

ADDITIONS, INTEGRATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTS
TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE*

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Addition to Part I, Works by Arnold J. Toynbee

Arnold J. Toynbee, *European Unity. Political Parties' Attitude*, in «The Times», June 26, 1950, p. 5. Letter to the Editor. Dated June 23, 1950.

* *A Bibliography of Arnold J. Toynbee*, compiled by S. Fiona Morton, with a Foreword by Veronica M. Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE EUROPEAN UNITY

By Arnold J. Toynbee

Sir,

The actual choice which we now have to make in the United Kingdom is surely one between isolation alike from the overseas western countries and from the Continental western countries and closer association with both these groups of countries, and it would be a misfortune if the debate in the House of Commons next Monday were to be diverted into a discussion of what seems an imaginary choice between strengthening our links with the Continental countries and preserving our links with the Commonwealth, the sterling area, and the United States.

Actually the whole western community is now subject to the same menace from outside, and the pressure of this has already made both the overseas and the European group of western countries realize that they cannot do without each other. Nobody in France, for instance, is likely to want an exclusively European federation which would bring France under the domination of western Germany before it brought both countries under the domination of Russia. Similarly, for such reasons as the strategic point mentioned by Professor Robbins in his letter in your columns this morning, Canada and the United States are no longer thinking in the limited terms of hemisphere defence. The big step forward towards union on the economic plane in western Europe that is proposed in the Schuman plan is neither an obstacle nor an alternative to a closer association between the west European countries and the overseas English-speaking countries: it is a promising step towards a further *rapprochement* of the whole western community, both in Europe and overseas.

If the western community is to win the cold war it has to shoulder at least five large tasks at once: defence, the rehabilitation of western Europe, the reintegration of Germany into the western community, the maintenance of standards of living in western countries, and the

raising of standards of living in poverty-stricken Asiatic, African, and Latin American countries that are critical battlefields in the cold war. Great as our aggregate western resources are, they will hardly suffice for all this unless they are pooled under a single joint management; and the United States, as "the arsenal of democracy", is alive to the need for giving the maximum of effect to her own decisive contribution by applying this as "the missing component" for helping people who have already shown the power and the will to help themselves.

In the sphere of defence, our west European efforts at self-help have already borne fruit in the wider arrangements for the defence of the whole western community on both sides of the Atlantic into which they have now been merged on the initiative of the United States and Canada. May we not expect west European self-help on the economic plane to produce comparable results when the Congress and Administration at Washington come to decide what they are going to do after the expiry of the Marshall plan? Anyway, we know that the Americans, being in earnest about fighting to win the cold war, have no use for people who will not help themselves (*e.g.*, the Kuomintang). Here, I submit, is the straight issue on which we now have to take an important decision in this country.