

MRS. ROOSEVELT MEETS THE PUBLIC

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NBC Television Network

Description: In this episode, ER discusses the Schuman Plan and the efforts to unify Western Europe. ER interviews Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet in Paris, while Elliott Roosevelt leads a discussion at the Park Sheraton Hotel with Paul Porter, Roger Seydoux, and Heinz Krekeler.

Participants: Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet, Paul Porter, Roger Seydoux, Heinz [Heinrich Ludwig Hermann] Krekeler

(30:21)

[Bob Trogg:] Hello, Bob Trogg reporting. Plans have been announced for 1,807 more television stations. Most of them on the new ultra-high-frequency channels. Be ready with Zenith TV. Zenith alone gives written guarantee that every TV set it has ever sold has built in provision for tuner strips to receive these new stations.

[Unknown announcer:] Want to save money? Gimbels shows you five ways to save money. At 11:30 every weekday morning on WNBT New York channel four.

[Theme Music begins 30:49]

(31:10)

[Announcer:] [Theme music continues softly] On April the eighteenth, the Schuman Plan was signed by six West European nations, creating a single coal and steel market in Western Europe, ensuring equality to each participating country and preventing domination by any one of them. To discuss this important pact, NBC Television presents *Mrs. Roosevelt Meets the Public* with a specially filmed interviews with the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, and the French Director General of Plans, Jean Monnet. Following these interviews, Elliott Roosevelt will introduce a discussion of the Schuman Plan [Theme music ends] from the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York. But first to present Monsieur Schuman, here is Mrs. Roosevelt.

[ER:] One of the great achievements in international relations was arrived at when the foreign ministers of six European nations agreed upon the principles laid down in the Schuman Plan. The nations of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and Western Germany signed a treaty for a European coal and steel community, popularly known as the Schuman Plan. It is a plan in which six European countries have made certain specific sacrifices for their common good, a most important step in the strengthening of Europe, and the entire family of Atlantic nations. Today I'm greatly honored to be able to call on France's very distinguished foreign minister to whom the democracies of the world owe a tremendous debt of gratitude. For it was to a great extent because of Monsieur Schuman's imagination, courage, and skillful diplomacy that the plan which bears his name was translated from an idea into a fact. During Monsieur Schuman's recent trip to the United States, he visited me at Hyde Park. So I take particular pleasure in renewing our acquaintance in Paris. Monsieur le President, I know that the American people are most interested to learn something of the important principles involved in the treaty which has recently been

signed and of your hopes for Europe's future as the keystone of the Atlantic nations on this side of the ocean.

[Robert Schuman:] May I begin, Madame, by telling you how proud and pleased I am to be next uh to Mrs. Roosevelt. You know the deep significance the name of Roosevelt has in Europe and particularly in France. Twice uh this year, I had the pleasure to be Mrs. Roosevelt's guest at Hyde Park, that uh so moving place of pilgrimage for Americans and for Europeans. Our desire is to continue in Europe the work of the president and to bring about a lasting peace and security. The aim of the coal and steel plan, signed April 18 by six European countries totaling one-hundred and sixty-million inhabitants, is first of all, to put-to put a stop forever to the recurrent conflicts between France and Germany. Instead of a state of permanent hostility, we are laying the foundations of economic cooperation which will let us, we hope, to political community. Our association for the production of steel and coal, and for the authority of a supra-national body will rule out the possibility of any aggressive enterprise of one of the two countries against the other. But there are other more favorable aspects of the plan. This association will further the development of our common industries and thus put them in a position to produce more and increase the standard of living of our populations. Therefore, our work will not only be a contribution to the course of peace, but also to social progress. May I express my most heartfelt thanks to the government and to the people of United States for having understood and supported our work so well. (36:20)

[ER:] Thank you so much, Mr. Schuman. I know the people of the United States will be grateful for the time that you have taken to come here today, and I am personally grateful because I know how busy you are. So now we will say goodbye.

[Robert Schuman:] Good bye. Au revoir.

[ER:] Au revoir.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Good afternoon. Uh we're here in the Park Sheraton Hotel this afternoon, and you've just heard a filmed interview between Mother and um Schuman in Paris. Now you heard uh the remarks that Schuma--Mr. Schuman made in which he said that he hoped that this plan would bring about forever the end of any conflict between Germany and France, and that through the economic cooperation of the two countries that it would bring an end to their political differences of opinion. Now here today in the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York, we're very fortunate because we have two very important officials. Uh one from France, and one from Germany, Mons-uh Monsieur Roger Seydoux who is the consul general for France here in New York and uh Dr. Heinz Krekeler who is the consul general from the Federal Republic of Germany. Also, we are very fortunate in having--because Mother can't be in Europe and over here at the same time--we're lucky to have in her place um Mr. Paul Porter who is the assistant administrator of the ECA [Economic Cooperation Administration] and who has a very real interest in how the Schuman Plan actually works out in practice, and so he is going to carry on a discussion with these two gentleman uh and try to explain the Schu--the workings of the Schuman Plan for us a little bit later on. But before we get on to the discussion, we do have uh another piece of film that we'd like to put on for you, which consists of an interview that Mother had with uh Monsieur Jean Monnet. Uh and I think that I should ask uh uh Monsieur Seydoux to explain just exactly who Monsieur Monnett is. (38:56)

[Roger Seydoux:] Jean Monnet is a businessman who has a great experience of public and private international relations. He is a supporter of free enterprise and I must say that he is against bureaucracy. During World War I, he was a delegate of France to inter-allied communities in charge of supplies and munitions. After the war, he was uh only thirty years old, he was appointed a deputy secretary general of the League of Nations, and during the World War II, I think uh he was nominated by the government of Algiers as a delegate to negotiate with the US government the Lend-Lease Agreement. And after the

liberation of course, he has been, as you know, appointed at the head of the French plan called now Plan Monnet.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Ah then you'd say he was the author of the Schuman Plan as we know it?

[Roger Seydoux:] Yes.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Uh then he's well qualified to talk in this interview coming up about how the plan works and how it'll affect the standard of living in Europe. And here is the interview between Mrs. Roosevelt and Monsieur Monnet, filmed especially for this program in Paris.

[ER:] Now sir, will the Schuman Plan limit free enterprise, and what will be the consequences for the European standard of living?

[Jean Monnet:] The Schuman Plan has as its basis in a recognition of freedom and initiative. The enterprises, of course, will have complete responsibility for their management. But, what is most important, initiative will be restored by the elimination of restrictive cartel practices and the consumer will be protected against excessive concentration of economic power.

[ER:] I think that will mean a great deal in my country.

[Jean Monnet:] It will mean a very great deal to us, I assure you. And um -- but thus, by removing the uh national barriers, and the private barriers also, the Schuman Plan means necessarily as a consequence, greater production, higher efficiency, lower prices, and better conditions for living-- for uh living far off.

[ER:] That would be important, wouldn't it, in the way the people felt about it.

[Jean Monnet:] I think it's the beginning of a real change in the condition of living of the people of Europe.

[ER:] That will be very satisfactory. To what extent, Monsieur Monnet, do you hope to see industrial production increased by the Schuman plan? (41:59)

[Jean Monnet:] The Schuman Plan will ensure the development of a large and strong coal and steel industry in Europe by the creation of a single market, covering the territory of the six countries, in which all producers will have free and equal access to markets and all consumers a free and equal access to supply. No longer will custom duties or quantitative restrictions hamper the movement of coal and steel within the territory formed by the six countries.

[ER:] Well, then it really means the elimination of um uh duties all together.

[Jean Monnet:] It means as if within those six countries there was one country with no restrictions, barriers, duties, discrimination of any kind.

[ER:] Now there is a real advantage in a single market, isn't there?

[Jean Monnet:] Of course! It's a tremendous advantage, cause for the first time Europe will have for its basic industries, created a single market of hundred and fifty or sixty million inhabitants, in fact as large as the market in the United States--

[ER:] In the United States. Can the Schuman Plan function successfully without the participation of Great Britain, sir?

[Jean Monnet:] Mrs. Roosevelt, um the continental European countries have unfortunately lived up to now in disunity in Europe without Great Britain. Why couldn't they now live in unity?

[ER:] Well, uh that, of course, is true, but uh I understand that Great Britain has shown a reasonable attitude, and--(43:54)

[Jean Monnet:] Yes, yes. [ER: And--] And our hope is that Great Britain will cooperate and the form of association will be found between this community and Great Britain.

[ER:] And the Schuman Plan leaves the door open, doesn't it?

[Jean Monnet:] Oh entirely, and we have many times uh informed uh British government that it is the desire for the six countries that some form of associations we found between Great Britain and this new community.

[ER:] I wonder if you can tell me, sir, what effect this will have on the relations between France and Germany?

[Jean Monnet:] Among the many changes that the Schuman Plan is bringing to the European situation, probably one of the greatest is the change in the relationship between France and Germany. For hundreds of years they fought, and so long as their relationship remains on a purely national basis, there was no hope to surmount all these national feelings. And the merit of the Schuman plan is to create between them both a sense of community. No more French or German steel, but a common steel. So that the spirit should be, and we hope will be, that the people will uh compete but compete for the common good.

[ER:] If you can do that between France and Germany, it will be something accomplished for the whole of Europe.

[Jean Monnet:] We believe so, and we think we will succeed.

[ER:] I have always taken a very great interest in the people of France. I think they're a wonderful people and very courageous. And I wonder if you can tell me uh how this plan will benefit them particularly.

[Jean Monnet:] This plan uh does not intend to benefit any nation in particular. It uh its basic conception is that of the interest of a nation comes uh from the development of the whole community to which it belongs. And uh in no part is there any spec-specifi-uh specific uh advantage for a special nation. But the fact of this--creating this bold market, eliminating the barriers between nations, will liberate energies in spirit, and, therefore, make the people more confident in the future, [ER: Ah.] and thus benefit the French and all the other countries at the same time.

[ER:] The people with energy and determination will feel a lift, [Jean Monnet: Right, right.] that it's really what it will do.

[Jean Monnet:] That's right.

[ER:] Thank you. (46:08)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] And now I would like to turn the program over to you, Mr. Porter, and have you go on with the discussion of the Schuman Plan, and try to explain to uh us poor lay people a little more of the intricacies of what this plan really is. For instance, I have a question which is not quite clear in my mind as to what really is the meaning of a single coal and steel market?

[Paul Porter:] Well, Mr. Roosevelt, perhaps I can answer that with an illustration. When the Schuman Plan goes into effect, it will be as easy for a Belgian steel manufacturer to buy coal in the Ruhr and iron ore in France as it is today for a steel manufacturer in Pennsylvania to get his coal from West Virginia and his iron ore from Minnesota. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm, mhm.] National barriers, which interfere with the movement of raw materials, or man, [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] between these six countries will cease to exist. Now Dr. Krekeler, I would like to put a question to you. The present time is a period of shortages in both coal and steel. Will the Schuman Plan, in your judgement, work as effectively in a period of so-called over production, or a period of depression?

[Heinz Krekeler:] Well frankly, Mr. Porter, I don't think that in any foreseeable future, with exception of short times of adjustment, there will be an overproduction of steel or coal in Europe. See these six Schuman Plan countries combined have a population that's about the same as the population of the United States. But while you in the United States have a steel production of more than a hundred million tons, these six countries combined have only twenty-eight, I think, twenty-eight million tons. So you see, we have a great task of reconstruction ahead. And I can't see that you will have any over-production.

[Paul Porter:] I fully agree with you in that, uh Dr. Krekeler, And I think it would be fair to say that the Schuman Plan, by creating new markets for steel and a new demand for steel, will in itself be a safeguard against depressions. (48:54)

[Heinz Krekeler:] That's right.

[Paul Porter:] Uh well, Dr.--uh Monsieur Seydoux, may I have your judgement on that question?

[Roger Seydoux:] Well, I-I do agree entirely with my colleague. Uh I think that uh in regard to the problem of uh reconstruction, well we have many things to do in France and in Germany, and we have, too, the big problem of equipping Africa, which is a very big problem. And uh I think that there is no possibility of overproduction for many years. And may I add, too, that we have, in the treaty, special articles which allow the high authority to enforce quotas or to cut down importations from non-member countries.

[Paul Porter:] Now, Dr. Krekeler, England is the largest uh producer and user of steel among the European countries. Uh in your judgement, how can the Schuman Plan stand up uh against British competition?

[Heinz Krekeler:] Well, I should say that these Schuman Plan countries have been able to compete with Great Britain on the world market. Of course, every one of these countries--each country has its special lines where it's best. But generally, one can say I think that we have been able to compete. Now I think with the advantages of single market, don't you think it would be even easier to compete?

[Paul Porter:] I agree. Mr. Seydoux, what do you think?

[Roger Seydoux:] Well, I think that for the--from the very first day, uh France has expressed the wish of uh having Great Britain in the pool. And you remember perhaps uh after the exchange of views between England and France, there was a press communique in which the French government expressed the hope

that Great Britain should associate herself or join the pool. We still hope she will join it pretty soon. But whatsoever, the treaty leaves the door open. [coughing]

[Paul Porter:] Now, Mr. Seydoux, the British government has expressed the fear that there's no adequate guarantee to prevent the control of the coal and steel industries falling into the hands of private cartels. Could you tell us what safeguards exist in the Truman Pla--uh Schuman Plan treaty to prevent the uh reestablishment of private cartels. (51:20)

[Roger Seydoux:] Well, I think I must answer first that the uh--there is a basic difference between the Schuman pool and a cartel as you know. The aims of a cartel are to make big profits in maintaining high prices and restricting production, to conclude secret agreements out of public opinion, and to divide markets, allocate borders, and, of course, eliminate competition. What are the aims of the Schuman Plan? To expand production on one big market, of course, with the lowest possible prices. All activities of the pool will be under control of the public opinion because of the reports of the high authority and because of the public debate inside the assembly. And uh the big goal of the pool is to-to promote free competition on one open market without ties or quotas.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm. (52:29)

[Paul Porter:] Uh Dr. Krekeler, has the United States made any contribution to the uh development of the Schuman Plan?

[Heinz Crackler:] I'm especially glad, Mr. Porter, that you're asking me this question because it gives me an opportunity to pay tribute to the wonderful work of your high commissioner in Germany, Mr. John McCloy has done. Mr. John McCloy in the last weeks or month, I should say, before the signing of the Schuman plan, has done his utmost, personally, to mediate between the contracting parties, and it's no wonder that we had to use the good offices of such a man like Mr. McCloy because this is a treaty that should be concluded for fifty years. And of course, there are many difficulties involved in contrary to a treaty that is only earmarked for a short time, and so I should like to pay highest tribute to the work Mr. John McCloy has done in this direction.

[Paul Porter:] Monsieur Seydoux, do you wish to add to Dr. Krekeler's statement?

[Roger Seydoux:] Nearly nothing to add to the statement of Dr. Krekeler, but just to say that uh since the beginning of the uh discussions about the Schuman Plan, uh America has always been in favor of European unity. And uh I must say that to she perfectly understood from the beginning that the Schuman pool was the first step and the most important and the most concrete toward the policy.

[Paul Porter:] Now, Mr. Seydoux, does our present attitude towards the establishment of a strong coal and steel industry contradict the uh desire immediately after the last war to decentralize economic power.

[Roger Seydoux:] Uh If I do understand your question, I think that you are referring to the policy of uh deconcentration and decartelization, which was followed by allied powers in Germany uh after the last war.

[Paul Porter:] Uh that is my question. (54:40)

[Roger Seydoux:] That is your question, yes. Well, I think that precisely the great aim of the pool is not to concentrate production, but to create a unified market like the American market, in which uh big, medium, and small industries have their place. Therefore, I think that there is no contradiction between the policy we followed all after the last war, and the new policy of the Schuman Plan.

[Paul Porter:] Well, we find that our experience in this country has been that with the establishment of a large single market participated in by forty-eight states, uh that there is a continual development of new industries uh rather than a concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. Uh Dr. Krekeler?

[Heinz Krekeler:] You are absolutely right, and this -- I should like to add one thing that seems to me to be most significant, and that's this: that we have now for the first time some sort of supreme court for Europe. It is uh more self-evident, you see, that when creating a single unified area--uh a unified market, you must have also, so to say, a unified jurisdiction, and I think this is one of the most important points, and that's a safeguard also against use of excessive private power.

[Paul Porter:] Well, do the people of your countries think that this might be the beginning of a European Union, or a federation of the countries of Western Europe into a new political organization? Um Mr. Seydoux, will you answer that first?

[Roger Seydoux:] Well, that's uh um you know, I think uh if we go back to the very beginning of uh discussions about the Schuman Plan, we must remember that the main reason of the Schuman Plan is a political. And that we want--and I think that I can speak not only on my behalf, but on the behalf of my German colleagues--we want to abolish forever, between France and Germany, any possibility of war. We want a lasting and full peace. In merging the two basic resources of France and Germany, I mean uh coal and steel. We want to create a community of interests which will overcome differences of uh tradition, of culture, and of opinion. We do feel--we do feel-- and now I answer your question-- we do feel that the pool opens the way to the federation of Europe, and as you know, uh it's not only a federation uh about uh coal and steel, but as you heard probably there are plans now going on for the pooling of a culture and the pooling of transportation, and I can refer to--to the project about uh European army. Beg your pardon.

[Paul Porter:] You believe that view is shared in Germany, too?

[Heinz Krekeler:] Oh, I absolutely agree with my colleague on this, and let me add one thing and that is this: there's one article in the Schuman Plan which has been nearly forgotten, and that is article sixty-four, and I think that's the most important. It makes provision for the free exchange of every worker in their field. It affects millions of people and gives them some real meaning for freedom. Freedom of movement throughout all Europe for many million people that means much more than a unified market even.

[Paul Porter:] Well, thank you, Dr. Krekeler and Monsieur Seydoux.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] I'm afraid I have to interrupt now because we've run out of time, and so we'll now thank you all for coming here, Mr. Seydoux, Mr. Krekeler, and Mr. Porter.

[Theme music begins at 58:48]

[Announcer:] Next week, NBC television will again present *Mrs. Roosevelt Meets the Public* over these same stations. We invite you to join us then for another discussion of matters of current interest and importance. Portions of today's program, which originated in the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York, or on motion picture film.

[Theme music ends at 1:00:11]

[NBC Announcer:] NBC television.

[NBC Chimes]

(1:00:19)

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