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**WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDEA  
OF THE «UNITED STATES OF EUROPE» IN 1943**

In modern historiography devoted to the development of European unity and the creation of the European Union, the name of the British statesman Winston Churchill is mentioned often in the context of a post-war peace settlement. As his main contribution to the development of European integration, many scientists lead his speech in Zurich in 1946, when Churchill openly called for «re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe» [4]. This performance has really become an important impetus for cooperation between Western European countries and is considered the starting point for the development of European integration in the post-war period.

However, the idea of a «United States of Europe» at the time wasn't new to Churchill. British politician in the 30-ies didn't hide his admiration for the activities of Aristide Briand, who hatched a plan «on interstate federal relations», Churchill was also significantly influenced by the ideologue of the Pan-European Union, the Austrian Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi.

During the Second World War, Churchill was the only one of the «Big Three» who has seen the successful future of the European continent only on condition an interstate association. And it was during a fierce confrontation in Europe, Churchill devised a plan to create such an integrative formation, where European nations would achieve mutual understanding and further strife would become impossible because of the unity of interests.

As in the foreign and domestic historiography when considering the role of Churchill in the creation of European unification is the emphasis on Churchill's speech in Zurich, and prior to this period is not considered, we decided to fill the gap and to elucidate the progress of the idea of «United States of Europe» Winston Churchill in 1943 year.

As the main sources for this writing were used memoirs of Winston Churchill himself, his contemporaries – G. Kennan, Ch. de Gaulle, A. Eden, F. Roosevelt, I. Mayskiy, and bibliographical works of leading Russian scholar on the history of Great Britain V. Truhanovskiy. As the knowledge base was used electronic version of the book of the Estonian School of Diplomacy «History of European unification» [2] and an article by Russian researchers of European integration V. Bredihin and A. Lyagusha dedicated to Pan-European movement [1].

In writing this article, we faced two objectives: first, to comprehensively review the activities of Winston Churchill to promote the

idea of a «United States of Europe» in 1943, and second, to analyze its impact on the further development of the European continent.

In February 1943, the Battle of Stalingrad, Soviet troops defeated the invaders – the event along with the battle of Kursk was a turning point in the war, after which the German troops finally lost the strategic initiative. The outcome of the war became apparent – Germany defeated. Churchill clearly understood that after this victory will begin a counter-offensive of the Soviet troops, and soon the communist ideology can overwhelm the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern and Central Europe. Back in October 1942, when the outcome of the war it was difficult to predict, Winston Churchill wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Eden what is needed in the future to create a United States of Europe in order to avoid «catastrophe if Russian barbarism suppressed the culture and independence of the ancient states Europe» [8, p. 572]. Now, however, the situation became apparent to Churchill – either the United Kingdom and the United States will take the initiative to establish the United States of Europe, or Europe will be influenced by the socialist Soviet Union, radically alien to the serial imperialist Churchill.

Already in March 1943, Churchill went to New York to take part in the Fifth Congress of the Pan-European Movement held R. Coudenhove-Kalergi. In his welcome message to Congress, Winston Churchill said that he hoped that in the structure of global institutions, who represents the United Nations, the Council of Europe will arise, which will include the High Court for the settlement of disputes, administrative authorities, military forces, both national and international, are in constant readiness to enforce these decisions [1].

But Churchill was not limited to this speech. On May 22, 1943, British Prime Minister sets out his idea of the post-war settlement to the representatives of the American leadership during the Washington conference «Trident». According to Churchill, the main objective should be to the allies to prevent future aggression by Germany or Japan. Churchill wrote: «For this purpose I intended to create an association in the United States, Britain and Russia. If the United States will want to include China in this association, I will be ready to agree with this, but what would we have any great importance attached to China, it can not be compared with the other three powers, which will be based on a true responsibility for the world. They, along with some other powers are to form the Supreme World Council» [8, p. 677].

In accordance with the plan of Churchill, in submission of the Supreme Council of the World were to be three regional councils, one for Europe and one for the American hemisphere and one for the Pacific Ocean. According to Churchill, the European Regional Council was to consist of 12 states or confederations. Churchill stressed the need to recreate a strong France, «because of the prospect of the absence of a strong state on the map between England and Russia was unattractive». In other words, France was to become the reliable barrier that will not allow the Soviet influence spread to the UK. In addition, Churchill believed that the United States is unlikely to indefinitely keep guard over a large force in Europe. In South-Eastern Europe, Churchill

saw the creation of a confederation – Balkan Federation and Danubian Federation with the center in Vienna, «which must be to some extent fill the gap that has formed as a result of the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire» [8, p. 678].

Regarding Prussia Churchill said that it would be wise to separate it from the rest of Germany, order to 40 million population will represented Prussia such European community, which can be dealt with. Poland and Czechoslovakia, in the words of Churchill, should to maintain friendly relations with Russia. «Remain Scandinavian countries, as well as Turkey, which may agree, but possible will not wish together with Greece, play some role in the Balkan system». Churchill also said that in Europe could be formed by a group of Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark. As conceived by the British politician, every European country should appoint a representative to the European Regional Council, «thus creating, a kind of United States of Europe» [8, p. 678].

For American countries Churchill also included regional council, which was to enter Canada as a representative of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Apparently, in order to divert Russia from European affairs and divert its attention to the Far East, Churchill proposed to establish a council for the Pacific, where the Soviet Union had to go.

In the words of Churchill, the members of the Supreme Council of the World to participate in the meetings of the regional councils in which they have a direct interest. Questions that will not be able to resolve regional councils were automatically considered by the World Council.

According to the scheme of Churchill, in all three regional councils Great Britain was one of the participants. Thus, Churchill wanted to emphasize the role and importance of the Empire in the world.

As you can see, the Winston Churchill's idea of the «United States of Europe» was dictated by the desire to protect the British national interest. Winston Churchill believed that no Germany was the greatest evil for Britain, but the Soviet Russia was the carrier indirect threat in the form of exports of national liberation and revolutionary movements for the British colonial empire. «Churchill admitted that by the spring of 1945 the «Soviet threat» in his eyes, «took the place of the Nazi enemy», – writes V. Truhanovskiy [7, p. 380]. On this occasion, the famous historian and sociologist M. Sarkisyants said: «Great Britain declared war Great Germany not for the fact that Germany propagated the Nazi and Fascist dictatorship in all the new countries, but because of the Third Reich expansion in the sphere of British interests» [5, p. 318]. Therefore, once the immediate threat to the United Kingdom passed, in front of Churchill became a problem of defending a colonial empire from the revolutionary sentiments, which were coming from a socialist state.

In March – April 1943 British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden visited the United States [6]. In conversation with Roosevelt on March 15, 1943 A. Eden said: «Russia is our most difficult problem ... England is likely to be too weak to oppose the Russian one». Therefore, according to A. Eden, the

feud between the UK and the U.S. is not allowed, and they must stand together against common opponents [7, p. 348]. Eden fully reflected the views of Churchill, who also believed that the U.S. and the UK have the same opponents; chief among them is socialism and the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

In October 1943, at a meeting of foreign ministers of Great Britain, the USSR and the USA in Moscow on the initiative of the British side it was decided to create a European Advisory Commission. According to memoirs of the American ambassador to the USSR George Kennan, «the British wanted to create it for resolve all the European problems of non-military nature of common interest for the allies» [3]. But, according to Kennan, the concept contradicted to Roosevelt's desire to have the freedom of action with regard to post-war Europe, because he felt it was important for both foreign and domestic policy for the United States. As a result, the function of this advisory body were limited to addressing issues on the terms of surrender, of the occupation zones and mechanisms for implementing the decisions of the surrender.

As we can see, in 1943, Churchill stepped up attempts to attach the idea of the «United States of Europe» real contours. On the one hand, through the creation of European associations under the auspices of the United Kingdom he aimed to strengthen the position of his state and to level it up in dealing with the United States. On the other hand, at the head of the European powers Churchill planned to put their pre-war government, which at that time were in exile in London and with the support of UK were ready to proceed to leadership in European intergovernmental entities. From this perspective Churchill hoped that the Soviet Union could not but influence the European states, and, consequently, the communist ideas do not overwhelm Britain and its colonies.

Churchill's attempts to implement the idea of the «United States of Europe» were not crowned with any particular success in 1943. After the victory of the Soviet troops in the Battle of Stalingrad and the Conference in Quebec, at which the U.S. limited the ability of the British side in the use of the atomic bomb, the UK took the third place in the «Big Three», which, of course, dealt a blow to the ambitious prime minister. With this distribution of powers, Churchill had no way to force the Allies to implement his ideas. However, during this period have formulated the basic tenets with which Churchill «exploded» European public during his speech in Zurich in September 1946.

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**Маркова М. О. Уїнстон Черчилль та розвиток ідеї «Сполучених Штатів Європи» у 1943 році**

Статтю присвячено аналізу ідеї «Сполучених Штатів Європи», висунутої У. С. Черчиллем у 1943 р. Під час Другої Світової війни У. Черчилль був єдиним політиком з «Великої трійки», хто намагався втілити цю ідею у життя. 1943-й рік став переламним у війні, оскільки після поразки фашистських військ у Сталінградській битві стало зрозуміло, що Німеччина буде переможена, а вплив Радянського Союзу у світі поступово зростатиме. В якості противаги СРСР на Європейському континенті та з метою запобігання конфліктів між європейськими країнами У. Черчилль запропонував створити «Сполучені Штати Європи».

За його задумом, ключовими гравцями у цьому об'єднанні мали стати Франція та Німеччина. Вбачаючи загрозу з боку Радянського Союзу у вигляді експорту національно-визвольних та революційних рухів, У. Черчилль детально сформулював свій наднаціональний проект, покликаний стати бар'єром на шляху цих рухів. Окрім того, об'єднання Європи під егідою Великої Британії мало вивести останню на більш високий щабель у відносинах зі Сполученими Штатами Америки.

В статті проаналізовані основні засоби, за допомогою яких У. Черчилль намагався реалізувати свою ідею, а також висвітлені ключові події, які впливали на хід її втілення.

*Ключові слова:* «Сполучені Штати Європи», Черчилль, федерація, європейська інтеграція, конференція «Трайдент», Друга світова війна.

**Маркова М. А. Уинстон Черчилль и развитие идеи «Соединенных Штатов Европы» в 1943 году**

Статья посвящена анализу идеи «Соединенных Штатов Европы», выдвинутой У. С. Черчиллем в 1943 г. Во время Второй Мировой войны Черчилль был единственным политиком из «Большой тройки», кто пытался воплотить в жизнь эту идею. 1943-й год стал переломным в войне, поскольку после поражения фашистских войск в Сталинградской битве стало понятно, что Германия будет побеждена, а влияние Советского Союза в мире постепенно возрастет. В качестве противовеса СССР на Европейском континенте, а также с целью предотвращения конфликтов между европейскими странами У. Черчилль предложил создать «Соединенные Штаты Европы».

По его замыслу, ключевыми игроками в этом объединении должны стать Франция и Германия. Усматривая угрозу со стороны Советского Союза в виде экспорта национально-освободительных и революционных движений, У. Черчилль подробно сформулировал свой наднациональный проект, призванный стать барьером на пути этих движений. Кроме того, объединение Европы под эгидой Великобритании должно была вывести последнюю на более высокий уровень в отношениях с Соединенными Штатами Америки.

В статье проанализированы основные средства, при помощи которых У. Черчилль пытался реализовать свою идею, а также освещены ключевые события, которые влияли на ход ее воплощения.

*Ключевые слова:* «Соединенные штаты Европы», Черчилль, федерация, европейская интеграция, конференция «Трайидент», Вторая мировая война.

**Markova M. O. Winston Churchill and the Development of Idea of the «United States of Europe» in 1943**

The article analyzes the idea of the «United States of Europe» that was raised by W. S. Churchill in 1943.

During the Second World War, Churchill was the only politician of the "Big Three" who tried to bring to life the idea of the "United States of Europe." 1943 year was a turning point in the war, because after the defeat of fascist forces in the Battle of Stalingrad, it became clear that Germany would be defeated, and the influence of the Soviet Union in the world gradually increases. As a counterweight to the Soviet Union on the European continent and to prevent inter-state conflicts between European countries, Churchill proposed a "United States of Europe."

According to his plan, the key players in this organization must become France and Germany. Seeing the threat posed by the Soviet Union in the form of exports of national liberation and revolutionary movements, Winston Churchill detail formulates its supranational project to be a barrier in the way of these movements. On the other hand, a united Europe under the auspices of the United Kingdom was to bring the latest a higher level in the

relations with the United States of America. The article analyzes the ways in which Winston Churchill followed in order to realize the idea, and highlights key events that influenced the possibility of its realization. In addition, the article is considered the whole picture of international relations between the allies, the creation of a European Advisory Commission, Washington conference "Trident", the Pan-European movement in 1943 and other aspects.

The article describes in detail the Churchill's idea of creating the Supreme World Council consists of three regional councils – for Europe, American hemisphere and Pacific Ocean. As sources for article writing were used memoirs Churchill and his contemporaries, as well as the work of leading scientists who deal with the UK and European integration.

*Key words:* «The United States of Europe», Churchill, Federation, European integration, Conference «Trident», the Second World War.

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