



Doc. 4

16 May 1952

Implementation of Resolution 14 (2nd Session, 1950) and Resolution 4 (3rd Session 1951) of the Assembly, and on the Conference of the Eastern and Central European Commission of the European Movement held in London, 21st-24th January, 1952

Communication

Relations with European Non-Member Countries

1.

1. Representatives will remember that the Assembly laid down the terms of reference of the Special Committee in two Resolutions, namely Resolution 14 (1950), adopted 28th August, 1950, and Resolution 4 (1951), adopted unanimously 15th May, 1951. The terms of these Resolutions were as follows :

Resolution 14 (2nd Session, 1950) :

" The Assembly,

Recognising that certain nations which are precluded from participating in the work of the Council of Europe nevertheless form an integral part of Europe,

Decides to instruct the Standing Committee to constitute a special Committee whose duty it would be to ensure that the interests of these nations shall be considered in every proposal which may be formulated by the Assembly or its Committees,

This Committee may request the advice of Experts belonging to these nations; it shall be kept informed of the work of the other Committees of the Assembly, and shall be authorised to offer them its observations for the achievement of its purpose as defined above. "

Resolution 4 (3rd Session, 1951) :

" The Assembly resolves :

1. That the Special Committee enter into relations with the organisations which are competent to study and report on the internal problems of the States cut off from the Western world, in order that the knowledge, experience, documentary material and suggestions of such organisations may be made available in connection with the activities of the Council of Europe;
2. That the Secretariat-General undertake a study of the cultural and scientific organisations and institutions which have been established within the various national groups among the refugees;
3. That a programme be drawn up in collaboration with the Committee on Cultural and Scientific Questions, with the aim of maintaining and developing the unrestricted activities of refugees in the cultural and scientific fields;
4. That appropriate references be included in the Recommendations and Resolutions of the Assembly.



2. Your Committee has implemented Resolution 4 as follows :
 - 2.1. A list of cultural organisations existing among the exiles has been drawn up by the Secretariat-General (**Doc. 6 (1951)** , Appendix and addenda to the Appendix).
 - 2.2. On 8th December, 1951, the Committee proposed and the Assembly adopted unanimously Recommendation 17.
3. This Recommendation 17 (1951) was considered by the Committee of Ministers at their Tenth Session in Paris, 19th-20th March, 1952, when the following Resolution was adopted : " The Committee of Ministers, Having regard to the Recommendation adopted by the Consultative Assembly on 8th December, 1951, on the creation of a European Fund for Exiles, Invites the Governments of Member States to inform the Secretary-General, before 15th May, 1952, of the measures taken by them to assist young refugees from European countries in the furtherance of their studies and of any further action they propose to take with the same object in view. Your Committee is unable to give its considered view of the Ministers' attitude until it is informed of the further decision taken by the Committee of Ministers in the light of the information requested in the Resolution referred to above. Your Committee reserves its right, however, to submit a further Recommendation on this subject during the Second Part of the Fourth Ordinary Session, should the action taken by the Committee of Ministers prove insufficient fully to implement the unanimous wishes of the Assembly.
4. Under the provisions of the third paragraph of Resolution 14 (1950) and of the first paragraph of Resolution 4 (1951), the Special Committee was expressly instructed by the Assembly to maintain contact with the leading exiles. A first step in this direction was taken at the last meeting of the Committee in Bonn, 28th-29th April, 1952, when certain distinguished nationals of European non- Member countries were heard in their private capacity by the Committee. These contacts will be maintained and developed so that the Special Committee may have information concerning specific subjects within its competence. As one measure in this direction, the Secretariat-General has drawn up, for information purposes, a provisional list of the political organisations existing among exiles. This will be re-issued from time to time as more information becomes available.
5. In their individual capacities many members of the Consultative Assembly, including members of the Special Committee, attended the Conference of the Eastern and Central European Commission of the European Movement, which was held in London from 21st - 24th January, 1952, and which was addressed by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Major Tufton Beamish. This Conference was one of great political significance, and the second part of this Communication contains a report concerning it based upon a memorandum written by M. Pezet. It was gratifying to note the warm welcome which the Conference gave to the efforts of the Special Committee to maintain and develop cultural institutions among the exiles by means of the Cultural Fund envisaged in Recommendation 17 (see para. 4 of the cultural Resolution passed by the Conference).

Appendix APPENDIX

CONFERENCE OF THE EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT

PART I - General comments on the Conference

The London Conference of the Central and Eastern European Commission of the European Movement was held from 21st to 24th January, 1952, and was attended by 126 delegates and observers, who represented many shades of opinion in Eastern and Western Europe. The names of these delegates are to be found in the third part of this Appendix. The success of the Conference owed much to the good will of its British hosts, to those who organised the Conference and to the official welcome which Mr. Macmillan gave on behalf of the British Government.

The Conference was a symbol of the unity of the whole of Europe, a unity which is still a spiritual reality, in spite of the present division of our continent. In his speech of welcome Mr. Macmillan said : "As an act of faith you are met in this conference to demonstrate to the world that Europe is a single unit and cannot permanently be dismembered or divided. " The resolution passed unanimously at the mass meeting in the Albert Hall which terminated the conference reads : " A lasting settlement with the Soviet Union can only be achieved when national independence, with personal freedom, has been established in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and when, assured of that independence, they can re-unite with the rest of the European family.

After this fundamental statement of policy had been made, the Conference had to consider whether any further work was not vitiated by the implications of the phrase "after liberation". In a leading article published on the day the conference opened, The Times wrote, " The trouble is that ' the end of Russian domination ' is a vague concept upon which to base plans, however tentative. " This the conference realised, acknowledging that there could be no certainty as to the time or manner in which the situation would be changed. Faced with this fundamental uncertainty, the conference did two things. It first stated in clear terms that it rejected entirely any idea of a " war of liberation " or of encouraging rebellion. Having made this clear, the conference equally rejected the idea that its function was purely negative,— merely to say to the peoples of Eastern Europe, "you are not forgotten", instead, concrete plans were considered for :

1. maintaining cultural life among the exiles, in co-operation with the Council of Europe;
2. creating closer social, cultural and economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe;
3. mitigating the differences existing between the Eastern European nations themselves, so that their eventual " participation in all previously created European organisations " will be made easier.

The first of these matters is closely connected with the fate of Recommendation 17 at the hands of the Committee of Ministers, to which reference has been made in Section 2 of this Communication. The conference resolved to appoint an Exiles Committee for Cultural Action; and it would appear that the Executive of this Committee when set up would be a very useful source of information for the Secretariat-General of the Council of Europe in drawing up estimates for the Committee of Ministers of the amount of financial aid necessary to establish an efficacious Central Fund to maintain the cultural life of the exiles.

The second of these matters involves questions of great political difficulty; but, as will be seen from the Resolutions adopted, the conference did make some progress towards their solution.

The third subject gave rise to considerable controversy during the conference over the question whether or not Poland should accept arbitration concerning her frontiers. These divergences of opinion, however, served to remind the Western representatives how bitter many of these differences still are—and of the difficulties they are bound to present to all plans for uniting Eastern and Western Europe.

PART II - Text of Resolutions adopted by the Conference¹

Preamble to the Resolutions

1. These Resolutions do not necessarily represent the views of the Special Committee and are communicated to Representatives purely for purposes of information.

Doc. 4 Communication

The partition of Europe at the present time is untenable from the moral as well as from the political and economic points of view. The Conference is firmly convinced that this situation must not, and cannot, last. Europe must realise its unity, on a basis of respect for human dignity, freedom for its peoples and peace.

A gigantic effort of will and a creative imagination will be required to overcome the poverty and the chaotic conditions left behind by Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. It will be for the Governments freely elected in the several liberated countries to decide upon the measures which will then be required in the national field. The Conference deems it advisable to examine in advance the main outlines of the questions which will then command attention in the national as well as in the European sphere. It is in this spirit that the following Resolutions have been adopted by the Committee.

Political Declaration for the Conference on Central and Eastern Europe

The representatives from Western, Central and Eastern Europe assembled at this Conference affirm their solidarity and declare :

1. The Allied victory brought deliverance to the peoples of Western Europe. To the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe it brought only a change of masters. The Soviet armies came not to liberate, but to enslave.
2. For years these peoples have endured and are still enduring the extinction of all individual and national freedom, the reviling of their spiritual and moral values, the persecution of their religion, the merciless exploitation of workers and peasants, and the imprisonment without fair trial, the deportation and murder of hundreds of thousands of their fellowmen and women.
3. The West has no aggressive intentions. The people of Europe seek only freedom and a real peace. On this basis and in this spirit, we hope that general disarmament can be obtained. It is our unshakeable conviction, however, that no real peace is possible which accepts the present division of Europe. Europe cannot remain half slave half free. To speak of lasting peace while 100,000,000 Europeans groan in bondage is a mockery. A lasting settlement with the Soviet Union will only be achieved when national independence with personal freedom has been established in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and when, assured of the enjoyment of that independence, they can unite with the rest of the European family.
4. Security lies in unity. When the oppressed countries and peoples regain their freedom, it will be their duty to strengthen the ties among them in the wider framework of the united Europe which We have undertaken to create. Their integration in this united Europe will be made manifest by their participation in all previously created European organisations.
5. In this way, by co-operating among themselves and by participating in European organisations, the countries of central and Eastern Europe will secure their economic development, the enjoyment of freedom and social justice, as well as their common defence.

Cultural Commission : Final Resolution

Considering :

that Europe cannot be completely free without being completely united;

that this unity presupposes a united effort by all Europeans;

that they ought, therefore, from now on, to look upon themselves as a community of peoples ;,

the Conference proposes that the following measures be taken

Unity

1. The Commission for the Eastern countries will appoint an Exiles' Committee for Cultural Action which will include representatives from the groups of exiles of all countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This Committee for Cultural Action will appoint an Executive (composed of a Chairman and a Secretary-General from the Eastern countries and two Vice-Chairmen from the Western countries) which will represent it in all its approaches to public and private bodies. It will be specially careful to see that no measures affecting the Eastern countries will be agreed upon without the exiled Europeans having been consulted. This Committee will meet in Plenary Session at least twice a year.

2. The groups of exiles of Central and Eastern Europe should combine to create in common, and with financial assistance from the West, a Research and Information Institute. This Institute, inspired and controlled by the Exiles' Committee for Cultural Action, will have as its duty :

- a. to organise research into the problems of Central and Eastern Europe;
- b. to inform public opinion in the Western countries;
- c. to prepare future cultural activity in the Eastern countries when they shall have recovered their freedom.

3. All cultural activity, both in exile and following liberation, should be inspired by the idea that Europe forms a single civilisation, and that the fundamental basis of its unity is its culture. This European spirit of unity must above all find expression in the broadcasts to the East. These programmes should, from now onwards, prepare the Eastern countries for their future entry into a United Europe. With this in mind, they should be supplied with material by the Exiles' Committee for Cultural Action working together with the European Cultural Centre at Geneva.

4. To guarantee the money necessary to achieve this union of cultural efforts, the Conference hopes that the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and their Governments will adopt the Resolutions voted unanimously by the Strasbourg Assembly on the 8th December for the creation of a European Fund for Exiles.

Help for the oppressed countries

1. It is from their culture that the Eastern countries draw their chief strength to resist oppression. It is therefore essential to help them not to forget their cultural inheritance as against the pseudo-culture imposed on them by Communism.

2. It is therefore essential that the Radio Programmes for the Eastern countries should not be confined to political polemics but should aim at preserving culture as a living reality. The Conference therefore asks :

- a. that regular programmes devoted to the humanities and to scientific developments should give the oppressed countries the opportunity, pending their liberation, to save their national culture and maintain their spirit of union with the West;
- b. that this work shall be done in constant collaboration with the Exiles' Committee for Cultural Action.

3. The different national groups of exiles must also be enabled to start assembling and to print, as from now, the books which will be needed after the liberation.

4. In order to encourage all the oppressed peoples to resist, it is, finally, essential that European intellectuals should protest in common against all attacks on freedom of worship, freedom of conscience, or of thought, from whatever quarter they come.

Aid to Exiles

1. In order that Europe may be adequately prepared for her political unity it is indispensable that from now on the exiles should be admitted to all its activities on an equal footing with the nationals of all the free European countries. In this respect, the Conference would quote as an example the Law passed by the German Parliament on April 25th, 1951 giving all exiles the same rights as nationals. It expresses the desire that similar legislation be introduced by all the European Governments. In order that the exiles should participate in the activities of free Europe as members of the European family the Conference particularly recommends the following measures, to be financed from the common European Fund for Exiles as well as from the various national budgets of the West.

2. Creation of new Scholarships for young exiles in secondary schools and universities, and in post-graduate institutions such as the College of Europe at Bruges.

3. Financial aid for existing cultural institutions founded by exiles, notably :

- a. aid for exiles' scholastic establishments ;
- b. financial support for professorships, lectureships, and institutes for the language and culture of the oppressed nations;
- c. aid for existing scientific establishments (e.g. Polish Library in Paris; Royal Rumanian Foundation in Paris).

Doc. 4 Communication

4. Opening of credits for the creation of new scholastic centres, specially :
 - a. founding, in Western Universities, of new professorships where exiles would teach the language, history and culture of the oppressed countries;
 - b. founding of a single scientific association for each national group of exiles which can serve both as a regrouping and publishing centre (e.g. the Polish Scientific Society, set up in London, which groups the scientific elite of the whole national group of exiles concerned).
5. Aid for exiled intellectuals.
6. Financial support for publications in the languages of the oppressed countries and in particular :
 - a. grants to Western publishing firms (e.g. Cambridge University Press and Presses Universitaires de France) for the publication of works concerning the cultures of the oppressed nations.
 - b. credits to educational centres under the responsibility of exiles, for the publication of scientific and scholastic works (e.g. Royal Rumanian Foundation and Polish Library in Paris).
 - c. support for press, newspapers and periodicals produced by exiles and, in particular, those dedicated to the maintenance of national traditions and culture.
7. Aid for exiled intellectuals. In this respect, the Conference takes as an example :
 - 7.1. the gesture made by Sweden in creating for exiled intellectuals numerous salaried posts as assistants in universities, and enabling them to engage in medical practice after only one year of additional Swedish study;
 - 7.2. the gesture made by France, where the " Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique " has provided research grants for numerous exiles;
 - 7.3. the gesture made by the American National Committee for a Free Europe in creating a Mid-European Studies Centre in New York and the Free Europe College in Strasbourg.

The Conference expresses the desire that similar initiatives be taken by all Western Governments and suggests in particular :

- a. The creation in the Western Universities of professorships and study centres devoted to the cultures of the oppressed nations (as in France);
- b. Financial help for all those exiled scholars and scientists who have contributed to the development of Western culture :
- c. Financial support for lecture tours by exiled intellectuals who are or may be in charge of Adult Education among their compatriots;
- d. The admission of former officials, now in exile, to international institutions and to national organisations such as documentation centres, press agencies, etc. ;
- e. Aid for associations of exiled writers and artists and commissions to exiled writers and artists by public and private bodies of the West.

Finally, in order to make a more detailed study of practical means of aiding exiled intellectuals, the Conference expresses the desire that the European Cultural Centre in Geneva, in close collaboration with the Exiles' Committee for Cultural Action which is to be set up, should prepare and convene in Paris this spring a meeting of exiled intellectuals from all the oppressed countries in Europe.

Youth Commission. Final Resolution.

Declaration Appeal and Resolution of Youth Commission

We, young exiles from Central and Eastern Europe, solemnly dedicating ourselves to live and work for the freedom of our enslaved countries within the framework of a United Europe which alone can guarantee personal freedom, human dignity, and social security for our unhappy generation, address you, brothers and sisters with a message of hope and of encouragement.

This is our message :

" Young martyrs in prisons and concentration camps, rest assured that your sufferings are written in letters of gold in the history of humanity's struggle for a better world.

Young peasants in bondage on collective farms deprived of the fruits of your labour, remember that, when you regain your heritage of freedom, the land will once again be yours.

Young workers, mercilessly exploited by the omnipotent totalitarian State, for the benefit of your oppressors, never forget that in a free democracy you may work for the wellbeing of your people and of yourself.

Young students, and intellectuals, now subjected to a process of alien and hostile indoctrination, never lose your faith in the culture and traditions of Europe which alone offer you a genuine freedom of thought.

Young soldiers, conscripted into the service of a cause which you abhor, we know which side you are on.

Young Christians, remember that you live under an atheist and materialistic regime; you know what this means, particularly in the field of education.

This is what we have to say to you, who carry the main, the heroic and tragic burden of the struggle for the souls of the young people of Europe. A struggle which must decide everything in our time.

Our message, however, would be incomplete if we neglected the opportunities offered by this Conference, organised in harmony by the political leaders of the oppressed East, and the free West of Europe of stating that :

Even now, under a sustained, a very terrible pressure, the youth of our enslaved countries has remained true and uncorrupted. But time is on the side of the enemy. The matured, older generation will pass; is this generation thinking sufficiently of who or what will replace them?

Preamble to Resolution

Upon us, who live in freedom, there lies at once a great burden, and a great opportunity to speak for the lost, unhappy generation which we represent in the free world. Insignificant in ourselves, we therefore raise our voice in a request that this meeting of prominent European leaders will help us to play our part in shaping the future Europe, free, independent and united.

Resolution

Bearing these considerations in mind we appeal to the delegates here assembled that they should give their sanction and support to our urgent request to the Central and Eastern European Commission of the European Movement that a permanent Youth Committee composed of the exiled youth of Central and Eastern Europe, and with the participation of the youth of the West, should be established, in order to achieve the following purposes :

1. To be the spokesmen of the aspirations of the young generation of exiles;
2. To keep in touch with the youth in the lost half of Europe;
3. To work for the implementation of European unity, in co-operation with likeminded organisations in Europe, and in the Free World;
4. To counteract Communist attempts to corrupt the minds of young people in the free world.

Economic Commission. Final Resolution

8. The organisation of the whole economy of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, characterised today by deliberate exploitation with the object of fulfilling the military needs of the U. S. S. R., must be balanced and humanised.

9. In the sphere of agriculture, the peasant who has been robbed of his land must again become master of the land of which he has been robbed. In industry and trade, especially in small business enterprises, the principle of private property and individual initiative, which the Communists have abolished must be restored. However, certain essential industries will, no doubt, remain public property, whilst democratic planning for investments should be established.

10. After long years of privation, owing to the deliberate contempt shown for them by the Communist leaders, urgent priority must be given to satisfying the essential needs of the population, particularly in the matter of food, housing and clothing. In order to do this, the development of all the natural resources of the various countries, of their agriculture, and their light industries must be given the utmost encouragement. This

Doc. 4 Communication

implies the assistance of heavy industry and transport, at present in the service of Russia. Far from being a threat to the well-being of other countries, such an industrial expansion would prove beneficial to European recovery as a whole.

11. No single Eastern European State on its own can win this struggle for well-being. No artificial barrier should impede the development of national resources or the satisfaction of essential needs.

12. The Conference hopes that the integration of Western Europe, with a common market and appropriate supranational bodies, will be sufficiently advanced at the time of the liberation of the Eastern European countries to make it possible for them to take part in it without delay. Failing this, it will remain for these countries to establish a common market among themselves, it being understood that the creation of a common market for the whole of Europe remains a permanent aim.

13. Wherever supranational bodies and authorities are necessary or exist already, they should be open to the liberated countries which would be invited to participate. This applies particularly to the Coal and Steel Community. Wherever they do not exist, a new organisation should be set up. In this respect the immediate creation of a common currency for the whole of Europe, liberated from Communist domination, would be a particularly powerful instrument for promoting prosperity and unification. The creation of this currency would be completed by the setting up of a federal reserve bank. The Conference would like to emphasize that this economic unification should not, and indeed cannot, be in any way injurious to the diversity which constitutes Europe's wealth and personality.

14. The realisation of this whole programme cannot be left to the liberated countries alone. An act of solidarity by the whole Western world, and particularly by Western Europe, is needed. Having received, she, in her turn, must give. This new act of European solidarity can be financed both by increasing productivity in the countries of the West, and by economies in rearmament expenditure, which, though indispensable at the present moment, must surely be greatly reduced when peace becomes a reality.

15. Nothing can be obtained from servitude, and the nations now oppressed will only know prosperity when they are free and when their freedom will be guaranteed by the indissoluble union between them and between the other European countries.

Additional Resolution

Failing an undertaking by the Bureau of the Central and Eastern European Commission to organise a movement to counteract the propaganda of the Special Moscow Conference, the Conference recommends that a Special Committee should be set up to study the realisation of the Resolutions adopted by the Conference and to combat Soviet propaganda, in particular, that connected with the Moscow Conference to be held next April.

Agricultural Commission. Final Resolution

16. The representatives from Western, Central and Eastern Europe, assembled at this Conference, take note that Central and Eastern Europe is predominantly an agricultural area, that the peasants are a mainstay of the resistance to the Communist system and that the future of Central and Eastern European agriculture and its peasantry are of the utmost importance. For the peasants of Central and Eastern Europe the land has always been, and still is, not merely a means of subsistence but also a vehicle of freedom and independence, of equal political and civil rights, and of social justice. The problem of distribution of land in Eastern and Central Europe is thus closely connected with the question of the freedom and liberties of its peoples. The Communists are trying to impose upon Eastern and Central Europe the Communist ideology and system by destroying the peasantry through forced collectivisation, forced labour camps, terror, intimidation and measures amounting to genocide.

17. The members of the Conference grieve for the sufferings of the peasantry of Eastern and Central Europe under Communist tyranny and exploitation, and greet with deep respect and admiration all those peasants who, at the risk of torture and death, continue to resist their Communist oppressors.

18. The Conference asserts that the political liberation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will bring with it the abolition of all oppressive measures imposed upon the peasantry and, in particular, the Soviet system of collectivisation. It holds that the right of private ownership of land should be immediately restored and that land and other property taken from the peasants for collectivisation should be given back to those who till the land.

19. The conference believes that the development of agricultural industries, together with general industrial expansion in the liberated Central and Eastern European countries, in conformity with their various national interests, would assist the creation of a balanced economy and social structure, raise the standard of living, improve social conditions, and also foster international trade.

20. After the enslaved nations of Eastern and Central Europe have been freed, and the land restored to the peasants, agriculture should be reorganised for efficient production by the employment of all appropriate scientific and technical means.

21. The teaching of past experience in these countries and the present example of the West is that lasting foundations should be laid for close agricultural co-operation on a regional basis. This means the formation of a suitable European and a suitable regional authority within the framework of European unity to plan production and co-operation with other countries with the following objects :

- a. The achievement of national and regional arrangements for the production and exchange of agricultural products on a regional basis;
- b. The co-ordinated production of agricultural implements, fertilisers, seed, etc.
- c. The organisation of a special cooperative credit institution for long-term investment, calculated to further the modernisation, mechanisation and electrification of agriculture in the liberated Central and Eastern European countries under international guarantee.
- d. The organisation of capital investment on the basis of a close co-operation between these countries and the development of an extensive system of co-operatives for credit, exports, imports, etc.
- e. The formation of a European Authority for the pooling and marketing of agricultural products.

22. The Conference believes the co-operative movement as known in free countries should be given every encouragement. The so-called producer co-operatives set up under Communist domination have nothing in common with free co-operation and are merely a means to the exploitation of the people.

23. To secure the social well-being and economic prosperity of the peasantry, it will be essential to set up democratic professional organisations of agricultural producers on a national basis.

24. International economic assistance on the lines of " Point Four " will be necessary in order to provide the liberated countries of Central and Eastern Europe with adequate markets and fair prices for their agricultural produce and with the capital and technical aid which they will need for the successful execution of their agricultural and economic policies.

25. The Conference believes that the restoration of land to the peasants, the improvement of agricultural methods and the development of agricultural industries and education, the extension of communications and electricity supplies, the revival of voluntary peasant cooperation on democratic lines, and the attainment of political democracy, personal freedom and social justice will enable the peasantry of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, now brutally enslaved, to play their proper part in the creation of a free united Europe and to march forward upon the road of true progress.

Social Commission. Final Resolution No. 1

" The Conference

Sends a fraternal message of solidarity and admiration to the European peoples now suffering and labouring under the yolk of totalitarian regimes. The Conference is fully aware of the vile conditions of social life which they are compelled to endure, conditions whose special characteristics are;

Contempt for the fundamental Rights of Man which are subjected, in all their aspects, namely in the political, religious, cultural and economic spheres, to the arbitrary will of absolute rulers, commanding and fusing together the legislative, executive and judicial powers and using a privileged group of oppressors as the instrument of their purpose;

Continuous and degrading police persecution;

Man's labour reduced to slavery by the suppression of all the rights of the working man and by the abolition of free Trade Unions;

The adoption of production methods which, under the pretext of achieving everincreasing output, have the ultimate effect of weakening the morale and undermining the solidarity of the workers;

Doc. 4 Communication

A deliberate policy of fostering mutual hatred between the various groups of citizens with a view to strengthening their hold over them and dominating them more easily;

The forced labour of millions of human beings deprived of their freedom, displaced or deported;

The exploitation of child, adolescent and female labour under conditions condemned and repudiated by the entire civilised world;

The misuse, for the profit of an allpowerful State, of the wealth produced by human labour;

The corruption of family life, the destruction of confidence and friendship by the introduction of a wide-spread system of spying and mutual denunciation;

Continuous and concerted attempts to destroy not only the national independence and cultural traditions of the subjected peoples, but their very existence; —

Declares that the liberation of their countries must be accompanied by the immediate and complete abolition of all traces of the regime under which they are suffering at present.

Consequently, the following measures shall be taken without delay and shall constitute the basis of the relations between Man and Society;

1. Restoration of democratic institutions in all aspects of public life, including a freely elected Parliament, local government bodies, etc.
2. Implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights, as established by the United Nations, and full adoption of the European Convention on Human Rights, as accepted by the Council of Europe, thus assuring liberty of thought, freedom of opinion and expression, right of assembly and association. No one must be compelled to join an association, political party or trade union against his will.
3. Full restoration of free trade unionism, collective bargaining and the right to strike. Trade unions shall represent the interests of the employees and cease to be mere agents of the Government or management. Similarly organisations of peasants, artisans, etc., shall no longer be subjected to strict control by the Government. Free Co-operative Movements shall be reconstituted and their activities encouraged.
4. Labour legislation ensuring the adequate protection of the health and moral dignity of workers of every kind. The provisions of this legislation shall at least be equal to the standards established by the International Labour Organisation. Stakhanovism in all its forms shall be abolished. Everyone shall have the right to free choice of employment.
5. A system of social security for all categories of the population.
6. The family shall be considered a basic factor in the life of the community. Motherhood and childhood shall be protected.
7. The workers and employees shall participate in the control and administration of economic affairs, not only in the concern itself but also on the industrial and national planes.
8. A policy of full productive employment shall be the guiding principle of economic life, in the interest of the entire community.
9. Fair distribution of national income and raising of the standard of living shall constitute the basis of democracy. The conditions of life in Central and Eastern Europe shall be raised as rapidly as possible to the level of those prevailing in Western Europe.
10. All the nations and countries of Central and Eastern Europe shall co-operate among themselves as well as with other European nations with a view to securing economic progress, improved labour standards and social security for all.

Social Commission. Final Resolution No. 2

The Conference on Eastern and Central Europe considers that the improvement of the conditions of the refugee communities from the Eastern countries and the solution of their difficulties represent one of the most important and most urgent problems of European policy.

An immediate effort towards that end would be practical proof of the interest taken in the oppressed peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and of the feeling of solidarity which exists between free Europeans and their fellowcitizens in exile.

Real progress in this field could be made if the measures recommended by the Resolutions passed by the European Movement, particularly those which were adopted in 1949 at Westminster and in 1950 at Rome, as well as those which were discussed by international organisations, were put into practice.

To that effect, the Conference makes an urgent appeal to international bodies, to the Council of Europe, to Governments and to public opinion in the free countries.

At the moment when the International Refugee Organisation ceases to function, it will be imperative to assure that the U. N. High Commissioner has the necessary means with which to take definite steps on behalf of the evergrowing number of refugees and to apply the convention concerning the status of refugees in all countries where the latter are living at present or are likely to live in future. The temporary measures and particularly those taken on a national level by the respective Governments are not enough to remedy the situation.

The creation of a European bureau to deal with refugee problems is important. The unfortunate position of those refugees who are not at present admitted by immigration countries for reasons of age or health require special attention.

P A R T T H R E E - List of delegates who attended the Conference

C H A I R M A N O F C O N F E R E N C E : The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, C. S.

E U R O P E A N M O V E M E N T (Executive)

Retinger, Dr. J. H. : Secretary-General, European Movement.

Philip, André : Special Representative, European Movement : Chairman, Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe. Former French Minister.

Boel, Baron René : Treasurer, European Movement; Chairman, Economic League for European Co-operation.

Beddington-Behrens, Edward : Chairman, Central and Eastern European Commission of the European Movement. Chairman, British Section, European League for Economic Co-operation..

Bichet, Robert : French Member of Parliament. Vice-Chairman, European Movement. Secretary- General of the " Nouvelles Équipes Internationales

Frenay, Henri : Chairman, European Union of Federalists. Former French Minister.

Gironella, Enrique : Secretary-General, Socialist Movement for United States of Europe.

Layton, Lord : Vice-President, Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. Chairman, U. K. Council of the European Movement.

Lhuillier, René : Secretary-General, French Council of the European Movement.

Wistrand, Karl : Senator. Representative to Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee to watch over the interests of European nations not represented in the Council of Europe. Chairman of Executive, Swedish Council of the European Movement.

A L B A N I A

Zavalani, T. : economist, writer.

B E L G I U M

Drapier, Jean : Rapporteur of the Belgian Council of the European Movement.

Doc. 4 Communication

Vallée Poussin, Etienne de la : Senator. Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and member of Special Committee to watch over the interests of European nations not represented in the Council of Europe.

B U L G A R I A

Dimitrov, Dr. G. M. : Chairman, Bulgarian National Committee. Chairman, Bulgarian Peasant Party. Secretary-General, International Peasant Union.

Dolaptchieff, Professor N. : Former Minister in London.

Petkov, Professor E. : Acting Chairman of Socialist Party.

Silianoff, Eugeni : Former diplomat.

C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A

Bellus, S. : Vice-Chairman, British Board, Council of Free Czechoslovakia. Former Member of Parliament. (Slovak Democratic Party).

Bernard, V. : Secretary-General, Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe. Former Member of Parliament.

Osusky, S. : Professor. Former Minister, former Ambassador.

Rehak, E. : Journalist, Czech People's (Catholic) Party.

Sabo, T. : Former Member of Parliament (Slovak Freedom Party).

Stransky, Jan : Former Member of Parliament (National Socialist Party).

Stransky, Jaroslav : Former Minister (National Socialist Party).

E S T O N I A

Kint, T. : Treasurer, Free Estonian Farmers Union. Former Member of Parliament. Former Director, Chamber of Agriculture.

Rei, August : Chairman, Estonian National Council. Former Prime Minister. Raud, V. : economist, former diplomat.

F R A N C E

Bethouart, General : Former High Commissioner in Austria.

Courtin, René : Chairman, French Council of the European Movement. Professor of Law.

Giscard d'Estaing, E. : Vice-President, European League for Economic Co-operation.

Peyrolles, Madame Germaine : Former Vice- President of the National Assembly.

Pezet, Ernest : Senator. Vice-President, Foreign Affairs Committee of the Conseil de la République. Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee to watch over the interests of European nations not represented in the Council of Europe.

G E R M A N Y

Bril, Professor Hermann : President, German Council of the European Movement. Member of Parliament.

Erler, Fritz : Member of Parliament, (Social Democratic Party). Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Matuschka, Graf H. J. : former diplomat.

Merkatz, H. J. von : Member of German Council European Movement. Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Paul, E. : Member of Parliament, Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. Member of the Special Committee to watch over the interests of European nations not represented in the Council of Europe.

Pfleiderer, Karl G. : Member of Parliament. Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and Rapporteur of the Special Committee to watch over the interests of European nations not represented in the Council of Europe.

Semler, Johannes : Member of Parliament.

HUNGARY

Auer, Paul : Member of the Hungarian National Council. Former Minister in Paris. Former Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission of Hungarian Parliament.

Nemest Othy, Denis : former diplomat.

Radvanszki, A. : Former Secretary-General, Hungarian National Bank. Former Vice- Chairman, Lutheran League.

Varga, Mgr. Bela : Chairman, Hungarian National Council. Former Speaker of Hungarian Parliament (Smallholders Party).

ITALY

Spinelli, Altiero : Chairman, Italian Federalist Movement.

LATVIA

Cakste, M. : Member Latvian Central Council Liberal Party. Former Member of Supreme Court.

Kalnins, Bruno : Chairman Socialist Party. Former Member of Parliament.

Masens : former diplomat.

Zarine, Charles : Minister in London.

LITHUANIA

Backis, S. : former diplomat.

Brakas, M. : Member of the Executive, Lithuanian Supreme Council.

Sidzikauskas, V. : former Foreign Minister.

NETHERLANDS

Hahn, K. J. : University Professor.

Verkade, W. : Member of the International Committee, Netherlands Council of Churches.

Vorriink, Koos : Chairman, Socialist Party.

POLAND

Adamczyk, A. : Former Chairman, Transport Workers Union (Socialist Party).

Bialas, F. : Secretary-General, Central Committee, Socialist Party.

Bielecki, T. : Chairman, National Democratic Party.

Bloch, J. : lawyer (Socialist Party).

Ciolkosz, A. : Vice-Chairman, Central Committee, Socialist Party.

Dargas, A. : Member and Secretary, Polish Political Council (National Democratic Party).

Doc. 4 Communication

Folkierski, Prof. W. : former Minister (National Democratic Party).

Glaser, Prof. S. : Vice-Chairman, Polish Democratic Committee (Christian Labour Party). Former Minister in Brussels.

Grocholski, S. : Member, Polish Political Council (Polish Freedom Movement).

Jordan, Z. : member of Polish Political Council (Council Polish Freedom Movement).

Korbonski, S. : Vice-Chairman, Polish Political Council. Member of war-time " Underground " Government in Poland.

Morawski, K. : Former Minister, former Ambassador.

Pilsudski, R. : Chairman of Executive, Polish Freedom Movement.

Raczynski, Count E. : Former Foreign Minister. Former Ambassador.

Sojka, E. : Member of the Polish Political Council (National Democratic Party).

Stypulkowski, Z. : Member Executive, National Democratic Party.

Sukiennicki, Prof. W. : Chairman, Polish Union of Federalists.

Zaleski, Prof. Z. L. : writer.

Zdziechowski, G. : Chairman of the Executive Polish Political Council. Former Minister.

R U M A N I A

Ciurea, Emile : former diplomat.

Constantinescu, G. : former diplomat. Reprc sentative in London of Rumanian National Committee.

Gafencu, Grigore : former Minister.

Hiott, Dinu : former Minister in France.

Ionescu, G. : Secretary-General, Federation of Free Journalists.

Neagoie, Naum : Member of National Liberal Party.

Plessia, Radu : economist.

Popesco-Botosani, Ch. : former General Manager of the Rumanian Aeronautic Industry.

Stoicoiu, Virgil : member of Independent Social Democratic Party.

Veniamin, Prof. V. : European Representative of Rumanian National Committee. Former Member of Parliament (National Peasant Party).

Visoianu, C. : Chairman, Rumanian National Committee. Former Foreign Minister.

U N I T E D K I N G D O M

Amery, Julian : M. P. (Conservative). Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Amery, The Rt. Hon. L. S. : former Cabinet Minister (Conservative).

Beamish, Major Tufton : M. P. (Conservative), Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. Chairman, Special Committee to watch over the interests of European nations not represented in the Council of Europe.

Bonham-Carter, Lady Violet : Vice-Chairman, United Europe Movement

Davies, The Rt. Hon. Clement : M. P. Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party.

Edwards, Bob : Secretary-General of the Chemical Workers Union. Member of the Labour Party.

Greenwood, The Rt. Hon. Arthur : M. P. Treasurer of the Labour Party. Former Cabinet Minister.

Herbert, Auberon : Journalist.

Hollis, Christopher : M. P. (Conservative), Representative to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Kerr, Hamilton W. : M. P. (Conservative).

Loveday, Alexander : Warden of Nuffield College, Oxford. Former Chairman, Economic Section, League of Nations.

Maclean, N. L. D. : industrialist.

Rhys-Williams, Lady, D. B. E. : Hon. Secretary, United Europe Movement.

White, John Baker : M. P. (Conservative).

YUGOSLAVIA

Ivanovic, Vane : industrialist.

CROATIA

Krnjevic, F. : Former Vice-Premier, Secretary- General of Croat Peasant Party..

Misetic, Prof. R. : Former Member of Parliament (Croat Peasant Party).

Misetic, Prof. R. : Former Member of Parliament (Croat Peasant Party).

SERBIA

Topalovitch, Z. : Chairman, Yugoslav Socialist Party.

Yovanovitch, Prof. S. : Former Prime Minister. Chairman Yugoslav National Committee.

SLOVENIA

Kuhar, Fr. A. L. : Former Minister in Warsaw. (Slovene Peoples Party).

Lavrencic, Dr. D. : Professor of Economics.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe

Kozi-Horvath, Mgr. Joseph : (Hungary) Chairman, Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe. Chairman, Popular Christian Movement. Former Member of Hungarian Parliament

Biega, B. : (Poland) Member of the Polish National Democratic Committee. Former Secretary, war-time " Underground " Parliament of Poland.

International Peasant Union

Mikolajczyk, S. : (Poland) Chairman, Polish National Democratic Committee. Chairman International Peasant Union. Former Prime Minister.

Cserenyey, G. : (Hungary) economist.

Svoboda, V. : (Czechoslovakia) Member of Executive, Czech Agrarian Party.

International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile

Mikhelson, J. (Estonia) Chairman, International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile. Chairman, Estonian Socialist Workers Party. Former Organising Secretary Estonian Federation of Labour.

Doc. 4 Communication

Gherman : (Rumania) Treasurer, International Centre Trade Unions in Exile.

Liberal International

Madariaga, Salvador de : (Spain) Chairman, Liberal International. Chairman, Cultural Commission of the European Movement. Historian and philosopher.

Sosialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe

Zaremba, Z. : (Poland) Chairman, Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe. Member of war-time " Underground " Government in Poland.

Bede, E. : (Hungary) Former Minister in London.

O F F I C I A L O B S E R V E R S

Perlitz, H. : (Estonia) Chairman, Central and Eastern European Union in Sweden.

Wierzbianski, B. : (Poland) Chairman, International Union of Free Journalists.

Salter, Noël : Secretariat-General of the Council of Europe.

Mangin, Professor : (France) European Union of Federalists.

Popovitch, E. : (Yugoslavia) Secretary-General, Federation of Christian Workers, Refugees and Emigrants

Bull, Roger : (U.S.A.) National Committee for a Free Europe.

Fugitt, Warren : (U. S. A.) American Committee on United Europe.

Griffith, W. E. : (U. S. A.) National Committee for a Free Europe.

Leich, John, F. : (U. S. A.) National Committee for a Free Europe.