

Master Thesis

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Superstate Europe

Post World War 2 European Cooperation and Federalism

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Abstract

Within current times, the importance of European cooperation has increased by a lot. With war returning to the continent and a decrease in US support, European cooperation has become more and more important as both an academic and a political topic. This paper will focus on the historical roots of European cooperation and look for elements of a European Superstate within its historical bounds in order to understand its place within the history of Europe. In order to do this, the paper will explore three events of European cooperation before the establishment of the European Union. The first chapter looks at the Congress of Europe, through the full transcripts of each of the committees and its resolutions, the idea of a European Superstate can be found. Within the resolutions, the option of a federal state or a Union as seen today is left open for future discussion. The second chapter looks at the Treaty of Brussels of 1948, within the treaty and the negotiations leading up to it different views on the future of Europe can be found. The Western Union was the proposed idea in order to form a united block but a federal form was not created. The final chapter looks into the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community to explore superstate Europe within the establishment of deeper cooperation. Within this the plans laid by Shuman and Monnett suffered from undermining by different states which led to a change in how the Coal and Steel Community was established. These chapters combine to show how a European Superstate had its presence when looking at European cooperation but was ultimately not to be within this timeframe.

Introduction

‘If Europe has the ambition to rediscover its destiny as an economic, commercial, scientific, industrial and cultural power. This giant destiny can only be achieved in a federal Europe of nations, as we shall see’.¹ In response to the rise in threats towards the European continent the president of the Breton party wrote this in a small Welsh newspaper. With war returning to the continent of Europe and the seeming shift in policy from the USA away from Europe it is no surprise that in these uncertain times people start looking at different ideas for their security. Particularly as, on the other hand, in recent years nationalism has again been on the rise in the world.² With this recent rise more and more challenges have faced the international institutions in their work.³ Due to this it is important to explore the origins of European cooperation surrounding international institutions. This is especially in relation to recent calls for further integration of the European Union such as the ideas surrounding superstate Europe.⁴ Superstate Europe is the idea of the creation of a federal state of Europe where a European level of government has authority over a wide range of important policy issues.⁵ Federalist thought and mobilization have influenced European integration and the European Union since the very start.⁶ Further, during the Second World War Britain and France proposed to form the Franco-British union.⁷ Through this, the importance of federalism is established, though specifically relating it to Superstate Europe, it has not yet been explored as a historical concept within early European cooperation efforts. Due to this debate about the future of the European Union, an exploration into the relationship between European federalism and European cooperation after the Second World War needs to be started in order to understand Superstate Europe’s role in history. This research will focus on post-war

¹ Stephen Price, ‘A Federal Europe of Nations: Is a New World Emerging That Will Engulf Europe?’, *Nation.Cymru* (blog), 11 February 2025, <https://nation.cymru/feature/a-federal-europe-of-nations-is-a-new-world-emerging-that-will-engulf-europe/>.

² Ben Dorfman and Mats Andrén, ‘Introduction: Layers and Varieties of Internationalism in the 20th Century’, *Global Intellectual History* 7, no. 4 (4 July 2022): 739, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23801883.2020.1830498>.

³ Dorfman and Andrén, “Layers and Varieties of Internationalism,” 739.

⁴ Zoltan Grunhut, ‘Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations: Polarizing Conceptual Trends in European Studies’, *Europolarity: Continuity and Change in European Governance* 18, no. 1 (2024): 109.

⁵ Vendelin Francisc Glazer, ‘From the European Idea to the European Union. Integration and Federalization’, *Societas Si Politica* XIV, no. 1 (2020): 16.

⁶ Wolfram Kaiser, ‘Federalism in the European Parliament: From Ventotene to the Spinelli Group’, *European Parliament History Service*, (2024): 1.

⁷ Avi Shlaim, ‘Prelude to Downfall: The British Offer of Union to France, June 1940’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 9, no. 3 (1974): 27.

European cooperation in order to find whether the idea of Superstate Europe was present within the start of cooperation efforts or is a new concept to further Europhile goals of deeper cooperation.

Research Question and Sub Questions

In order to explore the topic of superstate Europe within early European cooperation this research will ask the question: How did European cooperation from 1945 till 1951 contain, or fail to contain, elements of Superstate Europe? This will focus on post-war European cooperation attempts before the signing of the major treaties and agreements. Through an exploration of some of the early post-war cooperation the concept of Superstate Europe can be explored in a historical aspect to see if it has been present as a form of federalism since the beginning of the European cooperation initiatives.

The first event to be explored in relation to this research question is the Congress of Europe. This will be done by looking at how did the Congress of Europe in 1948 contain elements of Superstate Europe? This as to find out whether elements of superstate Europe were present during this congress as they were exploring the future of European Cooperation in terms of politics and economics. The next part will focus on the Treaty of Brussels in 1948. With the question; How does the 1948 Treaty of Brussels involve elements of Superstate Europe? With this question, a defence aspect can be explored as the Treaty of Brussels explored European military alliances in a pre-NATO fashion. The final part will look into the question; How did the Treaty of Paris in 1951 contain elements of superstate Europe? This part will focus on the creation of the European coal and steel community to explore if there was a presence of federalism within this document. With these three cases a full exploration can be launched into European cooperation and superstate Europe through a congress, a defence treaty and a broader cooperation treaty giving broader scope in superstate Europe and postwar European cooperation efforts.

Historiography

In order to show the gaps within the research that this thesis will fall into the previous study on this topic must be shown. Specifically looking at the study of Superstate Europe and that of Federalism and the European Union. Within the combination of these two topics this research will find that gap of looking for historical precedent around the concept of superstate Europe on the cooperation efforts of the post-war period. This will show the academic justification of conducting this research which will be in filling this academic gap left by the previous research. Firstly, a look at the creation of the European Union and Federalism in order to find what has been explored in federalism around the time that this thesis looks into. Secondly, the research about Superstate Europe must be explored to understand how scholars have approached European forms of collaboration in recent years. Within this a good overview of the previous research in federalism and superstate Europe will be provided.

Europe and Federalism

The first article to explore within the study of Europe and federalism is the article titled *A Reconsideration in the scope of the present discussion on European integration* published in 1970 by Friedrich von Krosigk.⁸ Within this article von Krosigk explores the ideas surrounding the federalist approach to integration related to the European Union. Within this he starts by exploring the Ideological roots of European federalism. He brings up its Kantian roots highlighting the ideas of an escape from war through ‘merging of nations’.⁹ Moving forward he brings up a shift in recent literature concerning federalism moving increasing attention towards formation and a shift in federal systems.¹⁰ Within von Korsigk highlights the different ideas that are brought up towards federalism. Firstly that of Friedrich who looks

⁸ Friedrich von Krosigk, ‘A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION’, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 9 (1970): 197.

⁹ von Krosigk, ‘A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION’, 199.

¹⁰ von Krosigk, ‘A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION’, 204.

at the federalist EU as a dynamic process which originates from the social and economic sphere.¹¹ However he criticizes this idea by highlighting that external political influences and political actions are ignored through this theory.¹² He highlights through historical examples of other federations created that the prevailing idea of the time, that of looking through a purely social and economic lens, leaves out these important external factors.¹³ For these historical examples he focuses on Rikers work that shows that the federation in the United States cannot be placed in a defensive category, such as the Swiss and Dutch case, as the external influences of the Spanish in the south and conflicts with the British in the north shows the importance of external conditions.¹⁴ Von Krosigk concludes by highlighting that focusing only on socio-economic elements or organic necessity is limiting within its use in studying European federalism.¹⁵ From this the study of federalism and Europe is situated within its time frame. It shows a debate in studying federalism within Europe as one from originating from social and economic processes to the influence of outside political factors playing important roles.

Secondary in exploring the historical study of federalism in the creation of the European Union is the article written in 1996 by Michael Burgess called *Federalism and the Building of the European Union*.¹⁶ In this article Burgess looks at the Treaty of the European Union and due to its signing explores its background in light of exploring the relationship between the European Union and Federalism.¹⁷ Starting out by exploring the background Burgess notes that the post-war origins of a federal Europe can be attributed to Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman.¹⁸ Highlighting the fact that Schuman stated that Europe would not be made at once but on the back of achievement.¹⁹ He further went into Monnets method for building a federal Europe to come from economic integration first making the political integration fall

¹¹ von Krosigk, 'A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION', 204.

¹² von Krosigk, 'A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION', 210.

¹³ Price, 'A Federal Europe of Nations', 211.

¹⁴ von Krosigk, 'A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION', 211.

¹⁵ von Krosigk, 'A RECONSIDERATION OF FEDERALISM IN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION', 214.

¹⁶ Michael Burgess, 'Federalism and Building the European Union', *Publius* 26, no. 4 (1996): 1–15.

¹⁷ Burgess, 'Federalism and Building the European Union', 1.

¹⁸ Burgess, 'Federalism and Building the European Union', 2.

¹⁹ Burgess, 'Federalism and Building the European Union', 2.

behind.²⁰ Next bringing in Spinelly and his shift from Monnets method to a more direct approach by calling on a definition for the European Union and the singing of large institutional reform.²¹ Finally, Burgess brings in the struggles of the political movement that European integration faced towards the 70's and 80's, such as in the form of accountability.²² Burgess work highlights the scholarship on Federalism and Europe till that point bringing in the ideas surrounding the creation of the European federal idea from the 1950s till his present moment. Showing the struggle for a federal Europe through the years up until publication and highlighting some of the players and the processes. The form of study highlights the economic and social focus of the study, through the exploration of the individual players and where they come from and how these organizations influenced the political.

Another aspect of the study of federalism and the creation of the European Union surrounds the European parliament and the issues it created for sovereignty and democracy can be found in the article titled *Federalism and the European Parliament* by Juliet Lodge published in 1996.²³ In this article Lodge explores the creation of the European Parliament and its relationship with the member states looking into the federal intent behind the creation as well as how it has increased its power towards a more federal system. To do so she also highlights Monnet and his involvement in the role of the European Parliament was “in line” with liberal democratic views of representation and control of the executive.²⁴ Furthering this Lodge goes into the issue of democratic elections and the limited power of the European Parliament. Within this Lodge highlights the struggle for direct democratic election and more executive power with the European Council, the representation of the member states not the people, in the struggle between federalism and state-centred approach.²⁵ Next Lodge explores the European Parliament's small step approach to give itself more power and create a more federalist system.²⁶ Showing that small steps were made the democratic deficit was widening with the increase in scope of integration with nation states growing suspicious of the European Parliament's attempts to influence and control the legislative process along the lines

²⁰ Burgess, ‘Federalism and Building the European Union’, 3.

²¹ Burgess, ‘Federalism and Building the European Union’, 4.

²² Burgess, ‘Federalism and Building the European Union’, 8.

²³ Juliet Lodge, ‘Federalism and the European Parliament’, *Publius* 26, no. 4 (1996): 63–79.

²⁴ Lodge, ‘Federalism and the European Parliament’, 64.

²⁵ Lodge, ‘Federalism and the European Parliament’, 65.

²⁶ Lodge, ‘Federalism and the European Parliament’, 67.

of traditional sovereignty issues.²⁷ In the end, Lodge concludes that the approach of small steps in relation to the European parliament can lead to a more federal system and that the current system is untenable showing the need for what Lodge believes necessary to create a more democratic system.²⁸ Relating this back to the overall study of Federalism and the creation of the European Union, this article shows another angle of approach common with this area of study. She highlights the importance of the processes and the individuals had on the creation of the individual systems. The articles released in 1996 highlight the prevalence of the social and economic aspects of federalism and the EU within the area of study. Within the focus on both the people and the states and their influence on the process.

Furthering the study of federalism and the creation of the European Union is the book chapter titled *Federalism and the Beginnings of the European Union* by John Pinder.²⁹ In this chapter, Pinder explores federalism in relation to the origins of the European Union from 1918 till 1958 looking at the important actors and events. In this chapter he highlights that in the interwar years many scholars and government officials started calling for a union of Europe in order to prevent a future war.³⁰ Continuing on he goes into the war years to show prominent ideas for federalization within different European communities.³¹ He highlights the history of federalism and the creation process for the European Union through the various conferences and treaties signed and the influence of different actors.³² Finally, bringing together and highlighting the important actors within the movement, Monnet, Hallstein, Spaak and Spenelli, and their various influences.³³ Pinder's main argument within this chapter in the importance of these four actors and the influence that they have had on not only the creation of the European Union but on their nations policies towards organization in the long run.³⁴ This article highlights an important part of the research done so far surrounding European federalization through its actor driven approach. It brings in the different conferences and actors and the influences that they had and calls on the implications

²⁷ Lodge, 'Federalism and the European Parliament', 68.

²⁸ Lodge, 'Federalism and the European Parliament', 78.

²⁹ John Pinder, 'Federalism and the Beginnings of European Union', in *A Companion to Europe since 1945* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2009), 25–44, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444308600.ch2>.

³⁰ Pinder, 'Federalism and the Beginnings of European Union', 26.

³¹ Pinder, 'Federalism and the Beginnings of European Union', 28.

³² Pinder, 'Federalism and the Beginnings of European Union', 31.

³³ Pinder, 'Federalism and the Beginnings of European Union', 38.

³⁴ Pinder, 'Federalism and the Beginnings of European Union', 38.

of these actors on the format that the European Union takes today. Furthering the research of earlier works, such as by Burgess, by providing a longer approach to the study of federalism as a prewar phenomenon as well. Within this a shift is made, with the actors still in focus within the events that are prevalent within the influence of federalism on the EU.

Within the established previous research this thesis will situate itself by bringing in the outside influences on federalism and European cooperation focusing less on the economic and social aspects that led to them. This will be done through looking into the reasoning behind the need for the treaties through the more political angle and applying it to the events rather than economic and social processes that were done through the previous studies.

Superstate Europe

When exploring Superstate Europe in early European cooperation efforts a second area of research to explore is that of Superstate Europe. By bringing together the study of Superstate Europe with federalism and European cooperation the gap in which this research will fall can be found.

Firstly, is Glyn Morgan and his book *The Idea of a European Superstate: Public Justification and European Integration*.³⁵ In the introduction of this book Morgan highlights the justificatory debate surrounding European integration bringing forth the three main camps in the debate, Eurosceptics, Postsovereigntists and Federalists. ³⁶ These three camps support a Europe of nation-states, a multilevel decentralized polity and a European state that centralizes all important political tasks at the European level respectively.³⁷ He further brings forth a distinction between the project, product and the process of European integration showing that it is important to keep the distinction between the three in mind when studying European integration as they all have different outlooks on the EU. The process, a combination of

³⁵ Glyn Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate: Public Justification and European Integration* (Princeton University Press, 2005).

³⁶ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 3.

³⁷ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 3.

project and product, is that of the step-by-step transformation, the project is the idea of the thinkers while the product refers to the result.³⁸ In relation to the European Union, these processes and products that are currently available it is the project that differs between the camps as it is the end goal.³⁹ Furthering this process Morgan brings in the trouble with the word federalism within European Union scholarships. Federalism supporting superstate Europe coming from a Eurosceptic interpretation of a federal superstate, has taken up most of the political use of the term, and *federalists* who support a decentralized federal polity.⁴⁰ Finally, Morgan ends the introduction by highlighting the need for justification and its relation to democratic deficit and legitimacy by highlighting that the current political study focuses on those two and not justification.⁴¹ Bringing this back to the research question this article highlights the debate surrounding federalism and superstate Europe and introduces further aspects to study. The debate up to that point focuses on the democratic deficit and needs to switch towards a justification angle. Further, he shows the difference between different forms of federalism and their different ideas for the future of the EU, Eurosceptics, Postsovereigntists and Federalists and their forms of thought. This chapter highlights that superstate Europe is one that is studied in relation to legitimacy and deficit and now in justification too.

The research surrounding Superstate Europe was furthered in 2012 by Brendan Simms in his article *Towards a mighty union: how to create a democratic European superpower*.⁴² In this article Simms calls for the creation of a union not step by step as has been done before but as one move by the people of Europe not the elites and the government.⁴³ He starts by calling on the historical precedent of unions around the world and highlights the common cause for the creation as one that is in defence of a threat towards the nations that created the union.⁴⁴ Going further he highlights the post cold War issues in Europe specifically the crises in Yugoslavia causing strife between the members of the European Union leading to chaos and a

³⁸ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 4.

³⁹ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 7.

⁴⁰ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 12.

⁴¹ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 23.

⁴² Brendan Simms, 'Towards a Mighty Union: How to Create a Democratic European Superpower', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 88, no. 1 (2012): 49–62.

⁴³ Simms, 'Towards a Mighty Union', 50.

⁴⁴ Simms, 'Towards a Mighty Union', 52.

low point in post-World War 2 European cooperation.⁴⁵ Finally ending the article by calling on the need for a single European state in order for Europe to survive.⁴⁶ This article highlights the justification angle of the study of superstate Europe even more. It brings together pre World War 2 examples with European cooperation after the cold war era. With this article a shift towards call and justification that was announced within the Morgan introduction can be found. This more politically motivated study of superstate Europe and political integration highlights the shift towards justification that can be found at that time as a response towards European issues with some as recent as the past 18 months..⁴⁷ Relating this to the research question the article shows that superstate Europe and European federal integration has turned into a justification of need and a call for a European State.

One final article to explore in relation to the study of Superstate Europe is the article published in 2024 by Zoltan Grunhut titled *Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations: Polarizing Conceptual Trends in European Studies*. In this article Grunhut examines two emerging concepts that of the Superstate Europe and the Europe of Nations and how they relate to European studies.⁴⁸ First exploring Superstate Europe, Grunhut highlights its relation to the concepts of Neo-Functionalism, Supernationalism and Federalism.⁴⁹ Relating Superstate Europe to the ‘ever closer union’ from the treaty of Rome Grunhut shows how this through it a furthering of older thoughts of unity.⁵⁰ Finally, highlighting that the European Union is not yet a superpower but does sometimes act like a superstate in times of crisis.⁵¹ Claiming that according to these criteria the EU cannot be a Superpower as it does not meet most of the criteria set.⁵² These criteria being a centralized and effective centre of discussion making, the political-administrative ability to mobilize its own and allies resources fully, strong economic performance which is a large share of the world economy, a multilevel bureaucracy linking the local to the top level, a civil society which is engaged, unified and instils regional coherence, be able to project its power across the globe and finally have an

⁴⁵ Simms, ‘Towards a Mighty Union’, 55.

⁴⁶ Simms, ‘Towards a Mighty Union’, 60.

⁴⁷ Simms, ‘Towards a Mighty Union’, 60.

⁴⁸ Zoltan Grunhut, ‘Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations: Polarizing Conceptual Trends in European Studies’, *Europolarity: Continuity and Change in European Governance* 18, no. 1 (2024): 108.

⁴⁹ Grunhut, ‘Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations’, 108.

⁵⁰ Grunhut, ‘Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations’, 109.

⁵¹ Grunhut, ‘Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations’, 112.

⁵² Grunhut, ‘Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations’, 110.

almost unbeatable conventional military/be a nuclear power.⁵³ Next bringing in the Europe of Nations as the counterpoint to the Superstate Europe as an entity that calls for Europe to disintegrate to a point where it is still a multilateral union but fully controlled by the member states.⁵⁴ Citing Orban as a prime proponent of this idea as he is calling on the member states not to let go of their sovereignty as a fight for Europe to slow down the decline of the West.⁵⁵ The final part of her article highlights the position of this debate within European studies calling on the importance of placing the debate within its proper context within the field by mapping them in relation to other conceptual arguments.⁵⁶ In the end this article mainly tries to explore the main points of these 2 concepts and place them within the existing debate within European studies. Relating this to the other articles on Superstate Europe it shows the continuance of the debate surrounding the future of Europe. It relates the article to the past with the treaty of Rome and brings in some points that to a certain extent Europe already has elements of Superstate Europe. Within this article the debate is centralized on the position of Europe and its relation to Europe of Nations, however there is still limited discourse on historical elements of Superstate Europe.

The academic discourse surrounding superstate Europe is one of justification for the state as well as calling for a need to create one. The academics focus either on the future or on how federalist aspect happen surrounding the larger treaties. Within the academic discourse show very little is said around superstate Europe and post war efforts, with most of the focus coming from later periods in time. Through this a gap in the research surrounding Superstate Europe is present which is one where there is little exploration into the past presence of this specific evolution.

Looking at the academic discourse surrounding federalism and the creation of the European Union and superstate Europe a gap can be found for this research to address. This research will focus on Superstate Europe as the federalist thought and its influence on European cooperation after the second world war. Within the study of European cooperation and Federalism this thesis will move away from the social and economic focus and instead will

⁵³ Grunhut, 'Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations', 110.

⁵⁴ Grunhut, 'Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations', 113.

⁵⁵ Grunhut, 'Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations', 118.

⁵⁶ Grunhut, 'Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations', 120.

look at the events within the lens of the influence of outside forces. Further within the events it will look at the reasoning for the choices from the perspective of external factors that led to choices. The study of superstate Europe focuses on justification and reasoning for a European Superstate. Through combining the event driven cases and looking for presence of the elements of Superstate Europe in European cooperation efforts a gap can be found for this research to fit in. That being in looking at past presence of superstate Europe and focusing less on social and economic factors and more on the outside influence leading up to the event. This will be combined by looking at the evolution of these events in relation to federalism.

Further the time period chosen for this will be pre 1952 in order to look at some less represented events within the study to find the relation between Superstate Europe and European cooperation. This is as seen in the historiography most of the research surrounding superstate Europe focuses on later made, larger scale treaties and not at early postwar cooperation. As well as looking into events that have been underrepresented within the current academic discourse. This research will take an event driven approach in order to look into Superstate Europe and European cooperation. This will be done in order to look at if these conferences and treaties that will be explored as to the presence of Superstate Europe and how this effected the cooperation between European nations. Through a combination of these two points this research will provide new insights into European cooperation and whether superstate Europe was present at that point in time.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Within this study the main conceptual framework that is to be explored is that of Federalism and Superstate Europe in its relation to European cooperation. Superstate Europe relates to federalism in that it is an aspect of European integration. The definitions given to these concepts have important implications for the way the research is conducted and the selection of sources.

For the purposes of this thesis the form of federalism that is assumed is that proposed by Glyn Morgan. Glyn Morgan describes the idea of federalism in relation to Superstate Europe being one where it refers to a federal European state.⁵⁷ Within this Superstate Europe it seeks to put all important political tasks at the European level.⁵⁸ This interpretation of federalism was specifically chosen in order to be applied to the idea of a superstate from a European perspective. This relation to the concept of superstate in this form of federalism fits more closely within the political idea of federalism that is related to Europe. Further the idea of European cooperation needs to be defined. The definition of superstate Europe will relate to cooperation by looking at how within these efforts to work together ideas of superstate Europe were present and if they were supporter or not. It is important however that as the European Union does not exist yet in this time frame it will look at European states chosen over member states. Furthermore the reason for not choosing to go with member states is that this research will focus on areas of cooperation that might not have been towards creating the European Union but other areas of cooperation.

Further when discussing the idea of Superstate Europe a theory of state-building must be had in order to understand how states come to be. Within this the Bellicist state building theory can be explored in order to look at how states form. Bellicist state theory explores that in the creation of the state both a military threat from the outside and market integration for economic gain lead to the creation of states.⁵⁹ Within this theory in respect to the European Union some scholars, like Klemen and McNamara, propose that the European Union did not form a state as it lacked the military threat from the outside in order to integrate fully.⁶⁰ Within this thesis the Bellicist approach will be kept in mind for the formation of state theory as a form of the conditions for the building of a federal state within Europe.

In terms of relating the Federalism and Superstate Europe to Bellicist state theory the theory provides an assumption as to why these concepts never came forth as a European state. It makes the assumption that due to the lack of a military threat some of the important processes

⁵⁷ Glyn Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate: Public Justification and European Integration* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 16.

⁵⁸ Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate*, 3.

⁵⁹ R. Daniel Kelemen and Kathleen R. McNamara, 'State-Building and the European Union: Markets, War, and Europe's Uneven Political Development', *Comparative Political Studies* 55, no. 6 (1 May 2022): 964, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140211047393>.

⁶⁰ Kelemen and McNamara, 'State-Building and the European Union', 965.

were therefore not put on the European level. Relating these concepts back to the research question it allows for the exploration of superstate through federalism as well as broadening the definition of European cooperation to fit within the time frame and allow for a broader scope to study. This allows for a selection of sources not just from the line that led to the European Union but also from other such as the treaty of brussels which was a pre NATO treaty between European nation. This broadening can look into how whether superstate Europe was present in other aspects of European post war cooperation. The specific definition of Superstate Europe will explore how different important areas of policy can be found to be addressed from a European level rather than a state one. In application of these concepts a broader understanding can be found with regards to Federalism and the creation of the European Union through the exploration of Superstate Europe.

Source Criticism

To what extent did European cooperation from 1945 till 1951 contain elements of Superstate Europe? In order to answer this the research relies on a multitude of government documents in order to explore the relation between European cooperation and the idea of Superstate Europe. Within the different chapters transcripts of a congress, treaties, government letters and memos will be used.

In chapter one the main source to be explored is a transcript of the congress of Europe in 1948 . This source transcribes the speeches in the opening, the political committee, the economic and social committee, the cultural committee and the resolutions passed. Released in 1999 by the European council this transcription is in English with most of the French parts of the transcript being directly translated within the document.⁶¹ Being directly released by the European council as well as the transcript being a record of what was said at the time the source offers reliable information not only on what was agreed on but also on what was discussed. Further the translation of the French text, although no translator is given, should be a reliable interpretation of what was discussed although some limitation do apply as with all

⁶¹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>

translation, such as some words not having a direct English counterpart. With the transcript having the purpose of accurately ascribing what was said by which a reliable picture can be found. However being 452 pages long it must be properly researched in order to ensure that nothing is left out. This will be further discussed in the methodology. This transcript of the congress allows for an accurate representation of what was being discussed for the future of Europe and whether there were elements of Superstate Europe present.

For the second and third chapter the main primary source to be used are treaties. These treaties allow for a view of what has been decided and can show either for or against the idea of superstate Europe. However their limitation is that they are the result of long periods of negotiation and do not show the whole picture of what has been sacrificed or left out and what was negotiated. Looking at the treaty of Brussels it contained European nations and was created for the purpose of combined defence. This treaty is both in English and French next to each other and shows how certain European states wanted to cooperate. The treaty of Paris in 1951 establishes the European Coal and Steel community.⁶² These treaties allow for a view into what these cooperation efforts resulted in, however they don't show the whole picture of what was behind the scenes only what was decided. Through the use of secondary literature as well as other documents such as some letters and memos which provide a more personal view. The letter used in support of the analysis is a letter from Carlo Sforza to Paolo Emilio Taviani.⁶³ This letter allows for a more private view into the opinions surrounding the negotiations as the letter is not meant to be publicly published. This can supplement the more public comments and how they lead to the final results.

Within the chapters there are other supporting primary sources that will be used. These consist of government memo's that have been declassified and released to the public in recent years. Through these sources the main source of each chapter can be supplemented in terms

⁶² "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. CVCE.

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_steel_community_paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

⁶³ Letter from Carlo Sforza to Paolo Emilio Taviani (Rome, 10 June 1950). Luxemburg, 2016. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/5cc6b004-33b7-4e44-b6db-f5f9e6c01023/4d82341b-4d28-4cb5-95d9-41b3c630bdc1/Resources#88eddd98-6a04-4ed6-afb9-adafa779f0b9_en&overlay.

of private government views and strategies. One example is the Summary record of the meeting between Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourg officials.⁶⁴ Within this the fact that they were classified lends them an air of trustworthiness as they were not meant to be seen by the public or other governments, that were not present in the meetings that the memo's were made from. Through this support the arguments gain more credibility as they supplement the public view with the private one. Furthermore, these sources allow a look into the negotiation process that led towards the outcome of the treaties. Therefor the points of interest, changes made, and objections by government can be taken into account. Within this some of these sources are translated. Although done by the institution that offers them or by academics the tone and meaning is still slightly changed due to not being able to be fully translated as some words do not have a direct counterpart. One popular example of this phenomenon is the Dutch word 'gezellig'. This though has little outcome on the conclusions drawn by the paper as by using them in conjunction with other sources this can be negated.

In the end these sources in combination with secondary literature allow for an overview into the different cooperative attempts within Europe. They provide a mix of different viewpoints into how the future of Europe should look like allowing for in depth research into the relation between Superstate Europe and European cooperation efforts.

Methodology

In order to explore this question a qualitative approach will be taken. Within these three different moments of European cooperation will be explored each in its own chapter. This approach was taken in order to allow for a look into three different areas and agreements all within the early post war time. This allows for a broader look into the research question from multiple angles as each of the three events chosen explores a different form of cooperation, congress or treaty, and at various time periods within the scope of the question. In selecting these cases the criteria of time and purpose were used in conjunction with importance. Due to the nature of the word count of the thesis three case studies from with different purposes in

⁶⁴ Summary record of the meeting between Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourg officials (Brussels, 8 June 1950). Luxemburg, 2016. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/5cc6b004-33b7-4e44-b6db-f5f9e6c01023/4d82341b-4d28-4cb5-95d9-41b3c630bdc1/Resources#93f5ef2a-0dfc-46e4-9c45-1051da6ec167_en&overlay

mind across the time mentioned were needed. The Congress of Europe was chosen as it provides an overview of different political and economic elements and the discussion surround them as well as it being in the start of the post war cooperation efforts.⁶⁵ Within this it allows for an exploration of a large amount of points of view from different areas of Europe. For the Treaty of Brussels it was selected due to its defence aspect as well as it being around the same time as the Congress of Europe.⁶⁶ This brings in a different element to the congress of Europe as it also led to a legally binding treaty. Finally the Treaty of Paris, which led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, shows a large scale of successful cooperation in Europe.⁶⁷ These three events will be explored by looking at the discussions surrounding federalism and Superstate Europe because this allows for views, attempts and problems to be explored. In comparing these to results of these cooperation attempts to the process of negotiation that led up to the final results the research question can be explored.

Within each of these case studies close reading was done of the primary source within the case. Due to the length of primary sources concerning these cases the decision was made to take multiple close readings of the primary material and use elements which highlight the broader context. This allows for the effective transfer of the points to the paper while having such a large body to work with. By repeating this multiple times it limits the amount of information that is left out and makes the thesis more reliable. Through support of secondary literature and other smaller primary sources a reliable picture of the situation can be painted. Though the treaties contained within the second and third cases have a considerably shorter length, the method for studying them is the same in order to ensure standardization across the cases to allow the results to be from a similar background. This allows them to be looked at in the same way. The supporting primary sources and secondary literature further allow for

⁶⁵ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0. <http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>

⁶⁶ "Treaty of Brussels 1948", signed in Brussels on 17th of March 1948. CVCE. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

⁶⁷ European Union. "Treaty Establishing the Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on 18 April 1951. EUR-Lex, Document 11951k/txt. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:11951K/TXT>.

the study of intent across each of the cases. This is as they are more personal in nature, in terms of governments and people, and therefore allow for comparison between them and the final result of the treaties and the resolutions of the congress of Europe. Further the other sources allow an exploration of reasoning behind the treaties by information provided by the governments that they stem from.

Through the use of these events a reliable picture can be built relating European cooperation and Superstate Europe. The events selected allow for a complete picture of cooperation through multiple angles such as the economy and defence and can be applied with outside influence. With this a reliable answer can be found to the research question.

Chapter 1

The Congress of Europe

On May 8th 1948, in the Knights Hall in the Netherlands, more than 800 delegates from western European nations met in order to discuss the idea of European integration.⁶⁸ The Congress of Europe was one of the first, and most dramatic, manifestations of popular post war efforts towards providing an effective formula for European integration.⁶⁹ Though efforts for European integration had existed before the war, such as through the Pan Europa Movement before the Second World War and the Europa-Union movement during the Second World War.⁷⁰ Further the congress was inspired by a speech of Winston Churchill held in 1946 in Zurich in which he called of a United States of Europe.⁷¹ During the post war period Churchill was supported in the idea of European federalism by the Belgian Paul van Zeeland and the Netherlands' Henri Brugmanns, who increased popular support for the idea.⁷² The congress was further described at the time by the British Prime minister Harold Macmillan as 'a landmark for future historians. It is more important, perhaps, than any other event in the second half of this century'.⁷³ Within this importance of the Congress of Europe an exploration into whether there is any evidence of Superstate Europe's presence is important. In order to explore this the question, how did the Congress of Europe in 1948 contain elements of Superstate Europe?, must be explored. This will be done by looking into the transcripts of the Plenary session, the Economic and Social Committee, the Political committee, the Cultural committee and the resolutions from the Congress of Europe. Within these sessions looking at the discussion surrounding the state of European integration and the goals. Through comparing these with the resolutions that were the result of the congress, further insight can be gained as to the presence of Superstate Europe in early European cooperation efforts.

⁶⁸ Clarence C. Walton, 'The Hague "Congress of Europe": A Case Study of Public Opinion', *The Western Political Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1959): 738, <https://doi.org/10.2307/443870>.

⁶⁹ Walton, 'The Hague "Congress of Europe"', 738.

⁷⁰ Ernst B. Haas, 'The United States of Europe', *Political Science Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (1948): 529, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2144397>.

⁷¹ Walton, 'The Hague "Congress of Europe"', 740.

⁷² Walton, 'The Hague "Congress of Europe"', 739.

⁷³ Walton, 'The Hague "Congress of Europe"', 738.

The Plenary Session

The Congress of Europe started with the plenary sessions regarding the ideology of the congress and showing mood behind the congress and which goals it wished to achieve. As will be shown within the first part of this chapter the goal of a united Europe was discussed and a federal form was something that was on the table when discussing the future of Europe. At the very start of the speeches conducted by the various delegates to the congress the President residing over the congress starts out highlighting the previous limitations of a separated Europe stating ‘but it will be clear to everybody, who has given due consideration to this matter that this unlimited and Sovereign right of self-determination could only lead to the suicidal tendencies of military and economic autarchy, which we have known indeed’.⁷⁴ He follows this point of thought by highlighting the ‘absolute folly of such an individual sovereign policy’ of various countries of Europe.⁷⁵ This sentiment is supported by others such as Coudenhove-Kalergi who brings up the first ideas of European union within the Congress of Europe.⁷⁶ As early as the inter war period Count Coudenhove-Kalergi sought to create a united Europe highlighting the limitations of national sovereignty and the need for a Europe that would provide a single front against ‘extra European power spheres’ calling this the Pan Europe movement.⁷⁷ Within the Congress of Europe he highlights that ‘European Union’ is a means to an end and that Hitler has tried to do create a united Europe and Stalin is doing the same.⁷⁸ He finishes his speech by looking at the reasons for Europe to unite, he states:

⁷⁴ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 5.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁷⁵ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 5.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁷⁶ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 16.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁷⁷ Haas, ‘The United States of Europe’, 529.

⁷⁸ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 16.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

We wish to unite Europe not for the benefit of a single race or Of a single class, but for the benefit of all its men women and Children

We Wish to unite Europe to assure permanent peace between its peoples and to prevent the horrors of a war Of total destruction.

We wish to unite Europe, to raise, by means of continental market and stable currency the standard of living of millions of Europeans from their present state of utter misery.

We wish to unite Europe to protect every single man and woman against murder and deportation by secret police, against torture and concentration camps.

These are the reasons why Europe has to unite. This is the goal to which we are striving.

If therefor, in the course of our deliberations we are in doubt on how to decide let of think in terms of people rather than government.⁷⁹

Within these points he highlights how the threat of war is the reason for Europe to unite. He calls for Europe to look beyond the individual nations and think of itself as one people.

Within both economic and military aspects Europe is to unite to ensure a permanent peace within the nations. Though these are not particularly federalist sentiments Coudenhove-Kalergi was the founder of the pan Europe movement carrying the idea of European unification across the United States.⁸⁰ From that it can be extrapolated that there is some federalist sentiment within these points. Though there is little mention of a federal government for the continent of Europe these speeches within the plenary sessions highlight the vision within this congress looked beyond sovereignty. Sovereignty of the individual nations is questioned as blame for the state that Europe found itself in after the Second World War and the nations that looking beyond in the future within Europe is the path that they want to take. This sets up the tone of the congress of not just being to foster cooperation between the European nations but that taking away some sovereignty could be part of the goal.

⁷⁹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 16.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁸⁰ Josef L. Kunz, 'Pan Europe, The Marshall Plan Countries and the Western European Union', *The American Journal of International Law* 42, no. 4 (1948): 870, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2193360>.

Within the plenary sessions there are some who give more concrete looks into the future of the European continent which could be seen to support the idea of Superstate Europe.

Duncan Sandys, one of the delegates from the United Kingdom, highlights this sentiment calling on that the process of uniting Europe is no longer theoretical but now has begun, calling on the pressure of previous events have forced ‘a number of governments’ to accept ‘the necessity for cooperation in turn economic and military spheres.⁸¹ Sandys is followed by Pieter Kerstens, Chairman of the Dutch Reception Committee, who brings this further calling on the missions Europe now faces. Kerstens states that Europe is threatened and divided with the greatest danger coming from the fact that it is divided.⁸² Continuing in his speech Kerstens states Europe’s mission is clear, that it is to ‘unite her peoples’.⁸³ He follows this up with a pledge:

- 1) *We desire a United Europe, Throughout whose are the free movement of persons, ideas and goods is restored*
- 2) *We desire a charter of Human Rights guaranteeing liberty of through, Assembly and expression as well as the right to form political opposition*
- 3) *We desire a court of Justice with adequate sanctions for the implementation of this charter*
- 4) *We desire a European assembly where the live forces of all our nations are represented*
- 5) *And pledge ourselves in our homes and in public, in our political and religious life, In our professional and trade union circles, to give our fullest support to all persons and governments working for this lofty cause which offers the chance of peace and the promise of a great future for this generation and those that will succeed it.⁸⁴*

⁸¹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 32.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁸² *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 39.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁸³ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 39.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁸⁴ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 40.

Within these points there is evidence of putting more power into a system above the states of Europe. Within this there is common assembly through representation, free movement and protections on human rights. Furthermore there is the creation of a court to have the ability to judge across the borders. Though the representation of all nations leaves one to question the nature of this assembly as one of the people or one of the states. This limits it as an element of superstate Europe as it leaves it open to interpretation. Within this however the goal he has for this congress can be found, a united Europe which follows these core tenets in role.

Though it lacks any core federalist policies it does highlight how serious a united Europe was taken within this congress. The pledge highlights the devotion towards European cooperation by the various representatives and the thought that this was not a mere exercise in looking.

Groundwork was laid for the seriousness of which European unity was taken. Division within Europe is called its greatest threat showing again how the members at the congress were serious about uniting Europe. Pledging for an assembly of Europe where all of Europe is represented shows ideals for something of an institution above the European nations. Relating it to superstate Europe though the pledge called for a European assembly highlights ideas above the European state it is not enough to clearly show evidence of the presence of superstate Europe. However these speeches highlight that the congress was calling for something above the individual nations of Europe and that there was support for the idea of something above the individual European nations.

In the final look at the speeches within the plenary session of the congress of Europe there is also however a presence of federalist ideal within the delegates to the congress. This is particularly done in relation to Winston Churchill, the honorary chairman of the congress. The president of the congress starts speaking about an important suggestion Mr. Churchill did. He states 'We remember the memorable day also about 8 years ago, when Mr. Churchill with full responsibility as the British Prime Minister offered the French common citizenship with the British'.⁸⁵ This union between the two, should it have come to pass, would have

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁸⁵ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 7.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

involved the surrender of national sovereignty, a combination of the armed forces, common citizenship, formal associations between parliaments and joint organs of foreign, financial and economic policies.⁸⁶ Though the historian Shlaim does highlight that this offer was far more likely to be a pragmatic one to keep France in the war than a commitment to European Unity.⁸⁷ What this does however show for the concept of a superstate Europe is the importance that this offer played within the congress of Europe. It is called on as something that is a great first step and something to be looked at as a goal. These callbacks are something that is supported by what Winston Churchill himself said during his opening speech while at the plenary sessions. Within his speech Winston Churchill calls back on his speech in Zurich and the founding of the British United Europe Movement. On these points he states that these events would have been left by the wayside if they were purely academic but ‘if it was the vital need of Europe and the world this dark hour, then the spark would start a fire which would glow brighter and stronger in the hearts and minds of men and women in many lands. This is what has actually happened.’⁸⁸ Within his speech in Zurich Churchill called for the recreation of the European family by creating something he called the ‘United States of Europe’.⁸⁹ He finishes up his speech by calling on the task of the congress to not only ‘raise to voice of Europe as a united whole’ but also to create a European assembly.⁹⁰ Here more clearer evidence of elements of superstate Europe can be found. Within these speeches the calls for a state of Europe with and assembly can be found. In the context of the United States of Europe idea it can be gained that this form would be more of a state than that of a Europe of nations. Within this the movement of power of the important institutions towards a transnational organization is evident as through these speeches intent can be found for the further congress. When relating this all back to Superstate Europe a clear presence can be found. Though these are more suggestions and ideas the placement of Winston Churchill as the chairman shows how much weight his words carried. With this Churchill and the

⁸⁶ Shlaim, ‘Prelude to Downfall’, 27.

⁸⁷ Avi Shlaim, ‘Prelude to Downfall: The British Offer of Union to France, June 1940’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 9, no. 3 (1974): 62.

⁸⁸ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 7.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁸⁹ Marco Duranti, “‘A Blessed Act of Oblivion’: Human Rights, European Unity and Postwar Reconciliation’, in *Reconciliation, Civil Society, and the Politics of Memory*, ed. Birgit Schwalling, Transnational Initiatives in the 20th and 21st Century (transcript Verlag, 2012), 115, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1xxswv.7>.

⁹⁰ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 11.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

president of the congress used their time to not only highlight ideas of European unity but also call back to previous federal propositions, the Franco-British Union and the United States of Europe concept. This shows the tone of the rest of the congress that within the idea of European Unity federalism was not off the table but had a place to be discussed as a possible future for the European continent. Through this a connection can be made between Superstate Europe and European cooperation initiatives during the Congress of Europe.

The Political Committee

When looking at the negotiations regarding the future of Europe and how elements of Superstate Europe were present the political committee offers insight into as to how the future of European cooperation was to look like. Particularly the question of sovereignty was something that was debated amongst the delegates from the European community. R.W.G. MacKay, a member of the British delegation and Labour MP, spoke on the issue of sovereignty. At the very start he highlights how the Dutch government was critical of earlier propositions for the creation of a federal Europe as without giving up sovereignty the promises were as ‘useless as the papers that they were written on’.⁹¹ He further highlights the struggle with sovereignty calling on a paper written by Briand in which he called for a federation of the United States of Europe but stating that there should not be any interference with the states of Europe.⁹² He continues to reinforce this point by showing and supporting that some sovereign power must be surrendered to create a United States of Europe.⁹³ The issue of sovereignty is highlighted when the power of the Congress is called into question with regards to the assembly. Mr. Smitt-Ingebretsen, member from the Norwegian delegation, highlights that the creation of an assembly is difficult enough and that further efforts might

⁹¹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 50.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁹² *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 50.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁹³ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 51.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

make this more difficult without public support, he brings in that in order to allow for a future possibly this must be the focus as ‘this congress, however important as it may be, has a remarkable lack of authority’.⁹⁴ This shows that at the Congress of Europe some members found that a lot of this talk about sovereignty and how to deal with it could not be done by the congress as it lacked authority. There is further debate surrounding the issue of sovereignty as to whether the European states are to join their sovereignty or surrender their sovereignty. When discussing amendments a disagreement arises between Mrs. Tendeloo, from the Dutch delegation, and Miss Josephy, from the British delegation. In a statement by Tendeloo she calls for Europe to federate on the basis of equality between the states where the states of Europe all have equal votes. Josephy counters that in the federation the people should have the vote and thereby create equality, that she wishes a federal government of the peoples not the states.⁹⁵ This highlights the debate within the political committee. Within the systems they propose there is a debate between the government of the peoples and one of the states. It shows there was presence and those looking to create something more akin to Superstate Europe rather than the current European system which relates more to Tendeloo’s points. The question of sovereignty raised by the political committee shows some evidence of Superstate Europe. Within the debates there is talk of creating a popular vote system within Europe or letting the states decide ultimately there was talk on how to deal with the sovereignty issues, as it was recognised that this was one of the more important issues, but their lack of the congresses authority played an important role in limiting its uses. Relating this back to superstate Europe it shows that moving the powers of the states in something as important as their politics to the European levels shows that superstate Europe was considered. However within this there is no specific solutions provided but rather just the debate. The presence of the debate is an important as it shows the seriousness in which these ideas were discussed. . .

The limited power of the congress of Europe surrounding issues of a federal state of Europe is found later in the discussions of the political committee as well. Towards the end of the

⁹⁴ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 71.
<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁹⁵ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 74.
<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

document the president of the political committee highlights the need for a federal Europe. In this he states that the unification of Europe, on a federal basis, is necessarily desirable and preferable.⁹⁶ He furthers this by highlighting that the ‘international machinery’ with limited tasks in the political, social and economic fields must be controlled by the people and not by bureaucrats or mere diplomatic machinery.⁹⁷ This particularly relates to the draft resolution that the committee recommended. Within the texts of the resolution proposed by this committee the text uses the terms ‘union or federation of Europe’.⁹⁸ Point number 8 is one example of this where it reads ‘Considers that any union or federation of Europe should be designed to protect the security of its constituents Peoples, should be free from outside control, and should not be directed against any other nation’.⁹⁹ Similar language is used in points 5 and 10. However others leave out Federation or only use federation such as point 7 regarding German integration which can only be resolved by Germany integrating into a ‘federal Europe’.¹⁰⁰ Through looking at the results of the political committee the language points at indecision, they allow for both a union and federal state in the future but decide that is should be done. The same is for point 3 regarding sovereignty calling for the ‘merging and transfer’ of some of their sovereign powers to secure ‘common political and economic action’.¹⁰¹ The debate around sovereignty is not clearly decided within the proposed draft. The question of sovereignty is left open to specifics and calls for working together, it does not call for a higher authority over the states which is to bring be a sovereign state in its own

⁹⁶ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 256.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁹⁷ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 156.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁹⁸ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 132.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

⁹⁹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 132.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰⁰ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 132.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰¹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 132.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

right. Through this the presence of superstate Europe is limited. Although federal ideas have been discussed within the new European cooperation system the proposed results of the committee show that although present they are not clearly stated. The debate surrounding European cooperation brings in some elements of superstate Europe but cannot be clearly found in the results.

The Economic and Social Committee

The economic and social committee focuses less on the questions of the of sovereignty and more on the future of the European economic cooperation. However within the discussions there is an undertone of the question of how the future of Europe will look like within union whether it is as a federal state or as a union of states. There are firstly some issues within the discussions talking about how the committee seems to be bringing in points that are unachievable within the scope of the congress. Lord Layton points out the members of the economic committee have made a habit of bringing in items in which the governments of Europe cannot act together within the near future.¹⁰² He furthers this by calling on the members stating ‘we cannot unite Europe, however, unless we unite here in the Hague’.¹⁰³ This focus on individual states within the economic committee stems from some of the economic recovery plans which are based on national sovereignty. Professor Wilhelm Keilhau, from the Norwegian delegation. who spoke at the congress summarizes this points within the economic and social committee. He starts of by calling and the wording of clause 14 within the report they are writing which states that ‘The congress recognizes that no attempt to rebuild the economy of Europe upon the bases of rigidly divided national sovereignty can prove to be successful’.¹⁰⁴ He counters this point by stating that the United

¹⁰² *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 256.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰³ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 256.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰⁴ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 208.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

Nations and the Marshall plan are working on reconstruction on the 'basis of national sovereignty'.¹⁰⁵ In his final points on this subject he highlights that if they wish to do it without the basis on national sovereignty it will take a lot of time to alter the United Nations and the constitutions which protects this sovereignty calling on the word sovereignty to be replaced with policy.¹⁰⁶ Although this change is not passed it shows the underlying difference within the economic and social commission.¹⁰⁷ The economic and social commission, possibly due to the terrible situation in the European economy, focuses more on what they deem possible in the near future rather than grand statements. They seeks to offer more realistic proposals that the governments of Europe are able to do in the short term and therefore cannot focus less on the possibility of a federal Europe. Within this committee the difficulties in bringing together sovereignty focused economic recovery policies with ideas of federalism show that although the idea is present is less so brought forward through the conversations they are having as with the political committee. However, there is still the tone of unification though it does not specifically state that it happens in a federal way. Within this there is some presence of Superstate Europe and federalism although it takes a more background role.

The Cultural Committee

One of the largest issues discussed within the Cultural Committee was the establishment of a European Cultural Centre and what its role should be within the fostering of a European culture. The Right Honourable Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, of the British delegation, summarizes the results of this debate by looking at the role the Cultural Centre provides. In this he states that they are a body that should 'inspire and give lead to governmental action' and that when governments take action it is for that body to 'examine, take up and pass on'

¹⁰⁵ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 208.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰⁶ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 208.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰⁷ Economic and Social Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948). Luxemburg, 2013. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/obj/economic_and_social_resolution_of_the_hague_congress_7_10_may_1948-en-537c7689-d702-4a15-88bd-4db51fd07b3a.html

what they believe to be ‘good in the action’.¹⁰⁸ In the role that they put the Cultural committee in relation to national actions shows that the debate between federalism or union within the cultural committee drifts towards the union side. It does not impose action on the states of Europe but rather seems to foster the spirit of European Unity with the individual states and not as part of a federalist style of government. Within this debate Kenneth Lindsay, another delegate at the conference from the UK, highlights the uncertainty surrounding the future of Europe by stating the ‘federalists and non-federalists’ agree that they do not know how the future of European institutions will look but that they must create a ‘European public opinion among people who have a difference in language, creed and political traditions’.¹⁰⁹ This highlights the positions of the cultural committee as seeking to foster European unity no matter what the future will hold. With this the presence of federalism within the cultural committee seems to be on the lower side as they do not seek to order a uniting culture but rather hope to foster it no matter the way in which the future of Europe was supposed to look like. With this there is an angle that no matter what Europe need to unite, which is present throughout the congress, but that the cultural committee is just to foster unity and decides to do so with the states and not as a broader organization. This is further supported by Lindsay who calls on the committee to add to the ‘faith of the Federalists’ by calling on more support for in each individual country to build up ‘strong organization’ to ‘build up united movement’.¹¹⁰ Within this it can be seen how the federalist had some impact. Their faith in Europe is mentioned but it is used to propose individual state actions. Through that calling on that faith others like Lindsay seek to call for more cooperation but not in a federalist manner. Through this the presence of superstate Europe can be seen. It is more of an idealistic side which leads towards unity. However within the concrete discussions they seem to have less of a say.

¹⁰⁸ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 392.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹⁰⁹ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 392.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

¹¹⁰ *Transcript of the Congress of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999. From The Council of Europe, ISBN 92-871-3918-0, 393.

<http://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806952c2>.

The Resolutions

The final part of the exploration into the congress of Europe is a look into the resolutions released by the congress to explore the final results of the congress and look for a presence of Superstate Europe. Firstly looking into the resolutions provided by the Political committee it is clear that although both have been discussed to possibility for a federated Europe is still available and left for future debate. This can most clearly be seen in points 4, 6 and 7. In all three of these points the language used when describing what European cooperation should become is that of ‘union or federation of Europe’.¹¹¹ It clearly shows how the results of the congress of Europe is that political cooperation is a must but that there has not yet been a decision on whether or not to form a union of states or a federation. Through this the presence of superstate Europe can be found as the door is left open for the creation of a European superstate through this is not something they was any clarity on yet. When discussing the issue of sovereignty the language remain the same as in the discussions mentioned earlier that being ‘transfer or merge’.¹¹² Sovereignty has thereby not been solved and it is still a compromising middle point within the language. For the Economic and Social Committee there is the first point on that there can be no ‘attempt to rebuild the economy upon the rigidly divided basis of national-sovereignty’.¹¹³ Through this the national sovereignty is tackled as it states the it must be reduced. However this does not necessarily mean that it is evidence of superstate Europe being present, rather the decrease in sovereignty is also something that happens is purely the Union. Within the resolutions of the economic and social committee there is no mention of federalism with all of the text resorting the word European Union such as with point 4.¹¹⁴ Through this the Economic and Social resolutions can be seen to stray away from federalism and thereby Superstate Europe. Finally on the cultural resolutions there is a call for a federation of European universities to guarantee their freedom from state and

¹¹¹ *Political Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948)*. Luxemburg, 2013. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/04bfa990-86bc-402f-a633-11f39c9247c4/3c3f40e5-c959-4d8b-ab73-ef8f6d4e3201/Resources#15869906-97dd-4c54-ad85-a19f2115728b_en&overlay.

¹¹² *Political Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948)*. Luxemburg, 2013. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/04bfa990-86bc-402f-a633-11f39c9247c4/3c3f40e5-c959-4d8b-ab73-ef8f6d4e3201/Resources#15869906-97dd-4c54-ad85-a19f2115728b_en&overlay.

¹¹³ *Economic and Social Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948)*. Luxemburg, 2013. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/obj/economic_and_social_resolution_of_the_hague_congress_7_10_may_1948-en-537c7689-d702-4a15-88bd-4db51fd07b3a.html.

¹¹⁴ *Economic and Social Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948)*. Luxemburg, 2013. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/obj/economic_and_social_resolution_of_the_hague_congress_7_10_may_1948-en-537c7689-d702-4a15-88bd-4db51fd07b3a.html.

political pressure.¹¹⁵ However there is little mention of any other federalist principles. Further within the preamble of the resolution it mentions that ‘European Union is no longer a utopian idea’.¹¹⁶ Through this again limited presence of Superstate Europe and federalism can be found as there is little to no mention of specifically fostering nationality and the mention of only the European Union and not something of a federalist nature. Within the resolutions that came from the Congress of Europe there for be seen that Superstate Europe had a limited presence in that they allowed for the possibility in the future. Rather there was little purely federalist policy within the resolutions.

In the end, how did the congress of Europe in 1948 contain elements of Superstate Europe? Throughout the plenary session federalist ideas were very present within the congress. Winston Churchill in his role called back on the speech in which he mentioned the United States of Europe. Calls were made in giving away sovereignty and looking at the people as well as the nation’s being called to put themselves on the back burner and to think of themselves in terms of one European people. Further calls were made within the political committee to reduce sovereignty and make a European parliament in which all of the people of Europe had a vote. The economic and social committee calls on unification though there is little mention of purely federalist ideas and rather a focus on unification as a whole. The cultural committee focuses on a similar outlook as to federalism with some mention of federalist points and their mentality not necessarily including these within their final drafts. Within the final resolutions a similar pattern can be found. Through the resolutions the possibility of a European federation is left open but with the cultural and social and the cultural committee there is little mention of those principles and the focus is more on Europe of Nations style union. How did European cooperation from 1945 till 1951 contain, or fail to contain, elements of Superstate Europe? Throughout the congress of Europe there is a presence of superstate Europe and federalism in a more spiritual form. Within the plenary sessions and the political committee there was a presence of federalism and some of its elements as a possible future for European cooperation. However when looking at the

¹¹⁵ Cultural Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948). Luxemburg, 2012. CVSE, 2.

https://www.cvce.eu/obj/economic_and_social_resolution_of_the_hague_congress_7_10_may_1948-en-537c7689-d702-4a15-88bd-4db51fd07b3a.html.

¹¹⁶ Cultural Resolution of the Hague Congress (7–10 May 1948). Luxemburg, 2012. CVSE, 2.

https://www.cvce.eu/obj/economic_and_social_resolution_of_the_hague_congress_7_10_may_1948-en-537c7689-d702-4a15-88bd-4db51fd07b3a.html.

resolutions and the Economic and social and the Cultural committee it can be seen that there is little practical result while the door is left open for a federal European state in the future.

Chapter 2

Brussels and the Question of European Defence

On the 17th of March 1948 the nations of Belgium, Luxembourg, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom came together to sign a treaty of collective defence in order to ensure each other's protection and more.¹¹⁷ Described in 1949 as a 'manifesto' of the principles need for Europe to 'survive' and as the 'first stage of pan-Europeanism by consent' it is therefore an important point to explore.¹¹⁸ Within these descriptions of the Treaty of Brussels a sense of importance arises when exploring it within the stages of post ww2 European cooperation efforts. Through this the question arises of, how does the 1948 treaty of brussels involve elements of Superstate Europe? Within this question important parts of superstate Europe and whether they were present can be explored. These are the defence aspects that were not present within the Congress of Europe as well as other political and economic situations which were legally binding towards the participant of the treaty. In order to explore the elements of superstate Europe within this treaty multiple aspect must be explored. Firstly a look into the goals of the treaty beforehand must be studied in order to discover what aims there were in the creation of this treaty. Secondly in order to fully understand it, an investigation of some of the negotiations surrounding the creation of the treaty must be conducted. Finally a look into the final signed treaty must be done in order to see how all of the previous elements relate to the final outcome. Within these elements a reflection into how the idea of federation was discussed and how this would be taken into account will be investigated. This will all be brought back to the main thesis of this paper to explore for the presence of Superstate Europe.

¹¹⁷ "Treaty of Brussels 1948", signed in Brussels on 17th of March 1948. *CVCE*, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

¹¹⁸ I. C. and R. G. H., 'Western Union', *The World Today* 5, no. 4 (1949): 175.

The road to the treaty

Firstly in exploring the Treaty of Brussels is the goals with which the signing nations came to the negotiating table with. On December 29th 1947 a minute from Mr Crosthwaite a member of the British government lays out some of the reasoning in for which the treaty is to be drafted. Within this minute Mr Crosthwaite calls back to May 7th on which the secretary of state held a meeting about the future policy towards the Dutch and the Belgians. Within this meeting they decided that a treaty of alliance with the 2 countries on the basis of the Treaty of Dunkirk ‘would be potentially desirable’.¹¹⁹ The treaty of Dunkirk was a treaty signed on the 4th of March 1947 was a treaty of alliance between the United Kingdom and France in the face of German aggression.¹²⁰ Within this treaty it is designed to not only be one of military assistance in the occasion of war it is also a call for closer economic cooperation between the two nations.¹²¹ This call for a treaty of closer cooperation militarily and economically within the European sphere was supported by Mr Bevin, the secretary of state, as within one of his memoranda on the western Union he calls for the creation of this treaty. He furthers this by stating ‘I agreed with the French Government that our two Governments should make a joint offer to the Benelux Powers of a treaty on the Dunkirk model.’¹²² However he highlights that the Dutch and Belgian want less of a Dunkirk model and seek something along the lines of a ‘regional pact based on article 52 of the United Nations’.¹²³ Within this a dilemma arises, the French and in some term the British do not wish a treaty under article 52 due to the Russian veto in the Security Council, which is what article 52 is about, however the Benelux region seems to think this preferable to the more western focused Dunkirk one.

Through this model he hopes that the Benelux, France and the UK can work together under a ‘western union’.¹²⁴ Mr. Bevin highlights the importance of the success of this treaty and that

¹¹⁹ Tony Insall and Patrick Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, in *The Brussels and North Atlantic Treaties, 1947-1949* (Routledge, 2014), 10.

¹²⁰ “Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the United Kingdom and France”, signed in Dunkirk on 4th of March 1947. *CVCE*, 3. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html

¹²¹ “Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the United Kingdom and France”, signed in Dunkirk on 4th of March 1947. *CVCE*, 3. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

¹²² Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 60.

¹²³ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 60.

¹²⁴ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 61.

compromises must be found. In a memorandum for the cabinet on the aim of British Foreign policy on January 8th 1948 he calls that ‘We must also organise and consolidate the ethical and spiritual forces inherent in this Western civilisation of which we are the chief protagonists. This in my view can only be done by creating some form of union in Western Europe’.¹²⁵ Returning to this the goal of the treaty of Brussels can be found to hold some relation towards superstate Europe. The British wish to create a Western Union by bringing in together the nations of the Benelux with France and themselves. Through this they do not want it falling under the Russians whom they deem a threat. Though it does not directly state the creation of a Federal system within Western Europe it does call for closer cooperation on both economic and military sense. How does this relate back to the question. The creation of a western union highlights opposition to the idea of a federal state and in turn superstate Europe. Through the creation of a Western Union the British sought to place themselves at the head of an international organization that was based on the sovereign power of the nations. They did not wish to pass away their sovereignty showing how they did believe superstate Europe was a possibility, though they wished to prevent it.

Further evidence regarding the presence of superstate Europe can be found within these negotiations regarding the treaty of Brussels and the western Union. Within a memorandum on the Western Union Mr Bevin states that ‘as a first step a hard core of the Western Union should be formed by creating a treaty relationship between France and Britain on the one hand and the Benelux Powers on the other’.¹²⁶ The Western Union is described as a ‘broad’ but ‘very important’ and had the ultimate goal of Military, Economic and Social cooperation’ for an independent Europe between the 2 super powers, the US and the Soviet Union.¹²⁷ Within this Mr Bevin calls that the discussion of the treaty of Brussels under the Dunkirk Model between British and the Benelux should happen ‘forthwith’.¹²⁸ This can be explained due to federalist pressures on Uniting Europe. When discussing possibilities for a federal Europe Bevin states that he thinks it is necessary to come to some form of federation in Europe but that ‘as an Englishman, he hoped it would not be necessary to have formal

¹²⁵ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹²⁶ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 60.

¹²⁷ Jan Melissen and Bert Zeeman, ‘Britain and Western Europe, 1945-51: Opportunities Lost?’, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 63, no. 1 (1986): 89, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2620234>.

¹²⁸ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 60.

constitutions'.¹²⁹ As this push for the Dunkirk model within this treaty it seeks to form cooperation on a looser basis. The British were not a fan of a federal European state and thereby wanted to create a different faction within this.

This push was further supported by call for expansion when the treaty has been signed. Within a minute from Kirkpatrick to Bevin they call for the expansion of the treaty to Italy and the Scandinavian countries as soon as the 'hard core' in western Europe is established.¹³⁰ This shows an attempt to establish a block for the Europe in cooperation that is not within a Federal system. Relating this all back to superstate Europe it provides a counter towards Federalism as a form for future European cooperation. Through this treaty to United Kingdom wished to establish the cooperation everyone wanted while not part of a formal federalist state. Within this though the presence of superstate Europe can be found. Federalism was a serious contender that the United Kingdom did not want to control the future of European cooperation. Through the creation and expansion of this treaty the hopes of a non-federal European bloc would be created which would unite Europe in a way that they saw fit. The treaty of Brussels and in turn the Western Union was a framework to widen European cooperation. Mr Bevin summarizes this view in a speech to the United Nations 'If we cannot succeed on a world basis as we had hoped, we must proceed on a regional basis'.¹³¹ This highlights the need for cooperation though the British did not wish it to be federal. There was a need for cooperation within the European continent that they wished to expand. Through this they wished to establish peace. However the form in which it should take was something that they wished would have no federal presence. Relating this back to the question of superstate Europe it again highlights the counterpoint towards federalism within the creation of European cooperation agreements. Even in the form of defence they sought to allow for independence amongst the nations. Within this the presence of Superstate Europe can be described as limited.

¹²⁹ Insall and Salmon, 'Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948', 3.

¹³⁰ Insall and Salmon, 'Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948', 27.

¹³¹ C. and H., 'Western Union', 178.

The negotiations

Another point to explore within the negotiations surrounding the treaty of Brussels and the concept of Superstate Europe is the anti-Soviet union sentiment that was happening at the time. Within the memorandum on the 4th of January 1948 by Mr Bevin a relationship is laid between the Soviet government and the concept of European Federalism. The memorandum states that the soviet government has successfully formed and economic and political block running from ‘the Baltic along the Oder, through Trieste to the Black Sea’. ¹³² This is followed by statements that the only way to stop the soviets from ‘encroaching’ on the west is to form a ‘union in western Europe’ in not just in the form of physical barriers but of ‘ethical and spiritual forces’. ¹³³ Through this they seek to counter it by creating ‘a Western democratic system comprising, if possible, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France, Portugal, Italy and Greece.’. ¹³⁴ This particular plays a role within the British ideas for western European cooperation, Bevin calls for a ‘consolidation of Western Europe’. ¹³⁵

These calls are further supported by the suggestion that European cooperation would be an alliance against the soviet union backed by ‘power, money and resolution and bound together by common ideals’ for which the Europeans have ‘twice shed their blood’. ¹³⁶ Within this alliance it is of course the British who will offer the ‘spiritual lead’. This ‘spiritual union of the west’ was proposed to Mr Marshal, of the United States, and Bidault, of France, who agree without committing. ¹³⁷ In this they hoped again to show that they were ‘not subservient to the United States of America or to the Soviet Union’. ¹³⁸ This memorandum explained the Soviet strategy for Europe and how to counter it. Within a previous exploration on soviet sentiment some pro federalist sentiment count be found. Therefor anti-Soviet sentiment could offer a partial explanation towards anti federalist sentiment, as the British had overheard Vyshinsky, a member of the Soviet government, to have said that the only solution for the Germany problem is ‘some sort of European Federation had been created, but ‘many, many

¹³² Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹³³ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹³⁴ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹³⁵ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹³⁶ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹³⁷ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

¹³⁸ Insall and Salmon, ‘Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948’, 16.

years' would be needed for that, and such a federation could only be a Socialist federation under progressive leadership.'.¹³⁹ This explanation for the move against federalism seem unlikely however as it only focuses on the foreign angle and not one some of the British own thoughts. What can be more concretely gathered from the planning behind the treaty however is that although federalism was an option the United Kingdom sought to gain some sort of favourable position from the reestablishing of the international order post-World War 2. Within the European cooperation efforts they supported Europe coming together but still sought find a leadership position and while they were depend on the US in some matters sought to find a spiritual leadership position relating this back to superstate Europe it shows a limitation in its presence within European cooperation efforts at the United Kingdom saw the importance of European cooperation but did not wish to form a federation and therefor sought to create a different form of cooperation. The idea of spiritual leadership within new European cooperation highlights this as a counter to federalist ideas and the ideas superstate Europe. Within the context of the treaty there was a need for cooperation but not in a federalist sense. The Western Union provided an alternative form for this cooperation thereby halting federalist ideas.

The treaty

Finally and exploration into the signed treaty must be explored in order to look at the version which came to be ratified. Within the preamble of the treaty it immediately becomes clear that this is about more than just a defensive alliance. Within this text Belgium, the Netherland, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and France state that they are to 'conclude a treaty for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for collective self-defence'.¹⁴⁰ This shows that they are looking towards more than just a military alliance but also towards deeper cooperation. This is supported by article 1 of the treaty which call upon them to 'organize and coordinate' their economies to reduce 'conflict of the economic

¹³⁹ Insall and Salmon, 'Brussels Treaty and Western Union 17 December 1947 – 28 June 1948', 8.

¹⁴⁰ "Treaty of Brussels 1948", signed in Brussels on 17th of March 1948. *CVCE*, 2.

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

policies', 'coordinate production' and develop their 'commercial exchanges'.¹⁴¹ The second article of the treaty has the signatories 'make every effort in common' to 'promote the attainment of a higher standard of living'.¹⁴² The focus of the first two articles of the treaty being an economic and social further highlights the nature of the treaty of being something more than cooperative on collective defence but rather a whole cooperation effort in order to promote economic and social unity between the signatories.

This cooperation is furthered by article 7 of the treaty which states that 'for the purpose of consulting together on all the questions dealt with in the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties will create a Consultative Council'.¹⁴³ Not only are they to cooperate together militarily and economically but they are to have a council together to make decisions on these points. Does this mean however that there is a presence of superstate Europe within this treaty? In an international law journal at the time one author notes that 'Nevertheless, there is no formal political union between the countries and consequently as signatories they appear as, and are, three separate contracting parties'.¹⁴⁴ Though there is cooperation between all of the nations on a military economic and social level there is nothing contained within the treaty which creates a political union. This means that there is little presence of superstate Europe purely within the treaty itself. The promise of closer economic, political and social cooperation is not enough to claim this has elements of Superstate Europe within its contents. The cooperation agreements can stop well short of a federal superstate on the European continent so although it could have led to its creation it does not provide enough to clearly state that it was part of the Treaty of Brussels. Relating this back to the question regarding the elements of superstate Europe within the treaty of brussels the effect can again seem to be limited. There is no political union and though there is a council it has not authority over the states but rather to work with them. This means that as they were seen at the time as

¹⁴¹ "Treaty of Brussels 1948", signed in Brussels on 17th of March 1948. *CVCE*, 3. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

¹⁴² "Treaty of Brussels 1948", signed in Brussels on 17th of March 1948. *CVCE*, 3. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

¹⁴³ "Treaty of Brussels 1948", signed in Brussels on 17th of March 1948. *CVCE*, 4. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html.

¹⁴⁴ 'Treaty Signed at Brussels on March 17, 1948, between Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom', *The International Law Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1948): 40.

individual partners within this aspect of the treaty the elements of superstate Europe cannot be found.

In the end, how does the 1948 treaty of brussels involve elements of Superstate Europe? The call for the creation of a federalist Europe was something that the people behind the treaty of Brussels had to take into account. The goals of the treaty were to increase the cooperation of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and France on a military economic, and social front. Throughout the preparation of the treaty there was clear discussion into looking beyond simple cooperation and rather into something of a union. The Western Union as it came to be known amongst the British had limited goals of a federalist nature and rather tended to try and create and push back against federalism as much as it could. Within the Western Union though there was a plan in place to expand it against the threat of the Soviet Union. The United Kingdom further sought to use it as a way to have some sort of leadership role within the new European order as a spiritual leader. Within the treaty document it can therefore be seen that although cooperation was furthered and a council of the signatories was set up to foster this cooperation there was no sign of federalist intent within the confines of said treaty. How does this all relate back to the broader thesis question? Within the 1948 treaty of Brussels there are limited elements of superstate Europe. Though it played a role within the broader frame of mind at the time the British sought to create, through the treaty, a form of European cooperation that resembles more of a Europe of nations and less of a superstate Europe. Federalism had its influence and was considered as an option for the future of European cooperation. However through this treaty the British sought to, and managed to, establish a cooperation effort which shied away from the idea of superstate Europe. Relating this back to the main question of the thesis and interesting counter point to superstate Europe can be found. Though the treaty has elements of cooperation and federalism its intent highlights that the idea of a European superstate was at this point not something that was particularly wished for.

Chapter 3

Coal, Steel and the Federation

‘World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it’, that is how the French foreign minister Robert Schuman opened his declaration on the 9th of May 1950.¹⁴⁵ Within this declaration Schuman lays the foundation and call for the creation of a European community centred around coal and steel in order to safeguard the peace and future of Europe.¹⁴⁶ From this declaration the European Coal and Steel Community was created, commonly seen as a big step in the creation of the European Union.¹⁴⁷ It is therefore a fitting event to have the final exploration of Superstate Europe and European cooperation efforts. This will be explored through the question, how did the treaty of Paris in 1951 contain elements of superstate Europe? In order to explore this question this chapter will look at multiple elements of the negotiations and the final results of the treaty. Firstly it will explore the men behind the idea Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet. Next it will look into the reasoning behind the need for the creation of this community. The final part of this paragraph will explore the three different bodies established by the Paris treaty of 1951, that being, the High Authority, the Council and the Assembly. Through these three parts the relationship between Superstate Europe and the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community can be found.

The People

When exploring for elements of Superstate Europe within the 1951 treaty of Paris one cannot go without looking into the intent of the plan. Within this it is important to analyse the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet. In 1950 Schuman declared that Europe would not be made at all according to a single plan.¹⁴⁸ As a first step towards this plan

¹⁴⁵ The Schuman Declaration (Paris may 9, 1950). Luxemburg, 2014. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html.

¹⁴⁶ The Schuman Declaration (Paris may 9, 1950). Luxemburg, 2014. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html.

¹⁴⁷ Burgess, ‘Introduction’, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Burgess, ‘Introduction’, 2.

Schuman submitted a proposal to a 'surprised international public' to create organization of the "totality of Franco-German coal and steel production under a common High Authority".¹⁴⁹ Within this he hoped that in the combination of coal and steel would provide the base for a Europe that would be the 'first step in federating Europe'.¹⁵⁰ Monnet who worked closely with Schuman supported this by saying that the proposal included a "political objective: to make a breach in the ramparts of national sovereignty which will be narrow enough to secure consent, but deep enough the way toward the unity that is essential to peace".¹⁵¹ Schuman and Monnet hoped that thereby the creation of this organization would lay the foundation of a European Federation which would present in the future and would be "indispensable preservation of peace".¹⁵² Hereby the intent behind the plan for the European coal and steel community can be found. Within these statements ahead of the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community Schuman and Monnet thought that they were laying the foundations towards essential federation as a way to ensure world peace. Within the Schuman deceleration of 1950 this sentiment becomes clear. In the opening part of his statement Schuman declares that when 'a United Europe was not achieved we had war'.¹⁵³ The setting up of this authority over coal and steel Schuman hoped to 'change the destinies' of the areas which had been 'devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war'.¹⁵⁴ Through this it can be seen that this was a plan unity within Europe through coal and steel. How does this relate to the concept of Superstate Europe. Within the Schuman declaration, it seems federalism was taken as the basis in which the European Coal and Steel community was based. It shows that at this point in time it was meant to be a stepping stone towards the unity of Europe. Within this superstate Europe can be found as there is intent of heading towards the future of one united Superstate of Europe. Relating this back to the research question there are clear elements of superstate Europe present. Within the goal of Schuman and Monnet there is a plan to place one aspect of the Europe, the coal and steel industry, under the complete control of a supernational organization. Within this they hoped to create a step by step process in

¹⁴⁹ Dietmar Petzina, Wolfgang F. Stolper, and Michael Hudson, 'The Origin of the European Coal and Steel Community: Economic Forces and Political Interests', *Zeitschrift Für Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft / Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 137, no. 3 (1981): 450.

¹⁵⁰ Burgess, 'Introduction', 2.

¹⁵¹ Burgess, 'Introduction', 2.

¹⁵² Burgess, 'Introduction', 3.

¹⁵³ The Schuman Declaration (Paris may 9, 1950). Luxemburg, 2014. *CVSE*, 2.

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html.

¹⁵⁴ The Schuman Declaration (Paris may 9, 1950). Luxemburg, 2014. *CVSE*, 2.

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html.

which more and more aspects of Europe would be placed above the individual nations and thereby creating a federated Europe. Through this clear elements of superstate Europe can be found within the minds behind the Schuman plan.

Further evidence of the presence of superstate Europe within the Treaty of Paris signed in 1951 lies within the threat that the creation of the Coal and Steel community was supposed to counter. Within France there was a fear that the ‘resurgent power’ within found ‘independence of Germany’. ¹⁵⁵ Further the coming of the end of the Marshall plan was something feared by many Europeans as they saw it as an end towards the unifying force within Europe that the plan was seen as. Through this Germany’s ‘dominance’ within the areas of coal and steel could provide a future issue towards Europe’s peace or worse could be used to create ‘another war machine’ ¹⁵⁶ This reflected a long standing fear of German returning to a dominance of steel that persisted since the ‘immediate post war period’. ¹⁵⁷ It is within this fear that the plan to unite coal and steel under one supernational authority comes from. Within the Schuman declaration this can be supported by the points he provides on which the French government is ‘ready to open negotiations’ for the coming European cooperation surrounding coal and steel. ¹⁵⁸ These goals read as:

- (1) that the task with which this common higher authority will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality;*
- (2) the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries;*
- (3) the development in common of exports to other countries;*

¹⁵⁵ Raymond Vernon, ‘The Schuman Plan: Sovereign Powers of the European Coal and Steel Community’, *The American Journal of International Law* 47, no. 2 (1953): 185, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2194820>.

¹⁵⁶ Karen J. Alter, ‘The Theory and Reality of the European Coal and Steel Community’, SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 27 July 2006), 1, <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=920716>.

¹⁵⁷ Alter, ‘The Theory and Reality of the European Coal and Steel Community’, 3.

¹⁵⁸ The Schuman Declaration (Paris may 9, 1950). Luxemburg, 2014. CVSE, 2.

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html.

*(4) the equalization and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries.*¹⁵⁹

Within these points in combining French and German coal and steel the focus on Germany can be found as the only nations mentioned by name. However it does leave open the ability for other nations to place their own industry under this higher authority. The other European nations however dismissed this plan as the surrender of their 'sovereign powers' to control coal and steel 'could scarcely be regarded as a serious proposal'.¹⁶⁰ However within the citizens of western Europe it struck 'various responsive chords' as 'many ordinary citizens that Europe's problems would be solved if Europe could be joined in a single political state'.¹⁶¹ How does this all relate back to elements of superstate Europe within the Treaty of Paris. Within the threat of Germany that France thought it faced it seeks to counter the specific threat of coal and steel. Within this proposal they sought not to take for their own control but rather to rob it under a supernational authority. The nations of Europe were not very supportive of giving up sovereign powers but it was supported by many ordinary people in western Europe. Within this superstate Europe can be found as in the threat to peace proposals were made to subject important industries to something above the governments of Europe but rather to a new higher authority.

The Organization

The high authority that was discussed throughout the process leading up to the treaty of Paris and the creation of the European Coal and Steel community is something that needs to be explored when looking at elements of superstate Europe. Within this assembly it is described as holding a lot more power than just a combination of the states. The high authority was given the power to make choices that the nations participating in the treaty might not agree with themselves.¹⁶² This high authority could itself not only consults with other governments but with 'the various interested parties (enterprises, workers, consumers and dealers)'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ The Schuman Declaration (Paris may 9, 1950). Luxemburg, 2014. *CVSE*, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html.

¹⁶⁰ Vernon, 'The Schuman Plan', 183.

¹⁶¹ Vernon, 'The Schuman Plan', 184.

¹⁶² Vernon, 'The Schuman Plan', 189.

¹⁶³ Vernon, 'The Schuman Plan', 195.

Within the jurisdiction of coal and steel the assembly was sovereign. It was a representative of ‘the entire Community’ participating in the treaty and was supposed to act above the nations of Europe.¹⁶⁴ However the Dutch came in and foiled this plan of the creation of a ‘highly independent supranational planning body’ by insisting on the creation of a council of ministers.¹⁶⁵ This companion body, made up of ministers representing the governments of the participating states, sought to prevent this new community from having too much independence from its creators and keeping it in line within the wishes of the signing nations.¹⁶⁶

This council of ministers was not originally envisioned within the creation of the of this new community according to Schuman and Monnet’s plan.¹⁶⁷ The nations within the coal and steel community thereby managed to retain their sovereign powers over this council, creating a system in which their internal relations came together but their foreign powers remained separated.¹⁶⁸ How does this all relate back to superstate Europe? The assembly proposed within the original plan was to create an assembly above the states able to independently operate within the area of coal and steel. Within this area it was supposed to be a united front in which the individual states had little say over how it was run as it was left to this assembly. Within this superstate Europe can be found as a starting point for nations giving up their sovereignty in certain elements towards a higher power. However by creating the council of ministers the individual nations managed to curb the independence of the organizations by bringing the decisions it made back under the control of the ministers of said states. It shows how the original goal of the plan was to make a supernational organization and take away the power from the states of Europe and granting that power to this new organization in a form of a federal system. However this hope was countered by some of the nations as they did not want to give up their sovereign control.

When looking into the presence of Superstate Europe within the European Coal and Steel Community it is also important to explore the assembly meant to limit the powers of the High

¹⁶⁴ Lodge, ‘Federalism and the European Parliament’, 64.

¹⁶⁵ Alter, ‘The Theory and Reality of the European Coal and Steel Community’, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Vernon, ‘The Schuman Plan’, 199.

¹⁶⁷ Vernon, ‘The Schuman Plan’, 199.

¹⁶⁸ Vernon, ‘The Schuman Plan’, 190.

Authority. As established in the previous paragraph within the Dutch were against giving up the power of their state towards the high authority within a meeting between Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourgian officials concerning the Schuman plan they state that there is ‘the right for a country not to be subjected to decisions that it judged would adversely affect its vital interests. Such a country would only be accountable for its attitude to its own general public. Such a solution would be an acceptable way of reconciling the principle of national sovereignty with that of the autonomy of the High Authority.’.¹⁶⁹ Such sentiment played an underlying role throughout different nations concerning the Schuman plan. In a letter to the head of the Italian delegation, Paolo Taviani, to Paris the Italian government writes that they must adopt a European attitude but ‘if others seek to give the plan a national twist, our attitude will have to change’.¹⁷⁰ The hesitation towards an autonomous power taking away their sovereign right of control is thereby limited. The Italians seem to take into account that there is a possibility of national interests gaining an upper hand. Looking into the treaty itself the articles relating the council show how they have limited the powers of the high authority and thereby kept it within their national interests. Within article 26, the first concerning the establishment of the council, the council is given the explicit task of ‘harmonizing the action of the High Authority and that of the governments’.¹⁷¹ Decision made by the high authority were to be voted on by the council in order to be passed, such as decisions made in order to institute financial mechanisms in order to achieve the aims set out by the treaty.¹⁷² These members of the council were to be one member proposed by each government.¹⁷³ Within this the limitation of federalism within this treaty can be found. Through the establishment of this council the high authority has to subject itself to the member states. In order to accomplish

¹⁶⁹ Summary record of the meeting between Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourg officials (Brussels, 8 June 1950). Luxembourg, 2016. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/5cc6b004-33b7-4e44-b6db-f5f9e6c01023/4d82341b-4d28-4cb5-95d9-41b3c630bdc1/Resources#93f5ef2a-0dfc-46e4-9c45-1051da6ec167_en&overlay.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from Carlo Sforza to Paolo Emilio Taviani (Rome, 10 June 1950). Luxembourg, 2016. CVSE, 2. https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/5cc6b004-33b7-4e44-b6db-f5f9e6c01023/4d82341b-4d28-4cb5-95d9-41b3c630bdc1/Resources#88edd98-6a04-4ed6-afb9-adafa779f0b9_en&overlay.

¹⁷¹ “Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community”, signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. CVCE, 12. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_steel_community_paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

¹⁷² “Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community”, signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. CVCE, 19. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_steel_community_paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

¹⁷³ “Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community”, signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. CVCE, 12. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_steel_community_paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

the goal of the treaty and the community it has to pass through the discussion of this council. Though the nations do give away some sovereignty as for some of the decisions only a majority is necessary to pass the proposal.¹⁷⁴ Through this it shows that the elements of superstate Europe that were meant to be present within the paper according to Schumans original plan have thereby been subjected to the states which goes against the federal element within the treaty.

On final aspect to explore when looking at the 1951 treaty of Paris in relation to elements of superstate Europe is the establishment of the assembly. The assembly was made up of representatives of all of the participating nations within the European coal and steel Community and were granted supervisory powers.¹⁷⁵ There were different amounts of representatives from each nations those being Germany 18, Belgium 10, France 18, Italy 18, Luxembourg 4 and the Netherlands with 10.¹⁷⁶ These delegates were to be members of the signing states parliament who are called up or elected by direct universal suffrage depending on what the states themselves decided.¹⁷⁷ Within this process, the idea of superstate Europe seems evident.. Though not universally assigned by the treaty member states had the option to allow for election to a European governing body concerning coal and steel. Within this evidence of a more federal design can be found as this allows for some form of government which has certain powers over others while being directly voted into power by the European people. Within the role of this assembly they were allowed to vote on motions of censure which in case passed by a two-thirds majority the members of the High Authority ‘must resign in a body’.¹⁷⁸ Though they do not have the same amount of power, the council of

¹⁷⁴ "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. *CVCE*, 12. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_st..._paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

¹⁷⁵ "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. *CVCE*, 10. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_st..._paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

¹⁷⁶ "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. *CVCE*, 10. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_st..._paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

¹⁷⁷ "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. *CVCE*, 10. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_st..._paris_18_april_1951_en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html.

¹⁷⁸ "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community", signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1951. *CVCE*, 10.

ministers had a pretence of an elected body of officials who have the ability to keep the High Authority in check. Through this the assembly has some of the powers associated with a general form of democratic government. Within this presence of elements of superstate Europe can be found. Through the creation of a body, in which members could be elected either directly through election or be assigned from national parliaments, some form of federalism was present. However due to the existence of the council it cannot be said that this is a federal system. This is due to the states still having more authority than the council and the ability to assign members rather than through voting. This results not in a super European state but rather something more like the current form of the EU.

How did the treaty of Paris in 1951 contain elements of superstate Europe? After exploring Schuman and Monnet, the goals of the treaty, the High Authority, The council and the Assembly a clear picture of this question can be painted. With the ideas coming from Schuman and Monnet federalist intent can be found. They sought to create the European Coal and Steel Community as the first step in their goal of creating a federal European state. Within the perceived threat shown by German dominance they thought that only a federal state could ensure peace on the continent and to start with coal and steel would thereby allow for this idea to prosper. Through the negotiations surrounding the European Coal and Steel Community however the federalism and the creation of a superstate Europe were limited. The High Authority created was supposed to be an independent supranational organization which was to take away their sovereignty through the treaty. However through intervention by some of the states, particularly the Dutch, the council was added in order to place the High Authority under the specific control of the states and ministers they provided in order to protect their own interests. However the assembly brings back some semblance of federalism as it allowed for a body of elected officials, in some capacity by the people of Europe, to provide their opinions and have some form of authority. Relating this all back to the question of the thesis, the treaty of Paris of 1951 shows how federalism, and in turn superstate Europe, had an influence on European cooperation as the plan to create the European Coal and Steel Community started off as a federalist idea that the signing states watered down into the

version that they eventually received. Thereby however some element of federalism remained within the treaty as not all of it was removed to make the treaty less federalist.

Conclusion

How did European cooperation from 1945 till 1951 contain, or fail to contain, elements of Superstate Europe? At the roots of the events studied a federal Europe was a part of the reasoning for the creation of the cooperation agreements and efforts. The ideological idea of federalism and a superstate Europe were seriously considered as a solution for peace on the European continent. Throughout the three events studied this can be found. In the Congress of Europe the calls for a European state within the plenary session only resulted in the possibility of a federation being left open. The treaty of Brussels a federal union was deemed to be against the interests of the state and instead they attempted to create a union based on national sovereignty. In the treaty of Paris placing control of European Coal and Steel industries in the hands of an organization above the state undermined by the creation of the Council of Ministers to have the power of the High Assembly. However within the execution of these cooperation agreements the states of Europe watered down and changed the agreements so that federalism was not completely off the table but something that could always be discussed in the future. How did European cooperation from 1945 till 1951 contain, or fail to contain, elements of Superstate Europe? The European cooperation had roots of superstate Europe at its base but did not have any concrete results throughout the time period from 1945 till 1951.

In order to establish this three different events were investigated within their own questions. These were the Congress of Europe, The treaty of Brussels and the treaty of Paris. Firstly, how did the Congress of Europe in 1948 contain elements of Superstate Europe? Within the congress of European federalism, and in turn superstate Europe played a mostly ideological role in looking at the future of European cooperation. Through the Plenary sessions and the speeches by Winston Churchill there were calls for a federal state within Europe and the surrender of sovereignty over certain aspects of the individual states. However when looking at the different committees a limited and watered down version of federalism was reached. Though the resolution left the possibility for the creation of a federal state within Europe they did not call on the creation of superstate Europe but rather in an effort to allow for cooperation then left it as a future possibility.

Secondly, how does the 1948 treaty of brussels involve elements of Superstate Europe? The treaty of Brussels had to deal with federalist undertones when trying to establish the future of western European defence. The treaty did not only look into merely defence matters, but saw that the security in Europe had to be based on economic cooperation as well to be successful. The Western Union that the treaty sought to create however led away from federalism and saw more individual nation politics take place. Through this the presence of elements of Superstate Europe was limited as the powers sought to cooperate within their own sovereign bounds.

Finally, How did the treaty of Paris in 1951 contain elements of superstate Europe? The creation of the European Coal and Steel Community originated within federalist foundations. Schuman and Monnet thought that to create a federal European state, small steps must be taken for its success instead of one big treaty. Through the proposed plan and within the Schuman declaration the coal and steel industries of the participation nations were to be placed under a supernational authority and would result in the participation nations giving up all sovereign control over these areas. Within the negotiations of the treaty however the nations of Europe changed the format for the governing of coal and steel by creating the council of ministers to have authority over the High Authority in order to preserve the control that the individual nations had over these industries, doing away with the federalist nature of the organization. Within this however the creation of the Assembly led to a European body which could be elected directly by the European people that had cross national control. How does all of this answer the original research question of this paper. It can be seen that federalism, and in turn Superstate Europe, influenced many of the early post-world War 2 European cooperation efforts.

Going beyond the conclusion of the research question, how does this research situate itself within the historiography of the study of federalism and superstate Europe? When looking at the aspects of superstate Europe it grounds itself into the history of European cooperation. Elements of Superstate Europe can be found throughout the three cases provided within the scope of this research. With the combination of the events looking into federalism we can however see that there is limited effect that these ideas for a European superstate had. Within

the research conducted to shows that within the application and results of the conference and the treaties the idea was left open for to happen but in practice its influence was limited in the establishment of these cooperation agreement. Through this the research shows that Superstate Europe has its foundations within these treaties but its impact was limited. This does have implications for the discussion surrounding the creation of a European superstate. Within this essay it shows that there was support for it in the past and that the European Coal and Steel community within its origins had some of its elements present. This could be used as a justification for the creation of a European superstate should the need ever come to that. Within its societal implication this creates aspects that could be used in political life for European federalists.

Within the current day debates this research situates itself well to be of use. Due to the recent full scale invasion of Ukraine Europe has seen an increased amount of conversations surrounding the future of European cooperation.¹⁷⁹ This research situates itself by looking at federalism and its historical process. By applying it to modern times it offers a view as to the historical legitimacy of a federal European state as well as looking at how certain elements of how such a state could come into being. Furthermore, this is supported by the recent shift in US politics moving away from the support of Europe. Within the exploration of superstate Europe thereby can place itself amongst offering a historic look and what could possibly be the future of European cooperation and politics.

The research gap identified in the introduction was one to look at the combination of superstate Europe within the larger events surrounding post-world war two European cooperation efforts within a lens of focus on outside influence. The conclusion provided above fits clearly within this gap. This is as the conclusion shown above highlights that Superstate Europe was present within these post World War 2 European cooperation efforts. Though they were not as concrete results or treaties there was a lot of intent and spiritual support for the ideas provided under the concept of superstate Europe. Through this the academic relevance of the findings of this research offered by this thesis can be found. In its

¹⁷⁹ Eleonora Vasques and Gerardo Fortuna, 'Draghi Calls for EU Treaties Change amid "ideal" and "Pragmatic" Federalism', *Euractiv* (blog), 3 May 2022, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/draghi-calls-for-eu-treaties-change-amid-ideal-and-pragmatic-federalism/>.

finding of elements of superstate Europe it allows for the exploration of said federalism to be taken into different direction. This as well as placing the idea of a super European state, as an independent power from the US, within its historical base. Within the current dimension of European politics this could be a possible area of future study. The outside influence of the threat of conflict can be found throughout the reasoning for these events. Through fear from the Soviet Union, and the threat of the resurgence of Germany were within the reasons for establishing the treaties or the congress.

Within the theories used for this study there are some elements which must be taken into account. For the Bellicist theory it can be seen that there was a perceived threat throughout the period in study. Within each of the articles the cases the threat of future war is explicitly stated as a reason for cooperation. Whether Germany or the Soviet Union, threats were perceived amongst them and yet the state did not form. Either due to the lack of direct conflict at the time or other aspects if the threat was high enough to act, was it not enough for the formation of a federal state. The economic aspects were however integrated towards a more federal system throughout the cases. Therefore the theory is somewhat limited within its explanation of state building through superstate Europe and European cooperation. Reflecting on this theory it shows a drawback within the application as the threat of war was not enough in order to create the state. Therefore a look must be had into the limitations of this state building theory in application towards superstate Europe and European cooperation as according to the theory the threat of war should lead to state formation but in this case this was limited.

Limitations

Within any form of academic writing there can always be limitations to the research that must be discussed to understand the full picture. This thesis is no different. The first limitation relates to the language of writing and the events studied. Within the cooperation between the different nations of Europe it must come as no surprise that there are a multitude of languages used by different governments. With the ability to only read Dutch and English this renders me unable to use some of the sources as they are in a foreign language. Particularly within the scope of this research some of the sources were written partially in French. Though some sources offered partial or complete translations there were still some areas that could not be

explored firsthand. However in order to limit the effect of this on the outcome of the research secondary literature was used from authors that could explore that side of the negotiations. This allows for the understanding of the parts offered within the sources of a foreign language not through primary but secondary research. A second limitation within the scope of the research is the volume of information which is available on the topic. Within this particularly the Congress of Europe offered over 400 pages of primary source material which cannot not all be incorporated within the length of this thesis. In order to limit the effects of this, all of the material was read and the general picture was painted within the paper in order to still provide a complete picture of the events that were considered. On final limitation to explore within the paper is the limited amount of case studies. In order to gather a stronger conclusion more case studies would be necessary. Within the limits of the word count for this thesis though this was not possible. Although this is a limitation on the thesis the case studies chosen provide enough of a broad look into the different cooperation efforts at the time to show a good picture within the period of European cooperation.

Future Research

Through the exploration of these cases one possibility for future research is the expansion of the amount of cases to consider other areas of cooperation. Within this it would allow for more data to be explored within the context of European cooperation and superstate Europe. Both in earlier times and later European cooperation took on different forms within the bound of federalism. Within this, one could look at applying the conclusions of this paper to other periods of European cooperation or cases to see if they support or counter the conclusions. Further exploration within the bounds of effect on the European population is also an important area that could provide avenues for future research. This is as this is not explored, often, within this bounds of this thesis. All of these cases can provide meaningful insight in to the conclusions provided through the research already done and can explore more avenues in which superstate Europe had an impact on European cooperation. Through this it could be seen more completely if it was the governments acting on their own or with the support of their people. Particularly taking elections within different European nations and their stances could provide interesting results. There are many more cooperation efforts to be explored within the context of Superstate Europe. The justification of a federal state through a

historical lens is also an area of study that can be explored in the future. Whether historically or as a form of political science there are many aspects explored within the context of the elements that were explored within the thesis. Finally within the European federalist ideals this allows for the writing of possibilities for within the creation of a European state. It can highlight the ideas that were laid down by the people beforehand that can be further brought to light in the future. It offers ideas mostly in terms of defence agreements that can be explored. As well as allowing for research into how to change the current European Union into a federal state should that be desired among the people of Europe and the political elite. The exploration into European cooperation and Superstate Europe is by no means finished.

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