

détresse L'unité parfaite que Nous entrevoyons et pour laquelle Nous luttons débute par la découverte de la communauté de ces trésors".

C'est là, nous semble-t-il, la grande leçon que nous tirâmes du congrès de Bari, à savoir que tout effort vers l'unité fait dans le présent ne peut s'appuyer que sur la richesse de la Tradition.

Athènes

MARIA THÉOCHARIS

"THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES AFTER PRAGUE"

The 6th Symposium of the College of Europe

I had never before 1969 participated in a symposium of the College of Europe. The special interest of the subject not only in general but also because Greece has common frontiers with some of the People's Democracies induced me this year to attend on behalf of the Institute for Balkan Studies. The organisation and the proceedings of the symposium have been very successful. The participants were about 370, coming from 20 different countries, representing all professions interested in political sciences and in economics. They were divided in two groups as proceedings in both sections went on at the same time. No particular registration was needed in any one of the two sections and sifting was possible without the slightest formality. Those attending the courses of the College of Europe were of course all present but at the same time the President of the French senate, ambassadors, lower ranking diplomats, various officials, academic people, journalists and businessmen were present and participated intensely in the discussions open to all participants. The discussions continued of course also privately outside of the assembly rooms.

The subjects presented in the political section were:

- 1) *The Soviet Invasion in Czechoslovakia and the Attempt of European Appeasement* by A. Fontaine, Chief Foreign Editor, Le Monde, Paris,
- 2) *Recent Traditions of the Quest for Unity: Attempted Polish-Czechoslovak and Yugoslav - Bulgarian Confederations 1940-1948*, by Professor P. Wandycz, Yale University,
- 3) *East European Countries in the Bipolar Order of the World*, by H. Kuby, European Parliament, Strasbourg,
- 4) *Nationalism in the People's Democracies: Roots, Accomplishments, Per-*

spectives, by Professors Ionescu, London School of Economics and University of Manchester and E. Lemberg, Frankfurt,

5) *The Dilemmas of Eastern Europe*, by Mr C. Gasteyger, Atlantic Institute, Paris,

6) *Eastern Europe after Prague: Tendencies and Prospects*, by Professor Z. Brzezinski, Columbia University.

On the other hand the papers discussed in the Economic Section dealt with;

1) *Comecon, an East European Common Market* by J. Pinder, Director, Political and Economic Planning, London,

2) *Obstacles to East European Integration*, by Professors J. Montias and V. Pavlat, respectively Yale and Prague Universities,

3) *Utility of the European Economic Community's Experience for Eastern Europe*, by Professor W. Feld, Louisiana State University, New Orleans.

The rapporteurs thus came both from the West and from the East. Some of those living in the West have been born and got acquainted with developments in the East. This increased the value of their contributions. The number of papers presented in the political section exceeded those presented in the economic section due to the importance of the politics.

The Rector of the College of Europe Professor H. Brugmans, Professor J. Tinbergen, Rotterdam, P. Hassner, Paris, A. Spinelli, Rome, Professor C. Ransom, Brighton, a high official of the European Commission replacing R. Sannwald who was prevented from attending, last but not least A. Poher, President of the French Senate and Acting President of the French Republic assumed the chairmanship of the various sessions.

The papers and the discussion that followed will be published within a short time and there is no need to summarize them here. Instead of it, I prefer to deal with two points which raised great interest, namely:

I) the tendencies and the prospects of Eastern Europe after Prague,

II) the possibilities of East European integration and the results to be expected.

On the first point the outlook of the discussion was rather optimistic despite the shock due to the developments in Czechoslovakia last fall. The main speaker Professor Z. Brzezinski and many of those participating in the discussion stressed the reasons for, let me say, cautious optimism. And this was not abandoned when some rather pessimistic questions were raised. This optimism, however, may be considered somehow dangerous inasmuch as the Soviet Union is ready to promise anything whatsoever provided the United States decide to withdraw their troops from Europe. This point was

raised by the undersigned but was not considered important by Professor Brzezinski, who stressed that the Soviet Union is not the only country which does forget sometimes about obligations assumed particularly when the countries which are entitled to certain Soviet acts or omissions avoid to act. Still, I do not think that the United States will be able to insist on their rights and on those of their European allies if or when their troops will no more be stationed in Western Germany.

As far as the East European integration is concerned the papers were again optimistic but their authors modified somewhat their views when presented with serious objections in the discussion. When it became clear that all Eastern European countries with the exception up to a certain degree of Czechoslovakia are lower than Austria as far as income per head, modernisation of industry and infrastructure are concerned. Moreover, the discussion led to a rather widespread belief that the economic integration will materialize only if it would help military purposes or the welfare of the Soviet Union. There was also rather general agreement on the causes of the intense desire of the small Eastern European states for the creation and for the continuous expansion of their heavy industry. Unsatisfactory infrastructure, small interest for intensive agriculture, impossibility of inducing workers to migrate from country to country, bureaucratic obstacles to integration, last but not least the small interest of the Communist parties for integration were discussed at some length.

The general conclusion derived from the successful 6th Symposium of the College of Europe was that developments in Eastern Europe cannot be foreseen on the basis of what happened and of what is happening in the West. The success achieved there exerts certainly some influence on the inhabitants of the Eastern bloc countries and will induce them to long for similar developments but this longing will only become effective when it will be shared by the rulers of the countries involved and particularly by those of the Soviet Union without whose consent nothing can be achieved behind the Iron Curtain.

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D. J. DELIVANIS

SYMPOSIUM ON BYZANTINE KINGSHIP

Under the joint sponsorship of the Institute for Balkan Studies and of the University of Thessaloniki an International Symposium will be held from