Klein, Ansgar, eds. (2004): Zivilgesellschaft als Geschichte. Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden. Keane, John, ed. (1988): Civil Society and the State. New European Perspectives. London. Linklater, Andrew (1982): Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations. London. Schwelling, Birgit, ed. (2012): Reconciliation, Civil Society, and the Politics of Memory. Transnational Initiatives in the 20th and 21st Century. Bielefeld. Seligman, Adam B. (1995): The Idea of Civil Society. Princeton, NJ. For further bibliographical details, see the quoted article by Schmale/Treiblmayr.