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A CAPITAL FOR EUROPE

By

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A THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

We are in the same process the Americans went through 200 years ago, we may have our quarrels between Federalists and Nationalists, but everyone knows very well we are moving toward unity.¹

This quote by Jean Rey of Belgium, who became president of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1967, reflects the spirit of European unity. Unification in the form of a true European federation is the goal of many "Europeans"² such as Jean Rey, Jean Monnet, Dr. Sicco Mansholt, Paul-Henri Spaak, Gerhard Schroeder, Alcide de Gasperi, and Professor Walter Hallstein.

For 2000 years, from Julius Ceasar to Jean Rey, the idea of a united Europe has been germinating in the minds of philosophers, economists, and political scientists. However, greater steps have been taken toward unification in the last 20 years than in the past two centuries. The idea of European unification as presently viewed was born in the post World War II years.

¹E. Rachlis, The Low Countries, New York, Time Life Books, 1968, p. 148.

²The term "Europeans" is used to identify those advocates of European unity in Western Europe.

Some pessimistic observers may argue that the European idea is dying, that no true spirit of European unity exists, that the Common Market could degenerate into a "combination of free trade at the base and anonymous bureaucracy at the top."³ Others may add that the attempt of European Unification has also encouraged an "Americanization" trend in some European countries, that the Common Market is tending to become a commercial unity and not an economic unity.⁴

All of these negative arguments may be valid to some extent, but it should not be forgotten that at the conclusion of the Treaty of Rome even the most enthusiastic "Europeans" did not expect the results that have so far been attained by the EEC. The EEC has gone beyond the highest expectations, never before in the history of Europe did any six countries peacefully join together for mutual benefits.

In the political unification process, the divisive agents such as language, history, and nationalism may be strong, and the centripetal uniting forces slow; this uniting process will have to be a gradual one. It is unthinkable that all obstacles will be removed in a short period of time. Europe, as any state, is still undergoing the early and painful stages of formation. It will take time to reach unification to its fullest

³R. Aron, "Is the European Idea Dying?", The Atlantic Community Quarterly, Vol. 5, Spring 1967, p. 38.

⁴Ibid., p. 39.

meaning, but this unification can very well become reality. The momentum of unity created during the post World War II years can continue, and indeed accelerate. Wasn't the United States itself based on European diversity? Diversity such as culture and civilization.

The Concept of Europe

The study of a region such as Europe requires some concepts and definitions. Many books have been written about the unification of Europe, but they often lack an introductory geographic framework. It may be helpful first to define the word region. Vidal de la Blache defines it as "A domain where many dissimilar beings, artificially brought together, have subsequently adapted themselves to a common existence." K. Young calls it: "A geographic area unified at first economically and later by consensus of thought, education, recreation, etc. which distinguishes it from other areas." A recent publication simply defines it as "...a defined portion of the earth's surface."⁵ The term region may be further broken down into three different categories: 1) The homogeneous region or formal region, that is an area having a unitary quality because of the relative homogeneity of a certain characteristic. 2) The functional region, a coherent structure of areal units organized into a functioning system by lines of movement

⁵W. F. Koch, An Outline of European Geography, University, Al., University of Alabama Supply Store, 1971, p. 2.

or influence that converge on a central node or trunk. 3) The general region, these are recognized on the basis of overall distinctiveness.⁶

There can be numerous regions and types of regions, they are all arbitrary, that is, the definition of the region is based on the factors selected by the person defining it.⁷

The term Europe has almost as many definitions as the term region. Europe may be defined in different ways, but perhaps the clearest one may be geographical. In its broadest terms Europe may be thought of as:

Between the heavy land masses of Asia and Africa, there is a sort of puzzle of mingling lands and seas called Europe. Between the Arctic Ocean, the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the widening forest and shrublands of Soviet Asia, the European lands consist of peninsular and isthmian areas, plus a scattering of islands all around. It scarcely deserves to be called a continent. However, it is and always has been an exceedingly important part of the globe.⁸

Another geographer refers to it as:

...almost equally divided into two great physical regions, an eastern and a western. Even from a small-scale atlas-map it is possible to perceive the contrast between the great monotonous plain of eastern Europe and the varied relief of the rest of the continent...⁹

⁶Wheeler, Kostbade, Thoman, Regional Geography of the World, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., New York, 1969, p. 4.

⁷W. F. Koch, op. cit., p. 2.

⁸J. Gottmann, A Geography of Europe, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969, p. 1.

⁹M. R. Shackelton, Europe A Regional Geography, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1954, p. 4.

These definitions are very descriptive, but much too broad for the purpose of this paper. Until today the idea of European unification will have to be narrowed down into only a few of the countries that are part of the "mingling lands and seas." At present, in its broadest terms, a European union will comprise those countries that are usually referred to as Western Europe. Gottmann's composition of Western Europe will best suit the term Europe in this paper, that is: Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, with the addition of West Germany and Italy (Figure 1).

According to the various categories of regions Europe, in this case, is a 1) "General" region and also a 2) "formal" or "homogeneous" region to some extent. The homogeneous characteristic has already been established by the six countries of the European Economic Community.

In the event of unification, political geographers will be faced with the problem of carefully determining a well suited site that has the capacity to fulfill the functions of a capital. Besides performing functions such as legislative and parliamentary gatherings, housing the Chief of State, or housing embassies, a capital city possesses also a binding force, it may represent a place in which all people can

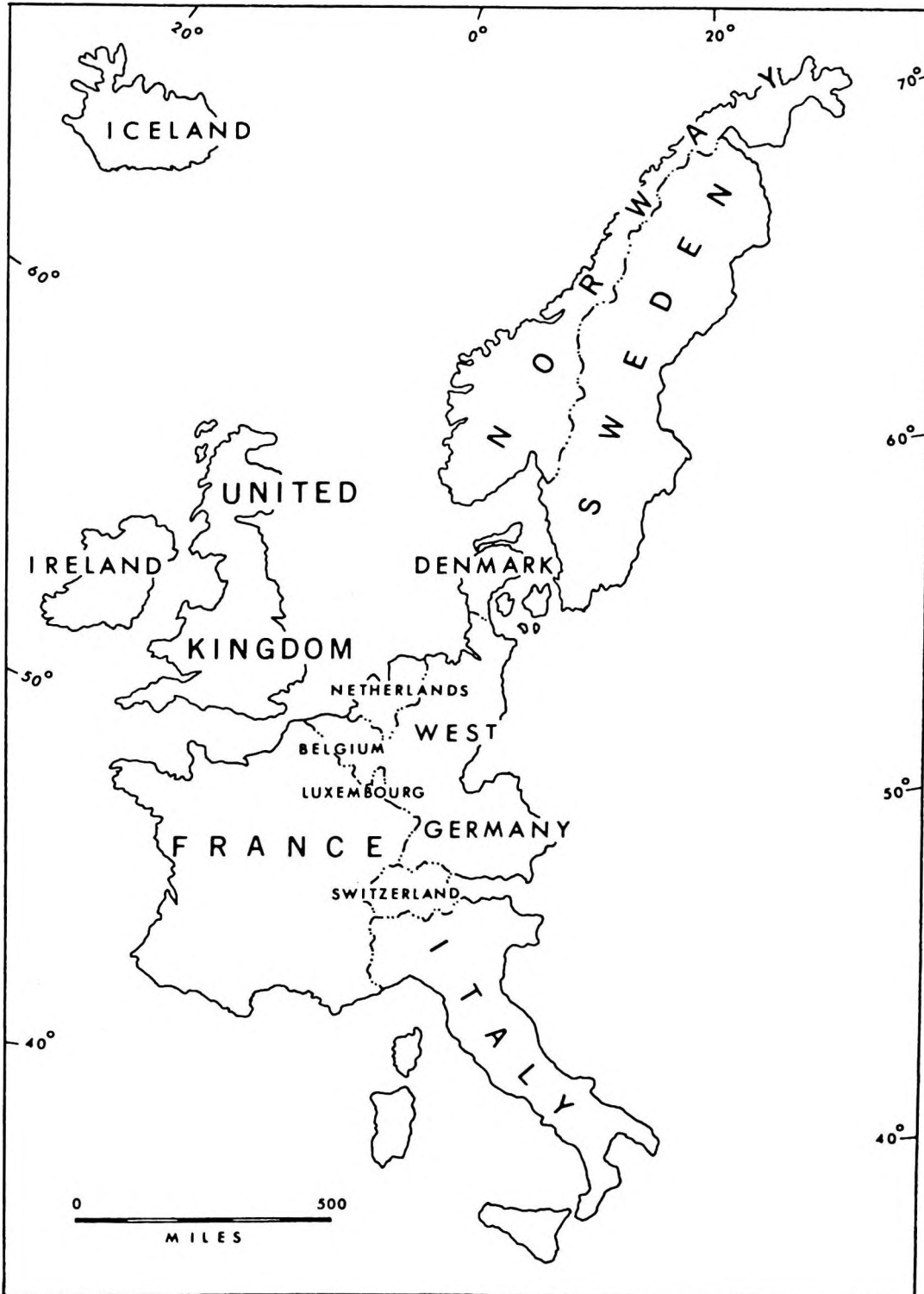


Figure 1. The future European Union.

look for guidance.¹⁰ This binding force can only be but beneficial in the case of Europe.¹¹

The purpose of this paper is not to analyze whether or not Europe will unify, but rather logically to select cities that could serve as capitals. An attempt will also be made to recommend one city for the capital of Europe.

Since the diverse European Economic Organizations have played a major role in unifying Europe, cities located within the organizations can in turn become important whenever the final decision on a capital will be made. Chapter II will chronologically discuss the various European organizations and their resulting unifying effects. Chapter III will briefly consider the type of unification that Europe is more likely to follow.

¹⁰H. deBlij, Systematic Political Geography, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 410.

¹¹David Lowenthal in his article "The West Indies Chooses a Capital," Geographical Review, No. 48, July 1958, p. 336 explains that American geographers have neglected the location of capitals, but yet "... governmental seats are of significance in the structure of states". For further details on this matter see also Harm deBlij, Systematic Political Geography, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, Chapter 14.

CHAPTER II

UNIFICATION OF EUROPE - A CONTINUING ASPIRATION

European Union, one of the greatest dreams of Western man, seems nearer today than at any time in centuries, providing bright promise for the future of our European friends and for the growth and strength of liberty.

President Dwight Eisenhower.

The idea of a United Europe is certainly not new. There is a long history of attempts both by peaceful means and by force to achieve unity. What has changed through time is the idealism.

For 500 years, until the fourth century, Rome dominated most of Europe. For the first time in history, Rome demonstrated that political, social, and cultural unity was possible and workable in a large area under a form of representative "democratic" cooperative government. Throughout the Roman Empire, a common currency, a widely understood language, and similar ways of living provided a base for peaceful trade, and social intercourse.

The Roman Empire had many important commercial, religious, and administrative centers, but one undisputed imperial capital--the city of Rome. Rome was the focal point of the great military and political organization necessary to control its vast territory.

The magnetic attraction of the "Eternal City" as a centripetal force that maintained political stability throughout the Empire is illustrated by the adage, "All roads lead to Rome. "

Under the rule of Trajan the Roman Empire reached its largest geographic extent in 98 AD. This empire touched Scotland in the north, included the Iberian peninsula in the west, North Africa in the south, and all of Asia Minor in the east. The Mediterranean Sea was considered a Roman Lake (Mare Nostrum).

Signs of weakness in imperial unity became apparent around 300 AD. The Senate became corrupted; political and military leaders became soft as a result of luxury and overindulgence; and the northern frontiers were invaded by Germanic tribes. Despite the efforts of Constantine the Great in 325 AD, and later Theodosius the Great in 380 AD,¹ the fall of the Roman Empire was inevitable. When the city of Rome was captured and sacked in 395 AD the seat of imperial power moved east to Constantinople. Christianity, which was a disruptive force in the dissolution of the first Roman Empire, provided the unifying force in the restructuring of European unity five hundred years later.

¹Constantine the Great promulgated the Edict of Milan of 313 AD which gave Christianity equal status with the pagan cults. In 380 AD Theodosius declared christianity a state religion.

Pope Leo III in 800 AD crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the West, and thus emerged the Holy Roman Empire. The Roman Catholic Church played a vital role in the reconstruction of the Roman Empire. The church feared the reconquest of Italy by the Eastern Orthodox or Byzantine church. In 814 the Carolingian domain extended from the English Channel in the north, France in the west, to the Pyrenees and Rome in the south. It included present day East Germany, parts of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia in the east. The Carolingian Empire did not have a single capital city.

Charlemagne copied a Merovingian tradition of constantly moving his seat of government or palacium from one domain to another. It was not until the end of his reign that he chose Aachen as a permanent capital. Aachen was selected by Charlemagne mainly for medical reasons; the city was well known for its thermal waters.²

Charlemagne died in 814. After the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the Carolingian empire was divided among his three grandsons, one of them, Charles II (the Bald) founded a dynasty that ruled in France until 911. Another, Louis the German, established the unity that would evolve into the German nation through the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, the division of the lands of Charlemagne laid the foundations of two of

²Eginhard, Life of Charlemagne, New York, American Book Company, 1880, p. 57.

Europe's major modern states. The re-establishment of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto I in 962 continued a form of European unity until 1806.

Continental unity was temporarily achieved in the 19th century with the emergence of Napoleon I. Napoleon attempted to recreate and even surpass the accomplishments of Charlemagne. Once he became a European sovereign, he dreamed of transforming the continent into a federation of states under French hegemony, respecting the ideals of individual nations, tying them together with the Napoleonic Code, the most ambitious attempt to date to provide Europe with a common law.

However, Napoleon's empire was not sound; it depended too much upon one individual to maintain allegiance--and military control. An important factor in the success of the Roman Empire was the acceptance of a new government by the conquered peoples. This attitude of ready submission was lacking during the Napoleonic period.

In the 20th century, the formation of an empire similar to that of Napoleon's was attempted by Berlin-based military might. Hitler's Third Reich collapsed for the same reason that the French Empire under Napoleon had failed, that is a deep resentment for the conqueror among the conquered peoples. Nazi propanganda represented Adolph Hitler as the leader of a European crusade against bolshevism. As the states of Europe were conquered by superior German force, pro-German

fascist minorities erupted in every European nation. Those minorities were in part motivated by the German theories of anti-bolshevism which provided a base for cooperation. This unifying theory was publicly expressed as late as April 24, 1944, in a Vichy French radio broadcast, which promised that:

...when the present tragedy will end, and thanks to Germany and to the efforts made by Europe for the defense of our continent, our civilization will definitely be sheltered from the danger of bolshevism, and the hour will come when France will re-affirm its place.³

However, after the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944, most of the Nazi military leaders saw that their vision of a German Europe was doomed. The 1000-year Reich promised by Hitler ended after only thirteen years on May 7, 1945.

In modern times the most successful steps toward international unification have been accomplished through economic unions. The current attempt is the European Economic Community (EEC). This union is a direct descendant of a series of economic cooperative efforts. Each effort, through its successes and failures added to the body of rationale that underlies the present union.

The conceptual framework of present economic cooperation may be attributed to the Scottish economist Adam Smith, who, in 1776 devised

³R. Aron, Histoire de Vichy, Paris, Artheme Fayard, 1954, Tome II, p. 383.

a common market in his book The Wealth of Nations. He proposed that the productive efficiency derived from the "division" or specialization of labor was "limited by the extent of the market." The two ideas form a partial basis for steps taken in European economic unification. Applied to international economic relations the division of labor should result in each nation producing what it can best produce by national endowments and its acquired techniques. From this European nations can proceed upon Smith's subsequent theory. He said, "Consumption is the sole end and purpose of production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer." After the consumers in a nation have enough of its own products, nations would exchange their surplus products under a regime of free trade. The wealth of a nation consists in the sum total of its production. It obtains what it lacks by exchange.⁴

In 1834, ostensibly motivated by Smith's extent of market theory, a group of German principalities joined the Zollverein, a customs union created by Prussia. By creating a customs union whereby all tariffs and other trade restrictions among member principalities were abolished, the German principalities were enlarging the extent of their market. The

⁴S. B. Clough and C. W. Cole, Economic History of Europe, Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1952, pp. 363-369.

Zollverein and the underlying principles and steps which formed it are an outstanding example for what could take place in Europe today. This economic customs union preceded political unification and had much to do with bringing the German states together in the Empire. Prussia, the most powerful of the 38 German states in 1815, had 8,000 kilometers of customs frontier that touched 28 different states. It, therefore, took the initial step in forming the customs union. The fact that Prussia had a large home market and that it controlled many of the important commercial routes led its neighbors to join it. Some states, in particular Hanover and Saxony, fearing Prussian hegemony formed a rival customs union called the Steuerverein in 1828. Hanover was an English dependency and England did not wish for it to adopt tariffs which were not advantageous to British interests. In addition some city-states on the North and Baltic Seas did not join because they feared that the union would interfere with their transit trade and they had little need of protection. By 1854 all the German states including Luxembourg in 1842 had joined the Zollverein which lasted until 1866. The Zollverein was responsible for abolishing the fourteen tolls levied along the Elbe River between Hamburg and Madgeburg. Another important achievement of the Zollverein was the standardization of weights and measure to the metric system in 1840.⁵ After the Seven Weeks war in which Prussia defeated Austria,

⁵Weight and measure systems had varied for beer, wine, and honey, or for gold, coal, and water up to that time.

the Prussians created another Zollverein which led to the political unification of the German Reich in 1871.

It is important to note Luxembourg's participation in the Zollverein. It had been a member of the German Confederation from 1815 to 1866. Luxembourg membership provided an outlet for its steel production and access to German coal. When the union came to an end with the outbreak of World War I, Luxembourg needed another market. By popular vote in 1922 Luxembourg decided to form a customs union with France. France declined in favor of Belgium. The Belgium Luxembourg Economic Union (BLEU) was put in force in 1922 for a period of fifty years. Following the example of the Zollverein and the market theory of Adam Smith, it was the first union of its kind in the 20th century. The main achievements of BLEU have been in the financial sphere, as all foreign currency reserves are held in common and there is complete freedom in the transfer of capital. Belgian and Luxembourg currencies are interchangeable. The factor of capital exchange allows BLEU to be called a common market. A common market as defined by Jensen and Walter is the next step towards further economic integration after a customs union such as the Zollverein.

In addition to eliminating internal trade restrictions and imposing a common external tariff, the constituent countries

provide for the free mobility of the factors of production. Thus labor and capital can move freely between member countries throughout the area.⁶

In 1948 during the reconstruction period following the conclusion of World War II Belgium and Luxembourg were joined by the Netherlands to form Benelux. The foundations of Benelux were laid by representatives of the governments-in-exile meeting in London in September 1944. Post war recovery, it was thought, could best be hastened for these small countries if their economies were joined to form an integrated, economically significant entity. As a customs union, Benelux abolished quota restrictions on trade in industrial commodities between the member countries, and liberalized the severe national agricultural protection. Intra-Benelux trade tripled during the period from 1948 to 1957. In 1958 Benelux took steps to convert its customs union into a more extensive economic union. The treaty establishing the Benelux Economic Union was signed at The Hague on February 3, 1958. It sets up an economic union of the three states permitting "the free circulation of persons, of goods, of capital and services" and involving "the coordination of economic, financial and social policies" and "the adoption and implementation of a common policy in economic relations with third countries and as regards payments relating thereto."⁷

⁶F. B. Jensen and J. Walter, The Common Market, New York, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1965, p. 7.

⁷European Yearbook, Vol. V, pp. 167-205.

The primary significance of Benelux is that it provides a concrete example of economic integration among three nations on a regional scale. It took sixteen years, from 1944 to 1960 for Benelux to achieve the full extent of its proposed integration. The devastation following World War II kindled a resurgence of sentiment for the need of unity among citizens of all Western European countries. This feeling was well expressed by Winston Churchill in Zurich on September 19, 1946 when he said:

If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery, and indeed from final doom there must be an act of oblivion against all the crimes and folies of the past... , What is this sovereign remedy? It is to recreate the European family... and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, safety, and freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe.⁸

The first large scale program for economic cooperation in Europe was the Marshall Plan proposed in 1947 by United States Secretary of State George C. Marshall. He encouraged the European governments to formulate a definite program of joint action to accelerate economic recovery. He indicated that this program would be a precondition to substantial American material aid. After the European nations drew up a specific plan and estimated the cost for reconstruction, the U. S. Government provided the difference in costs between what the nations could contribute and the actual expense,

⁸E. Rachlis, The Low Countries, New York, Time Life Books, 1968, p. 148.

through loans and grants. The Marshall Plan stressed the importance of developing "a large market with no internal trade barriers" such as that in the United States. The Plan provided subsidies for the economic recovery of sixteen (later eighteen) European nations. The administrative machinery created to implement the Marshall Plan aid was the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). This administrative organization fell short of the hopes of some of its early members. In July 1947, when the constituent assembly of the OEEC met in Paris, they explicitly discussed the possibility of establishing, not just an international organization for cooperation in economic matters, but a large scale European Customs Union which would later lead to some form of political unity. However, the governmental structure of the OEEC as adopted was limited in powers. Despite attempts to reform it, the OEEC remained a "classical inter-governmental conference in permanent session."⁹

Participation in the reconstruction program of the OEEC was initially open to all Western European states. However, the Soviet Union opposed the joint effort, refused to participate, and prevented its satellites from participating. The Soviet Union subsequently formed a similar organization for economic cooperation for its sphere of influence--COMECON.

⁹W. Hallstein, United Europe Challenge and Opportunity, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 7.

In addition to the economic aid administered by the OEEC, the United States Congress passed the United States Foreign Assistance Act. It was signed into law by President Truman in April 1948. The USFAA established the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) and appropriated five billion dollars to aid Europe. Included in this amount were four hundred million dollars for immediate assistance to Greece and Turkey for the purpose of preventing a threatened communist takeover. While the Marshall Plan was simply a program for general economic aid, the ECA program was specifically designed with political overtones. It was the economic arm of the Truman containment of communism policy. The aid to Greece and Turkey was the first expression of the Truman Doctrine, which proclaimed to the world at large, and to the Soviet Union in particular that the United States was ready to commit its economic power to prevent further growth of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence and control.¹⁰

European unification movements were so numerous in the late 1940's that an International Committee of the Movements for European Unity was formed in late 1947 to coordinate these efforts. This committee met at The Hague for a "Congress of Europe" in May 1948. The purposes of the Congress were mainly to demonstrate

¹⁰Albrecht-Carrie, A Diplomatic History of Europe since the Congress of Vienna, New York, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1958, p. 610.

the wide support for the cause of European unity and also to provide fresh impetus to the movement. This meeting was rather successful since it led to the formation of the Council of Europe which was inaugurated in Strasbourg in 1949 and has remained in operation ever since. Paul-Henri Spaak was elected president in August of the same year. The aim of the Council of Europe is to facilitate economic and social progress of the member nations. No federal authority was ever granted to this organization partly due to British opposition to any loss of national sovereignty, either economic or political, to a supra-national body of this sort.¹¹ Thus the dreams of Spaak and others for the beginning of a united Europe were not to be realized by the assembly in Strasbourg. In the final analysis the Council of Europe for Paul-Henri Spaak, Jean Monnet, Alcide de Gasperi, and George Bidault was merely an opportunity to meet and discuss future strategy.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) also came into existence in 1949. Primarily designed for the mutual military defense

¹¹According to Ernst Haas, supranationalism is used to refer to activities, organizations, and loyalties transcending the existing nations. H. deBlij expresses it as groups of states discovering that their common interests can best be served by voluntary participation in a multistate organization, which means that they must give up some small measure of their sovereignty.

of the seventeen member nations, it also fosters economic cooperation among these nations.¹² Article 2 of the NATO Treaty states:

The parties will contribute towards development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.¹³

One of the more noteworthy proposals made to pave the way towards European unification was offered by the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman. In May 1950, he presented his "Schuman Plan" to the Council of Europe. This plan was destined to provide the basis for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) comprising Belgium, France, West Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Italy. In his declaration, Schuman proposed the pooling of French and German coal and steel resources under common institutions open to any other European countries able and willing to join. He maintained that:

¹²Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States.

¹³M. Palmer, J. Lambert and others, A Handbook of European Organizations, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969, p. 374.

Europe will not be made all at once, or as a simple whole; it will be built by concrete achievements which first create 'de facto' solidarity. . . The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately provide for the establishment of common bases for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of these regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims. . . This transformation will make possible other joint actions which have been impossible until now. Europe will be able, with increased resources, to pursue the realization of one of her essential tasks, the development of the African continent. . . Thus, will be realized, simply and rapidly, the fusion of interests which is indispensable to the establishment of an economic community; thus will be introduced the germ of a broader and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by bloody conflict.¹⁴

In this historic declaration, Robert Schuman did not specifically express possible political unity but such a destiny is strongly implied in such phrases as "the germ of a broader and deeper community," and "future common destiny."

Since the Council of Europe did not reach the expectations of many, Schuman realized that economic unification would have to proceed a step at a time--in stages. Europe was not ready for a large-scale supranational authority. M. Schuman was supported in this position by the French economist, Jean Monnet, who proposed "First involve nations in a very limited area of cooperation; then on

¹⁴H. Bliss, The Political Development of The European Community, Waltham, Mass., Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1970, p. 31-33.

the basis of the mutual confidence that would develop, proceed to coordinate their activities in more advanced sectors."¹⁵ An assistant described Monnet's plan to move Europe toward community in these words:

You think of a mountain path. From the bottom, there is one view, from a point part way up, another; from the top, quite another. A man standing at the bottom cannot possibly have the view of a man standing at the top... To change his view, you must get him to start moving up, however slowly.¹⁶

In 1951, European unification took a giant step forward with the ratification of the ECSC Treaty on April 18 in Paris. The ECSC Treaty provided for an administrative organization largely adhering to proposals submitted by Robert Schuman. It included a High Authority, with powers of an executive character, responsible for the establishment and operation of a common market for coal and steel; a Parliamentary Assembly to which the High Authority would be responsible, which would thus ensure the principle of democratic control over the executive; a Court of Justice to ensure the rule of law in the application of the Treaty; and a Council of Ministers to represent the national governments and secure coordination between the policies of the

¹⁵A. E. Maitland, Handbook of the Nations, New York, Time Life Books, 1968, p. 50.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 51.

community and its constituent states.¹⁷ The High Authority makes up the most important body since it formulates the policies of the organization. Article 8 of the ECSC Treaty provides: "The High Authority shall be responsible for ensuring the achievement of the purpose set out in this Treaty under the conditions provided for therein."¹⁸ Moreover, the High Authority has the power to raise the money necessary for the operation of the community by placing levies on the production of coal and steel. The levy is paid directly to the High Authority and not to the member governments. Thus, the primary importance of the ECSC and more specifically the High Authority of the ECSC is that it represents the first truly effective experiment in the administration of supranational executive power.

The High Authority possesses powers which no other previous international organ of an executive character has had such as ". . . to take decisions that are directly binding on national enterprises without the intervention of the governments."¹⁹

The apparent success of the ECSC spurred the European powers to take further steps on the road to economic integration. In June 1955, the Foreign Ministers of the six members of the community met at

¹⁷A. H. Robertson, European Institutions, New York, Frederick Praeger, Publishers, 1966, p. 137.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 141.

Messina and proposed plans to establish a common market and an atomic energy pool. Paul Henri Spaak was appointed chairman of a special group to consider how these proposals could best be realized. After long and complicated negotiations, which involved hard bargaining, the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market) and the treat establishing the European Atomic Energy Commission (Euratom) were signed in Rome on March 25, 1957. After ratification by the six nations, Euratom and the EEC came into being on January 1, 1958.

Economically, the main purpose of the EEC is based on the assumption that freedom of trade in a larger market would lead to greater output, more economical production and distribution, mass production and greater specialization, modernization of equipment, promotion of the free movement of persons, services and capital. Moreover, the EEC objectives are to increase prosperity, encourage expansion, and raise the standard of living of the citizens of the member states.²⁰

As in the ECSC, there are four governing bodies with the EEC. Officially known as "institutions of the community, " they are the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Court of Justice and the Assembly. Executive authority is vested in the Commission, which

²⁰M. Curtis, Western European Integration, New York, Harper & Row, 1965, pp. 152-153.

corresponds to the High Authority of the ECSC. The Commission's function is to administer the provisions of the Treaty of Rome and the economic affairs of the Community as a whole. The powers of the EEC Commission are not as concentrated as those of the ECSC High Authority. In the EEC, the Commission shares executive powers with the other three institutions. While the High Authority had power to make decisions, the Commission only "formulates recommendations or opinions."²¹ The Council of Ministers which represents the member governments is made up of one delegate from each nation. Each delegate is a minister in his own government and not an official of the EEC. The power of the Council is mainly to "ensure the coordination of the general economic policies of the member states."²² The Court of Justice is composed of seven judges who are appointed for a period of six years. The function of this court is to ensure that the institutions of the Community act only in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. The European Parliament or Assembly consists of delegates appointed by national parliaments from among their own members. The Assembly's main function is to "...exercise the powers of deliberation and of control which are conferred upon it by this Treaty."²³

²¹A. H. Robertson, European Institutions, New York, Frederick Praeger, Publishers, 1966, p. 169.

²²Ibid., p. 171.

²³Ibid., p. 176.

Until 1966, each of the three communities, ECSC, Euratom, and EEC, was administered independently. In 1966, the executive units were merged into a single body--The Commission of the European Communities. The fourteen member commission is responsible for ensuring that the treaties of the three participating communities are carried out. It thus exercises all the powers and responsibilities formerly discharged by the three individual executive bodies. Final decisions, however, are made by the Council of Ministers, a six-man body whose members represent their own countries' interests. Measures proposed to the Council by the Commission and adopted are then executed by the Commission. The Commission is in turn accountable to a 142-member European Parliament; which by a two-thirds vote of censure can oust the Commission. Commission operations can also be reviewed by a seven-man Court of Justice, which has authority to decide whether the Commission's acts are within the bounds of various treaties involved.²⁴

Before the merging of the three communities, the Council of Ministers of the EEC and the High Authority of the ECSC held their meetings in Luxembourg. However, since 1966, the headquarters

²⁴A. E. Maitland, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

of the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) have been located in Brussels.²⁵

In the economic field the accomplishments of the EEC have surpassed the highest expectations. During the decade 1958-1969 industrial production in the Common Market increased 100 per cent, individual consumption 50 per cent, the Gross National Product 80 per cent, agricultural productivity 40 per cent, consumption of energy 90 per cent, consumer buying power 80 per cent. Exchange among the six nations which was of 6.8 billion dollars in 1958, increased to 36.4 billion dollars in 1969 (a 435 per cent increase).²⁶ The EEC has become the fastest growing economic area in the West. It is the world's biggest trader, the biggest importer, the second biggest exporter (after the United States) and the leading market for raw materials.

Although the main purposes of the EEC are economic in nature, the community also concerns itself with political and military affairs. As in the ECSC, political unity is also the ultimate goal of the leaders of the EEC. The preamble of the Treaty of Rome expresses the desire of the participating nations "to establish the foundations of an

²⁵Keesing's Contemporary Archives, June 5-12, 1965, p. 20775.

²⁶"Des Résultats Positifs Pour Les Européens," Memo de La Communauté Européenne, Paris, No. 25, 1970, p. 33-39.

ever closer union among the European peoples... " The desirability of political unification was openly expressed by Walter Hallstein, the first president of the EEC commission when he asserted: "We are not in business, we are in politics. We are building the United States of Europe."²⁷

At the Treaty of Rome, Britain declined to enter the Common Market, but applied for entry in 1961. After seventeen months of discussion, De Gualle uttered a regal "Non!" His justifications were that Britain was too maritime, that its trade markets were too dependent upon diverse and distant countries.

Seven nations--Austria, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland--that could not or would not join the Common Market assembled in Stockholm in November 1959, and signed the Treaty Establishing the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), commonly known as the Outer Seven. In its early stages, the EFTA began to eliminate internal tariffs on industrial goods among members, hence keeping in step with the Common Market. But there were differences between the two organizations, unlike the EEC, the EFTA had no plans to reduce tariffs on agricultural products or to establish a common external tariff or, most important of all, to

²⁷R. H. Beck et al., The Changing Structure of Europe, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1970, pp. 13.

establish supranational institutions that would help prepare the way for ultimate political union.²⁸

Importance and Meaning of the European Organizations

The six EEC nations have consistently demonstrated desire towards supranationality. It can be expected that the idealism will continue and accelerate. Supranationalism in operation depends on the behavior of men and groups of men. The successive steps taken by Monnet, Schuman, and Spaak have been successful.

The European Coal and Steel Community, considered by Schuman a "first step toward European federation," launched the initial goals for European union into a concrete offer for positive action.

The Messina Resolution of 1955 established a second step forward in the "construction of Europe" in the economic field. At the time the resolution may not have had as much impact as the Schuman Declaration, yet it was equally and maybe more far-reaching in significance. The Messina Resolution led to the Treaty of Rome which established the EEC and Euratom.

The existence of the organizations discussed in this chapter demonstrates the desire for a unified Europe. Although much progress

²⁸A. E. Maitland, op. cit., p. 58.

has been made toward general economic consolidation, there is still strong resistance to political unity. At present it appears that France and the United Kingdom are the countries opposing a supranational unification where the sovereignty of the individual nations is delegated to a federal union such as a "United States of Europe." The following chapter will discuss the possibility of a Federal Europe.

CHAPTER III

A EUROPEAN FEDERATION?

March 25, 1957, is from the European point of view, as important a date as July 14, 1789.

Paul-Henri Spaak

The merging of the EEC, the ECSC, and the Euratom into a single commission in 1966, represents the latest step leading to political unification, and breakdown of European national separatism. While the stated goal of the EEC is the creation of a customs union and ultimately the achievement of economic integration, the fundamental motivation is patently political. Ever since the inception of the modern European unity movements, political figures such as Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, and Paul-Henri Spaak have operated beyond the confines of loyalty to one state in order to foster closer union and understanding among the European peoples. The Treaty of Rome reaffirmed in 1957 that, in addition to economic cooperation, an even closer union among the European people is an established political goal.¹

¹A. H. Robertson, European Institutions, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966, p. 317.

However, achievement of a political goal does not rest only in the hands of political leaders; the role of a statesman is to prepare public opinion to accept new perspectives for the future. The idea of a United Europe was first born in the minds of European statesmen and then offered to informed and interested segments of Europe's population. By 1962 the concept of European unity was widely known² and a majority of the European people seemed to be ready to accept some form of unification (Table I).

TABLE I

Attitudes Toward the Unification of Europe
(Percentage of Population in Favor of a United Europe)

Date	Germany	Belgium	France	Italy	Luxembourg	Neth.
March 1950	57%	57%	56%	52%	60%	57%
May 1957	79%	NA	55%	59%	NA	NA
1956-1957	71.9%	65.7%	73.7%	NA	NA	79%
Early 1962	81%	65%	72%	60%	NA	87%

Source: "La Belgique dans le Marché Commun," Dossiers du CRISP, No. 1, 1970, p. 13.

²Bumper stickers bearing the letters E. U. (Europe Unie) could be seen on many automobiles throughout Europe. In the early sixties, while in high school, the writer attended student debates on the subject of European unification.

Despite such favorable statistics this indication of European opinion must be viewed with caution. The awareness of the European public must be considered when analyzing Table I. In 1962 many Europeans were still ignorant of the goals of the EEC or were unable to name one of its many treaties. This suggests that enthusiasm for the formation of a United Europe is too often restricted to congresses and conventions. The problems and conflicts inherent in the unification process seem to be responsible for a loss of interest in unification by the people. The political leaders of the early 1960's did not build rapidly on their first victories, and the impatient hopes of many Europeans for more positive actions have not been realized. However, the loss of interest appears to be only relative. There are still many in favor of a United Europe.³ The leaders of the movement continue to meet regularly to reduce areas of disagreement and to generate additional support among the people.

The Unitary or Federal State

In the event of unification the governments of Europe must assume one of two basic structures: unitary or federal. In reviewing the

³For example, in Belgium 90 per cent of the followers and partisans of the Parti De La Liberté Et Du Progres are in favor of a United Europe. This party is made up of white collars--in contrast with the blue collar attitude which favors unification by only 8.9 per cent.

characteristics of national forms de Blij suggests that the unitary governmental system is best adapted to states with an area of less than 1,000,000 square miles, a compact shape and a single core area.⁴ In view of the physical and cultural characteristics of the territory to be included in the European Union, it seems apparent that a unitary state would not be feasible. With an area of 946,000 square miles,⁵ Europe can be classified as a very large state. In spite of contiguity the European region is a shapeless mass of peninsulas and seas. Regional cores are fostered by bodies of water and mountain ranges. Over the course of history the landscape of Europe has fostered the evolution of separate cores around numerous points such as Paris, Rome, London, and other national capitals. Each of these core areas represents a focal point of activity, thought, and motivation for millions of citizens. Diversity, both cultural and spatial is obviously too widespread to allow the formation of a unitary superstate in Europe.

The second alternative for possible adoption is the federal system.

Robinson describes the federal state as:

⁴According to Derwent Whittlesey a core area is: "The portion of the state that supports the densest and most extended population and the closest mesh of transportation lines. . . It is more richly endowed by nature than the rest of the state." This term will be further discussed in Chapter IV.

⁵Benelux, Denmark, France, West Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and The United Kingdom.

the most geographically expressive of all political systems. It is based on the existence of regional differences, and recognizes the claims of the component areas to perpetuate their individual characteristics. . . Federation does not create unity out of diversity; rather, it enables the two to coexist.⁶

The term federal had its origins in the Latin foederis, meaning league, that is an alliance, contract, and coexistence of internal diverse regions and peoples. Such a system seems ideally suited to affect political consolidation in Europe.

Theoretically a federal political framework functions most satisfactorily in large and very large states, those with fragmented areas, multi-core areas, and those containing underdeveloped or sparsely populated territories. In the past, the federal system has worked well in territories containing great differences in ethnic origins, languages, religions, and cultures. This is especially true where these differences had assumed nationalistic expression, in that various people saw individual parts of the federation as a homeland.⁷ Moreover, like a growing family of nations, the federal system has the capacity to add or incorporate new territories. In view of the centrifugal forces of diversity which tend to work against unity, the establishment of a

⁶K. W. Robinson, "Sixty years of Federation in Australia," Geographical Review, Vol. 51, January 1961, pp. 2-20.

⁷H. deBlij, Systematic Political Geography, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 447.

federal system is rarely easy. However, the fact that federal systems do exist illustrate the point that federation is possible in spite of seemingly incompatible factors such as nationalism, religion, language, distance, physical features, and past relations.

deBlij has identified several important concerns which have motivated certain states to join in a federal system. The most important and most relevant to Europe is mutual interest. In some federal states the population is bound together by common ethnic origins, a single language, a joint economic effort, and shared political objectives; such federal states might well function as a unitary state without fear of fragmenting. In such states the federal form is primarily a recognition of its advantages in the administration of large geographic areas.

In the nineteenth century the basic problem in Canada was the existence of English speaking communities in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces separated by Quebec, distinguished by its French language, law, institutions, and its Roman Catholic faith. However, after the failure of a unitary government, Canada adopted a federal constitution in 1867. Since then, annexation of additional territories to the original federal Canadian state has taken place; British Columbia in 1871, MacKinzie District in 1895, Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, and Newfoundland as late as 1949.

After independence in 1776, the United States adopted a confederation type of government. A confederation may be defined as a loose union of states, joined together to establish a central government. This central government has limited powers, operates through the member states and has no power over individuals.⁸ In the United States the confederation worked well for a few years; but in the early 1780's friction arose among states; for example Maryland and Virginia disagreed about their water rights on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. New York imposed large fees on vessels coming from New Jersey. After long debates of federalists vs. antifederalists, the United States adopted a federal constitution in 1787, thus marking the beginning of modern federalism.

The European Economic Community is a confederation. To a certain degree Benelux, West Germany, France, and Italy have already advanced to a quasi-federal type of government under the High Authority of the ECSC. The High Authority has extensive powers such as "to take decisions that are directly binding on national enterprises without the intervention of the governments."⁹ The supranationality of the ECSC represents in the words of Robert Schuman, "a new step in the gradation

⁸J. M. Burns and J. W. Peltason, Government by the People, New York, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1954, p. 119.

⁹A. H. Robertson, op. cit., p. 141, *italics added*.

of powers"; that is, it must be placed, as its name implies, somewhere above the national level but it has not yet attained the status of a federal authority.¹⁰

In Europe, the case of Switzerland may best illustrate that mutual interests can overcome diversity. The Swiss Confederation started as early as 1291, when the four "Forest Cantons" (Uri, Schwyz, Ob, and Nidwalden), first loosely allied in self defense, cemented their union to control trade through the St. Gottard Pass. This union became so profitable for the people of its members that gradually, one by one adjacent and surrounding cantons joined the original group, which developed into Switzerland's first core area. Over the centuries the Confederation gradually grew closer until 1848 when Switzerland adopted a federal constitution. Today, Switzerland is a federal state despite internal diversity. Its six million people speak French, German, Italian, and Romansh, and yet its stability remains secure.

In the unification process there is a parallel between Switzerland and Europe. Like Switzerland in its early stages, Europe has established progress toward unification based on mutual economic interests and organizations. Economic interest bound the forest cantons and finally Switzerland into a political federation.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 141.

Economic mutual interests have already been established in Europe; however, these need to be expanded and strengthened. American industrial expansion in Europe has become alarming for the Europeans. Since 1958 American companies have invested ten billion dollars in Western Europe, that is more than one-third the total amount of United States investments in the world.¹¹ M. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber in his book Le Défi Américain states that: "The third world industrial power after the United States and USSR in fifteen years could very well be, not Europe, but American industry in Europe."¹²

Europe needs to unify in order to keep its identity as a world power. This need was expressed by the French president, M. Pompidou in a recent French telecast when asked what was his idea about this Europe which is now being born:

(using map) Here in red you have what is called the Europe of the six and you can see clearly what is Western Europe. Here the frontiers of Soviet influence stop, to all practical purposes. So here is Western Europe... here, the Soviet world... here, North America. Just imagine if you will, how fragile this Europe is, how small, a small threatened peninsula, and yet it has more than 300 million inhabitants, it contains all the countries in which for 500 years the history of mankind has been made. It has a reservoir of capability which is unique in the world, and it has an economic strength which is superior to that of the whole Soviet world and which is not far from equaling that of North America.

¹¹Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, Le Défi Américain, Paris, Editions Denoel, 1967, p. 35.

¹²Ibid., p. 2.

So, either we give up being important in the face of these immense powers or we strive to regroup the nations of Western Europe and to bring together all their potentialities and possibilities.¹³

Because of this domination of the world by two super powers, Russia and the United States, individual European nations like Italy, France or Great Britain can do very little to eliminate internal European conflict. This accentuates the need for Europe to unite not only to regain its place as a world power, but also to protect itself against the two super powers. Furthermore, would it not also be better for its own security and for the peace of the world if Europe could develop its own foreign and defense policies. Such policies, while maintaining the natural Atlantic links between Europe and the United States, would make it possible for Europe to achieve an influence on world events, independent of the super powers, which could not possibly be achieved by the European nations that attempted to go at it alone.¹⁴ However, the political unification process cannot be hastened, the uniting forces will have to proceed gradually and progressively, such a major change in the structure of Europe cannot be accomplished overnight. In order to be fully organized as a unified body, Europe needs more than successful economic institutions, she also needs to establish political

¹³"France, " Ambassade de France, Service de Presse et D' Information, July-August 1971, p. 2.

¹⁴M. Barnes, "A Federal Europe-The Case For, " The New Statesman, January 15, 1971, p. 73.

institutions which will permit her to act and to become, as the declaration of May 9, 1950, called it, "The European Federation." In addition to the formation of true federal institutions, there is also a need for other European nations to join the nucleus already developed by the six states of the EEC.

The task of unification will not be an easy one. There must be an elimination of conflicting points through mutual concessions. Agreements on a common currency, educational system, scientific research, as well as transportation and communication lines will have to be drawn up. A common language is not necessary at present, although language has been recognized as one of the divisive forces in Europe, the Swiss example has demonstrated that four languages can indeed be spoken in one state.

Countries of Europe have already reached compromises in various areas. In the social domain free circulation of workers is unrestricted. Discrimination in employment based upon nationality was outlawed in 1968. Some of the most important compromises achieved by the EEC have been in the adoption of the regulation on European agricultural products. An agreement on cereal prices that went into effect throughout the Common Market on July 1, 1967, was a compromise that no international organization had been able to achieve before.

Europe has the basic characteristics of a territory that is governed most efficiently by federal system. It has a large land area, multi-core areas, and many large cities. To a certain degree a confederation has already been established through the formation of several supranational organizations such as the ECSC. If Europe is to maintain its economic growth, she must continue on the road to unification as a federation. She does not appear to have any other rational alternative.

CHAPTER IV

A CAPITAL FOR EUROPE

There is no little provincial state which has not had its germinal, its geographical starting point; there is no durable political formation in whose origin we cannot discover a combination of forces, a kind of armature around which other territories could build themselves up like the soft parts round the bones of a skeleton.

Lucien Febvre

In the event of unification one of the most important decisions that political geographers will be facing is the determination of a capital that will best serve the needs of the new union.

Besides being the seat of the legislature and of the administration, the future European capital must also play the important role of providing a strong centripetal force to counteract many diverse centrifugal forces. A capital city accepted by the majority of the people can help in strengthening the bonds which will hold the new European nation together. To insure that the federal capital will have the greatest success in performing its function of national unification the city should lie in a region that could be viewed as the core area of the nation. Before any selected sites or cities can be logically discussed, it is necessary to

first determine if there is a core area of the proposed United States of Europe. Most modern states have grown from a central area, where their governments and iconography first began to take shape; this central area is the heart of the state or the core area. Derwent Whittlesey noted that each state:

...crystallized about a nuclear core that fostered integration... In nearly all states the nuclear core is also the most populous part--its ecumene... The ecumene is the portion of the state that supports the densest and most extended population and has the closest mesh of transportation lines... Such a region is capable of supporting a relatively dense population because it is more richly endowed by nature than the rest of the state... (the core area). The area in which or about a state originates.¹

In the early development of states, patterns of growth will vary. However, there are certain characteristics that are common to most core areas. In general a core area will (1) contain communication lines which converge upon it; (2) possess a degree of urbanization greater than elsewhere in the state; (3) have elements of viability; (4) tend to be more productive than any other part of the state; (5) originate or distribute new ideas; and (6) be the most cosmopolitan part of the state.² Furthermore in order to perform its role,

¹Derwent Whittlesey, The Earth and The State: A Study of Political Geography, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1939, p. 2 and p. 597.

²Harm deBlij, Systematic Political Geography, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, pp. 371-373.

a core area must be able to defend itself against encroachment and conquest from neighboring core areas, and must be capable of generating a surplus of income above the subsistence level.³ Some federal states are comprised of one definite core area and a number of subsidiary core areas, as opposed to the unitary state which usually possesses a single core area. In the United States the northeast part of the country is usually recognized as the main core area, with the most important subsidiary core located along the West Coast.⁴

France is recognized as the classic example of a state with a distinct core area around which, by accretion the rest of the state has been built up.⁵ Paris, under the rule of the Count of Paris, came to the fore when it successfully resisted the invasion of the Northmen. The core area of France of the eleventh century remains the core area of France today.

The Core Area of Europe

In Europe the geographic framework of the core area forms a north-south axis between Geneva and the North Sea (Figure 2).

³ Norman J. G. Pounds and Sue S. Ball, "Core Areas and the Development of the European States System," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 54, March 1964, p. 24.

⁴H. deBlij, op. cit., p. 391.

⁵Norman J. G. Pounds, Political Geography, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963, pp. 174-175.

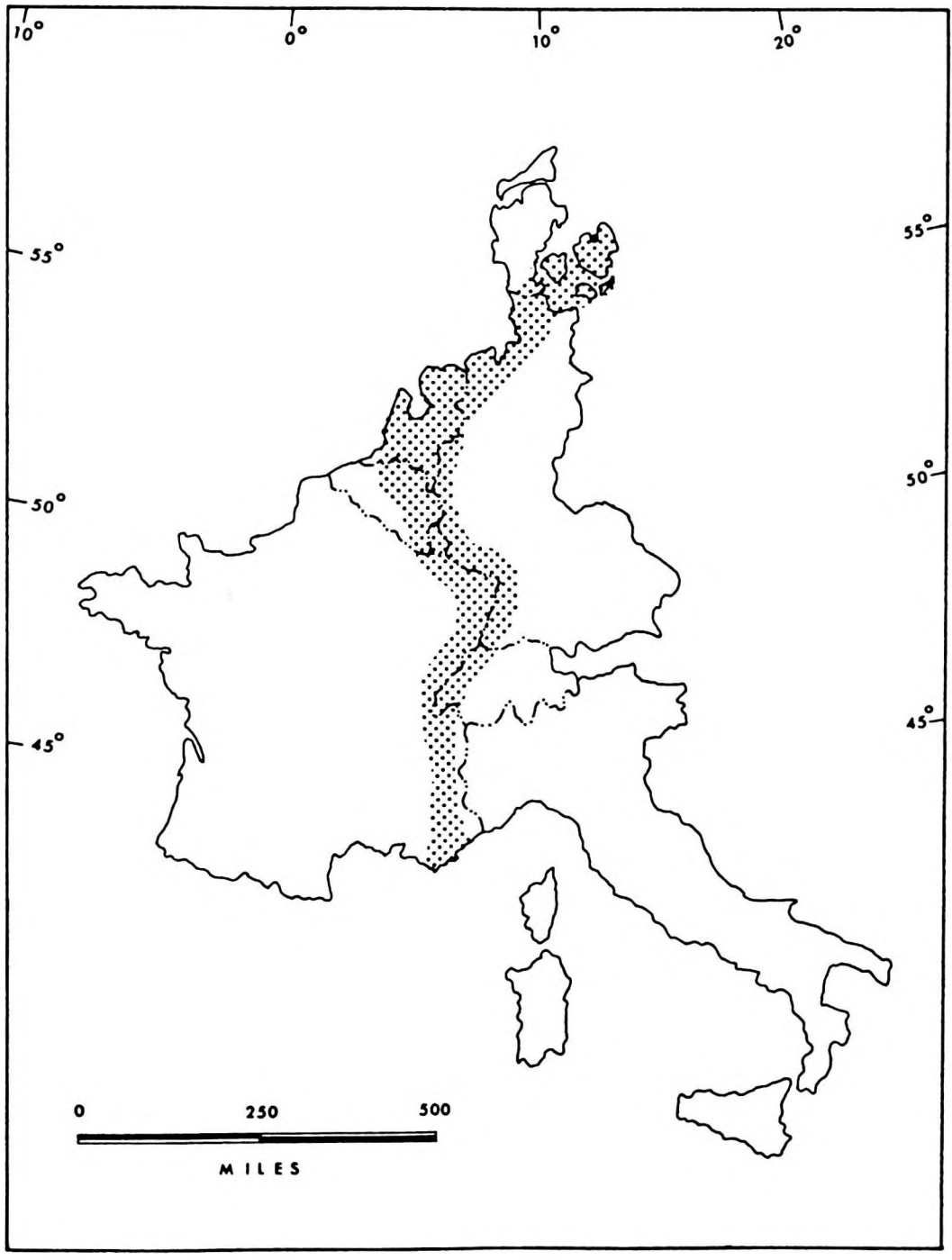


Figure 2. The old permanent axis of western unity as described by Jean Gottmann.

Jean Gottmann describes the region as follows:

The old permanent axis around which the western unity revolved was the great transcontinental route linking the northern seas with the Mediterranean. This route of the Rhine and Meuse toward the Rhone and Alpine passes was perhaps nature's greatest gift to the area . . . Many landmarks stake out the north-south line, demonstrating the ties between various sections of this region and the unity of its culture. There is an air of close relationship between the great cities along the Rhineland and those of Holland and Flanders; Strasbourg makes one think at times of Amsterdam or Bruges; Basel reminds one of Ghent. Geneva has much in common with Nice, and Bern with the Hague. Even Lyon on the Rhone has something of Rotterdam and perhaps of Copenhagen. Everyone of these cities has a clear cut, distinct, individuality, and yet all belong to one great family.⁶

Based upon demographic distribution, the "heart" of this core area can be better delimited in the northern portion of this region (Figure 3). This is the nucleus which possesses a degree of urbanization greater than elsewhere, and it is very productive. Moreover, communication lines converge in this region (Figure 4). Within this nuclear core more languages are spoken than any other area in Western Europe, therefore it is the most cosmopolitan part of the state.

The core area of Europe also holds a rather central location since it coincides with the geographical center of the EEC countries and the United Kingdom (Figure 5). It is within this core that the nucleus of European unification originated; more precisely between Brussels and Luxembourg.

⁶Jean Gottmann, A Geography of Europe, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1969, pp. 123-125.

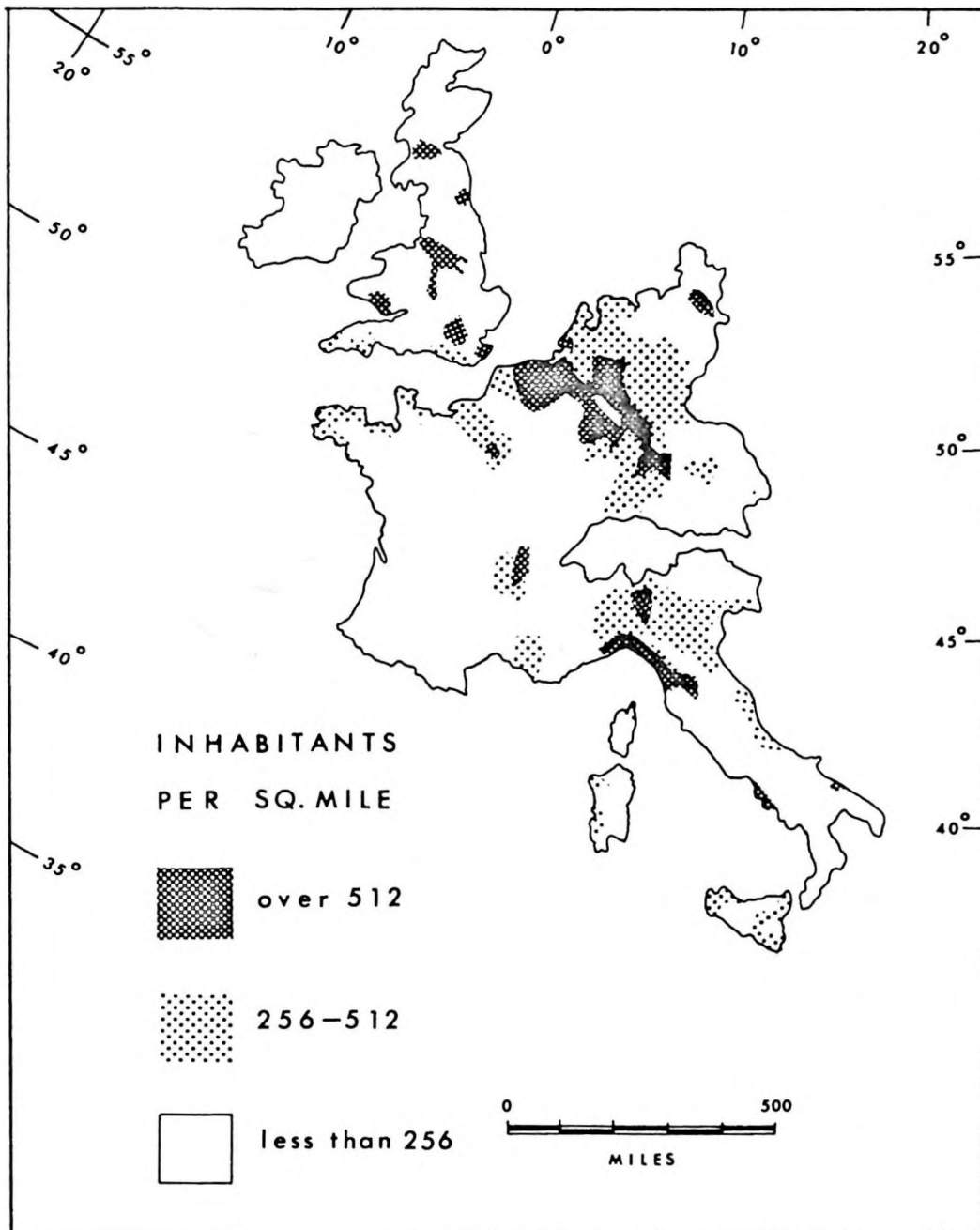


Figure 3. Population density in the EEC countries and the United Kingdom. From: *Aldine University Atlas*, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1969, p. 80.

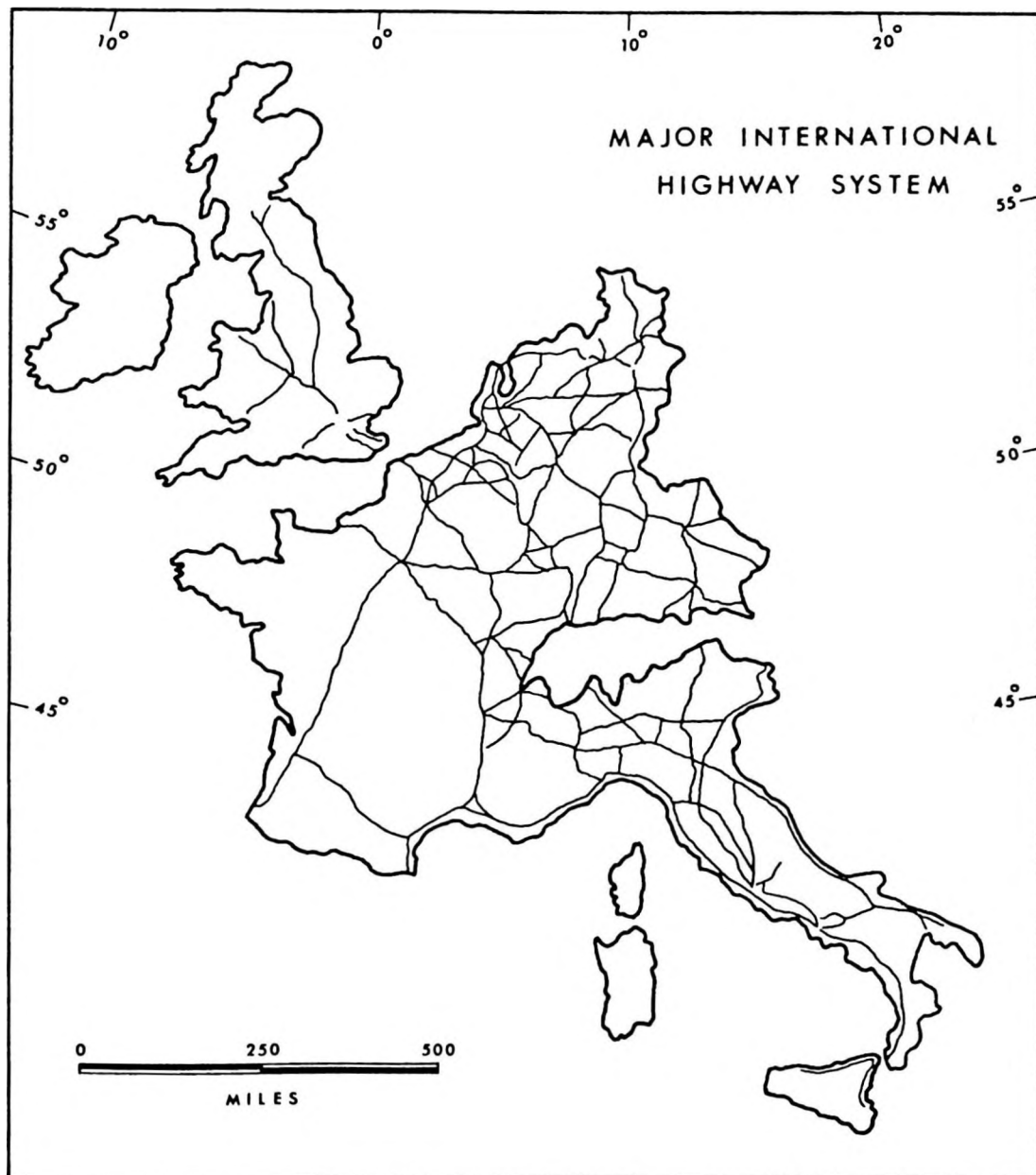


Figure 4. Major international highway system of the EEC countries and the United Kingdom. From: Oxford Regional Economic Atlas: Western Europe, London, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 91.

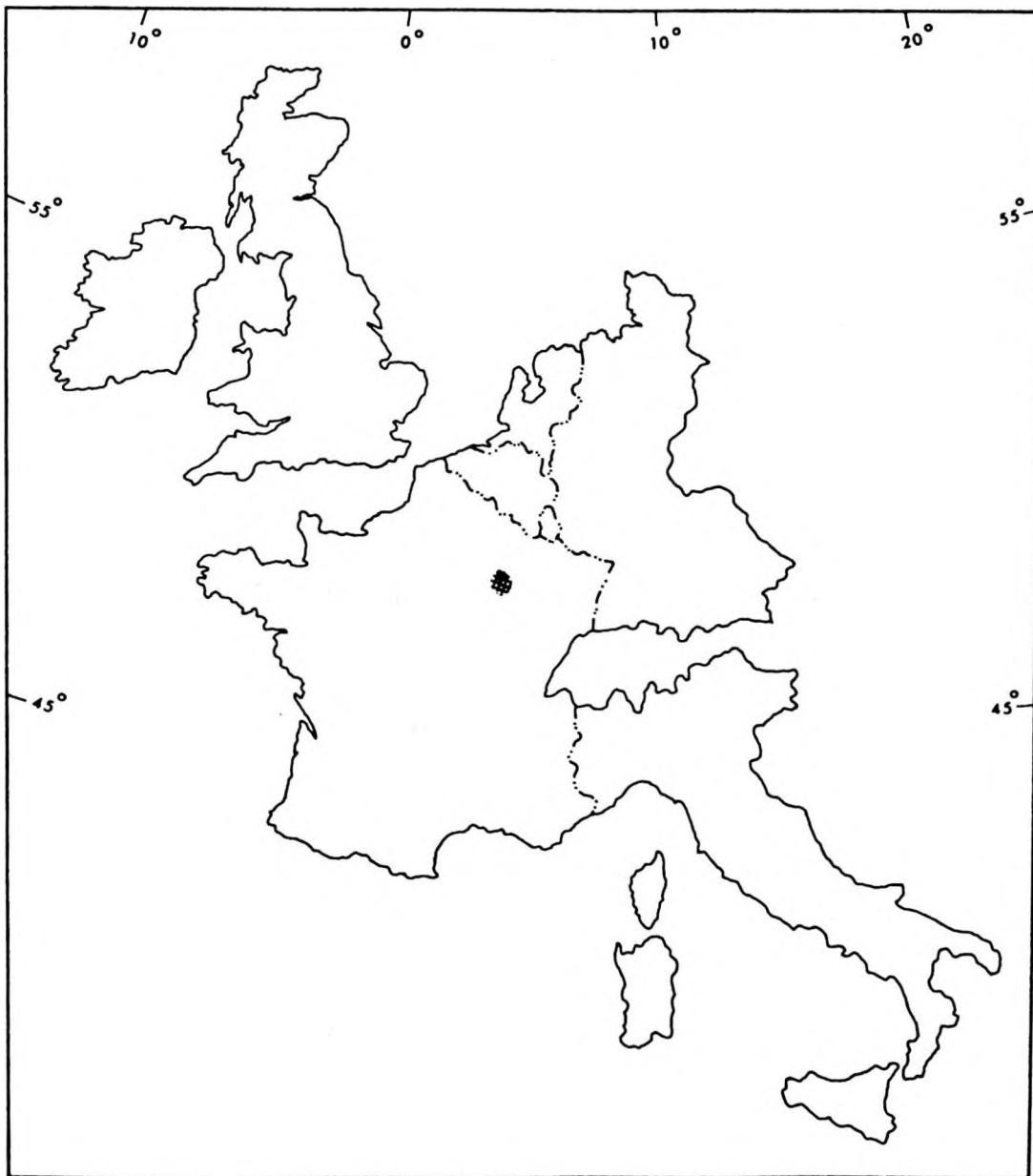


Figure 5. Approximate geographical center of the EEC countries and the United Kingdom.

Having previously joined the Zollverein Customs Union in 1836, it was Luxembourg that took the first step in modern history to form a partnership with an other European country for economic reasons. This organization, called BLEU, took a further step towards economic unity by welcoming a third European nation, the Netherlands, to form Benelux. It was the example of the effectiveness of Benelux that inspired Schuman and Monnet to initiate the ECSC with its headquarters first located in Luxembourg. Thus it was in Luxembourg that for the first time in European history six nations met and were willing to forget past antagonisms for mutual gain. The momentum accompanying this unifying movement reached its peak at the Treaty of Rome in 1957, with the establishment of Euratom and the EEC, with the headquarters located in Brussels. It was within Benelux that new ideas first germinated in favor of economic and, later, political unification. Thus it is apparent that the Low Countries have formed a nucleus around which other countries agglomerated. Benelux is the area in which the spirit of unification originated.

Types of Capitals

Whittlesey also suggested that: "The ecumene or the nuclear core is likely to contain the capital of the state."⁷ However, the

⁷D. Whittlesey, op. cit., p. 391.

factors involved in the evolution of a capital city are more complex and more numerous than just the location within the core.

The Natural Capital

There are various schools of thought concerning the concept of capital cities. The French geographer Vidal de la Blache defined the regions which existed in modern France on the basis of their history, culture, and above all, orientation towards a central city.

His view was:

It is not the number of inhabitants, still less the number of its functionaries; it is not even the type of occupation which constitutes the regional capital. It is a superior element which enters into all aspects of its activity.⁸

French geographers consider such a city a "natural capital," which evolves by virtue of its favorable geographic location. It develops within a core, gaining in primacy as the state grows. For certain regions this type of city functions as a capital in spite of political status.

The Regional Capital

In 1935 Raoul Blanchard further developed the idea of a regional capital as follows:

⁸Vidal de la Blache, "Les Régions Françaises," Revue De Paris, December 1910.

It applies to a city which owes its importance to its population and its prosperity, to its antiquity and its historical reputation, and which is, as it were, the head of the region. In it is established the central authority . . . Thus it is a political capital. But the capital can have, and should have, other roles. . . it should moreover, possess the authority to execute the will of the central state. The capital then, has a military role. Intellectual influence, moreover, is almost an indispensable function. . . Finally, the capital has an economic role, especially as it is almost always this economic importance which has brought in its train political preeminence.⁹

The Artificial and Introduced Capital

Another type of capital city is the "artificial" type, that is, a new city created to serve as the political administrative center for a region, province or nation. Closely associated to the "artificial" type is the "introduced" capital which involves the transfer of governmental functions from one city to another. This may occur whenever there is a shift of population, such as occurred in Alabama between 1820 and 1845. In response to this southward movement the state capital was transferred from Tuscaloosa to Montgomery. One reason to create an artificial capital may be to focus national attention upon certain problems. Artificial capitals often require the rapid construction of new facilities or the establishment of a special territory

⁹Raoul Blanchard, Grenoble: Etude De Géographie Urbaine, 2de Edition, Grenoble, 1935, pp. 205-206.

in which the capital city must lie. Washington, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Lagos, Islamabad are examples.¹⁰

The Divided Capital

Harm deBlij also describes another type of capital city, the "divided capital" which occurs whenever rivalries exist between competing cities, such as in the case of The Hague and Amsterdam, or La Paz and Sucre.¹¹ In such situations the functions of governments are divided and placed in separate cities. The best example of such a division of executive, legislative and judicial functions to recognize regional loyalties is the Republic of South Africa where three cities, Pretoria, Capetown, and Bloemfontein, serve as partial functional national capitals.

The Primate City

In 1939, Mark Jefferson presented a theory of evolution of capitals with his article "The Law of The Primate City." His thesis was that: "a country's leading city is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feelings."¹²

¹⁰H. deBlij, op. cit., p. 411.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 411-412.

¹²Mark Jefferson, "The Law of the Primate City," Geographical Review, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1939, pp. 226-232.

Jefferson argued that once a city is larger than any other in its country, it gives it an impetus to grow that is not shared by any other city; it becomes the primate city.¹³ Jefferson's theory was supported by numerous examples, however, today there are too many exceptions in modern states, and the law of primate city has lost validity.

The Head-Link Capital

There is also, the "head-link" capital described by O. H. K. Spate in 1942, as a capital city that is both, "a leader in organizing the state and a receiving chamber for external influences, translating them into stimuli for the local culture."¹⁴ An example of this type is Calcutta whose existence as a capital was due to its position at the entrance of the English seaways into India, especially before the Suez Canal gave Bombay an advantage in distance to England.¹⁵

The Federal Capital

As was pointed out in Chapter III Europe's best alternative in the event of unification is to form a federation. Therefore in order to

¹³M. Jefferson identifies the "Primate City" with the capital city.

¹⁴O. H. K. Spate, "Factors in the Development of Capital Cities," Geographical Review, Vol. 32, 1942, pp. 622-631.

¹⁵Ibid.

logically discuss Europe's future capital, a theoretical approach based upon already existing federal capitals is required.

In the consideration of a capital for a federation certain types of capitals are eliminated. Natural and regional capitals are designated to be the seat of government because of historical, political, and commercial reasons in the unitary state. These types of capitals do not exist in a federation which is the result of a fusion of separate states.¹⁶

An introduced capital is not pertinent to Europe since there is no official permanent existing capital. The introduced capital may be needed after the state has been formed and if it is obvious that the existing capital is not functioning effectively.

This narrows the consideration to three possible types for a federal capital; the "divided" capital, the "artificial" capital, and the "neutral" capital. Edmund H. Dale writes that neutrality or political detachment is essential for a federal capital and has been sought by practically all modern federations because it satisfies the desire for a capital neither too closely associated with nor unduly influenced by the traditions and interests of any one of the components.¹⁷ These

¹⁶G. J. R. Linge, "Canberra After Fifty Years," Geographical Review, Vol. 51, 1961, p. 467.

¹⁷Edmund H. Dale, "The West Indies: A Federation in Search of a Capital," The Canadian Geographer, Vol. V, No. 2, Summer 1961, p. 44.

three types of capitals are attempts to provide compromises and to reduce the existence of local rivalries.

A case for the "divided" capital in Europe has already been made.¹⁸ The two cities considered as logical choices to share the administrative functions of a European federation are Brussels and Luxembourg. Certain rivalries for the title capital of Europe have existed between Luxembourg and Brussels ever since the establishment of the EEC. If the friction between the two cities were to increase, a solution to this problem could result in the choice of a "divided" capital.

If a division of powers were made between Brussels and Luxembourg, such a move would fail to provide an essential characteristic, the unifying forces that a strong single capital could generate.

Several modern federations have chosen to create "artificial" capitals in order to resolve rivalries and antagonisms that invariably exist between units of a federal system concerning a capital city. In view of the many international rivalries that exist in Europe, the creation of a brand new city would seem perhaps an ideal solution.

¹⁸"Where Europe should have its capital city: in Brussels with compensations for Luxembourg, " Common Market, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1964, p. 147.

With the location of the federal capital within a created federal district the possible conflicts between federal employees and local laws would be avoided.

As early as 1952, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, proposed an European type of District of Columbia with the "Europeanization" of the Saar. However the Franco-German negotiations failed to produce any permanent results.¹⁹

In 1963, J. Marshall Miller in his book Lake Europa proposed a new artificial capital for Europe.²⁰ As a site he suggested a lake fed by the waters of the Moselle River. The lake would therefore be located in France next to the borders of Luxembourg and Germany. Miller completely rejects any existing European city for the capital of Europe on the basis of anticipated traffic congestions, overcrowding of the land, increasing urban population, unsanitary conditions, and increasing slum conditions. He argues that a preplanned city offers an opportunity to avoid such conditions, that such a city would be a symbol of continued unity.²¹

¹⁹"The Saar Question," Briefing No. 90, Ambassade de France, Service de Presse et d'Information, January 1953, p. 2.

²⁰J. Marshall Miller, Lake Europa: A New Capital for A United Europe, New York, Books International, 1963, p. 64.

²¹Ibid., p. 64.

This type of capital would certainly offer a solution, and geographically the location of Lake Europa is well chosen. However, this proposal while theoretically sound may be an oversimplification of the problems surrounding selection of a European capital. The case of Brasilia has shown that the creation of a new capital can be very costly. Brazilian politicians have charged that the money devoted to Brasilia could have been spent in the development of other projects which would have been more beneficial to the state as a whole.²² In view of the many demands for funds to solve Europe's problems of urban blight, highway congestion and economic imbalances, the allocation of large amounts to build a showplace capital would probably be extremely unpopular.

In Australia the artificial capital created at Canberra offers a warning to the planners of such a city in Europe. The city structure of Canberra has not developed according to Walter Burley Griffin's original plan.²³ One of the most important changes is the construction of a railway station on the south side of the Molonglo River, and the consequent lack of development of a market area in the northeast corner of the city.²⁴

²²John P. Augelli, "Brasilia: The Emergence of a National Capital," The Journal of Geography, Vol. LXII, No. 6, September 1963, p. 252.

²³G. J. R. Linge, op. cit., p. 470.

²⁴Ibid., p. 470.

As in the case of the "divided" capital the "artificial" capital may be a solution if the capital chosen for the federation does not satisfy its members.

In the past the government of a new federation has found it desirable to select a city already in existence to fill the role of the "neutral" capital. Ottawa is such a capital. The problems Canada encountered in its choice of Ottawa as the capital parallel in several instances the situation to be faced by a European federation.

Prior to the selection in 1867 of Ottawa as the Canadian capital, the practice had been to convene four sessions of the parliament alternately in Toronto and in Quebec. This was done in an effort to appease the English and French speaking Canadians and resulted in a sort of "divided" capital. However, this migratory arrangement caused the Governor General, Sir Edmund Head in 1857 to state in a public dispatch that:

My own conviction, was, and is, that the matter ought to be definitively settled. To keep it open is to maintain in full flow a constant source of local bitterness and sectional animosity, which, by a little management, can always be turned against the Government of the day; nor is this the worst consequence of its unsettled condition. If the Province of Canada is to remain one, it is essential that its seat of Government should be fixed and recognized by all.²⁵

²⁵James A. Gibson, "Sir Edmund Head's Memorandum on the Choice of Ottawa as the seat of Government of Canada," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 16, 1935, p. 412.

This statement was followed by a confidential memorandum to Queen Victoria urging that the seat of government for Canada be established at Ottawa.

In stating his case for the selection of a neutral city, Sir Edmund Head emphasized two important reasons for choosing Ottawa.

... It is most important therefore that the middle district should be made to feel its importance, and should connect its interests with Upper Canada. This object will be greatly promoted by the choice of Ottawa, linked to Montreal by its trade and literally in Upper Canada but close on the border of the other section of the province.²⁶

and

... On the whole, therefore, I believe that the least objectionable place is the city of Ottawa. Every city is jealous of every other city except Ottawa. The second vote of every place (Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, Toronto) would be given for Ottawa. The question, it must be remembered, is essentially one of compromise. Unless some insuperable bar exists to its selection, it is expedient to take that place which will be most readily acquiesced in by the majority.²⁷

There is strong presumptive evidence that it was on the basis of this memorandum that the Duke of Newcastle (then secretary of state for the colonies) advised Queen Victoria to choose Ottawa. Ottawa is seen as a compromise on several points: geographic, linguistic, political, and cultural.

²⁶Ibid., p. 414.

²⁷Ibid., p. 417.

The Ideal European Capital

The determination of a European capital is a serious undertaking. The theory proposed for such a capital must take into consideration the European mentality, tradition, and experience, and as in the case of Canada, major national elements have to be considered and satisfied. While Canada was concerned only with English, and French elements, Europe must deal with Italian, German, Dutch, French, Belgian and ultimately British interests. To achieve a compromise among multiple factors is truly a formidable task.

Geographic Location of a European Capital

Logically the federal capital should be located in that general area where Germany, France, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, and Belgium meet and which has been defined as Europe's core area. The core occupies a more or less central position in relation to the territory of the federation, thereby providing centrality, one of the essential characteristics for a federal capital.²⁸ A city which is more or less equidistant and equally accessible from such peripheral areas as Scotland and Southern Italy would theoretically function as a regional fulcrum in both transportation and communications.

²⁸E. H. Dale, op. cit., p. 44.

Europe's capital, lying within this core area, would have a strong cosmopolitan outlook since it is in this region that four languages converge. Dutch, French, German, and Luxembourgish are spoken fluently, and most of the people in the area have a familiarity with English and languages other than the mother tongue. The language potential of this area would play an important part in the ability of a city to serve as the home of federal employees who speak a variety of languages.

Prerequisites for a European Capital

The city chosen to become the federal capital of Europe must satisfy several requirements. In the first place it should be a true "European" city. The European temperament demands a city that offers a degree of intellectual stimulation, cultural appreciation, and traditional heritage. However, these elements are not to exist to the exclusion of the city's willingness and ability to expand and modernize. In short it should be a city with both an honorable past and a bright future. These apparently incongruent aspects could be brought together through the creation of a federal district that would lie within or outside a respected historical urban area. In fact the creation of a federal district appears very much a necessity to provide extraterritoriality for the workers in the capital.

Foremost among the prerequisites of a city to be a European capital is accessibility. The city must be served by adequate

transportation routes such as highways, airports, and railways. The functions of representative government require the frequent movement of persons in and out of the capital. A center of international diplomacy also must provide convenient transportation for ambassadors and delegates.

In addition to ample internal and external transportation a capital city should contain accommodations and services to handle large numbers of transients. There should be sufficient hotels, rooming houses, and apartments to accommodate government employees and the inevitable influx of participants to international conferences.

In this regard a city whose housing facilities are presently strained by existing functions such as tourism or industry would be a poor choice to assume the additional pressures resulting from assumption of a new function. In essence, a city to be selected as the capital of the European federation must be able to assume its role without undue expense and without creating excessive urban problems such as traffic congestion, overcrowding of housing, and overtaxing of sanitation and utilities systems.

Willingness to be a European Capital

Satisfying the physical requirements alone is not sufficient to qualify a city to become Europe's future capital. Of equal importance is the human element, the attitude of the people of the proposed city, as well as the people of the nation in which the city lies to assume the costs of performing a new function--along with real or imagined

benefits. Furthermore the attitude of other Europeans toward the city must be at least acceptable. Whenever the final vote is taken the ideal city must be able to attract at least the second vote of each delegate, assuming that the first vote would reflect national ethnocentricity. It must be a place on which compromise could be reached.

Neutrality of a European Capital

The capital city which is a result of compromise between contending cities obviously must possess a marked degree of political neutrality. This is, therefore, another essential requirement for the federal capital.

The idea of neutrality has special significance in relation to Europe. In view of the long history of tensions and wars between the major states of Europe, the selection of an already existing major European capital such as London, Rome, or Paris as the capital of a United Europe does not seem politically feasible. Of all the types available the choice of a "neutral" city or a city in a neutral country would be the most desirable to avoid embarrassing friction that could arise among the major powers.

Thus neutrality, willingness, ability and centrality within the core area are optimum criteria for the determination of an ideal European capital. With these factors in mind several cities which could possibly be considered to assume the role of Europe's capital can be examined.

Cities for Consideration

Perhaps the most obvious city for consideration as a "neutral" city as capital of Europe is Geneva. The neutral city par excellence, Geneva lies in the geographic center of Western Europe. Historically the city has served as mediator in world affairs because of the great number of international organizations seated here. However, the Swiss international spirit is not equalled by a Swiss European spirit.

Three hundred and fifty years of neutrality have given the Swiss people a strong aversion to participation in political entanglements. A federated Europe implies subordination of the individual member countries to the federal government and this is hard for the Swiss to accept. To insure continued Swiss sovereignty, when Switzerland first applied for membership in the EEC in 1962, it attached a proviso that it would not accept any political integration.²⁹ At present the prospects of Swiss participation in a federated Europe are dim.

Without federal membership it becomes obvious that Geneva falls short of fulfilling the requirements for a European capital. To choose a city not within its federal territory would certainly be without precedence. Therefore, despite its many favorable characteristics, it is inconceivable that Geneva could be accepted as capital of Europe.

²⁹Herbert Kubly, Switzerland, New York, Time Life Books, 1964, p. 148.

It follows, therefore, that the consideration of sites for a European capital must be limited to those cities lying within the territory of the present members of the EEC. Furthermore, in accordance with the observations of Whittlesey and Gottmann prime consideration must be accorded to those cities that lie within the core area. This would tend to rule out such cities as Rome and Berlin. Although Paris may be an accessible city, relatively close to the core area, and also willing to be Europe's capital, the problems of traffic congestion and housing shortages and above all its lack of historical neutrality reduce the possibilities that the French city would be chosen as the federal capital.

Rome, lying far from the core suffers from both physical and psychological weakness as a contender for the role of Europe's capital. It may be impossible for Protestant Europeans to ignore the fact that Rome is the spiritual and political center of the Catholic world. As a spiritual capital with world wide influence Rome would have difficulty in achieving the political neutrality needed by a European federal capital.

Of all the cities lying within the core area a definite advantage is held by those which have played a significant role in the historical evolution of a federated Europe. By their active involvement in European unification these cities have demonstrated their interest and willingness to serve as a federal capital. In reviewing the European

unification movement there are three cities which stand out clearly, Strasbourg, Luxembourg, and Brussels (Figure 6). In view of their favorable situations and historical records these three cities warrant closer examination.

Strasbourg

Geographic location

Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, is a large port on the Rhine River. Its bridge over the Rhine is the route of the Orient-Express, the most direct route from Paris to Munich, Prague, Vienna, and Budapest. It has a population of 400,000 (including suburbs) and has been one of the most important crossroads of Western Europe for centuries. The city is very accessible to motor traffic, the extensive German Autobahn system passes through Strasbourg's German suburb of Kehl.

Accustomed to diversity Strasbourg is largely bilingual since it has belonged to both France and Germany. Both countries favored the city; therefore, it has a good port, hospital, university, and other facilities which are better equipped than most cities on either side of the Rhine. It is also at the junction of the Rhine with the canal that comes from the Saone and the Rhone through the valley of the Ill River.³⁰

³⁰J. Gottmann, op. cit., p. 342.

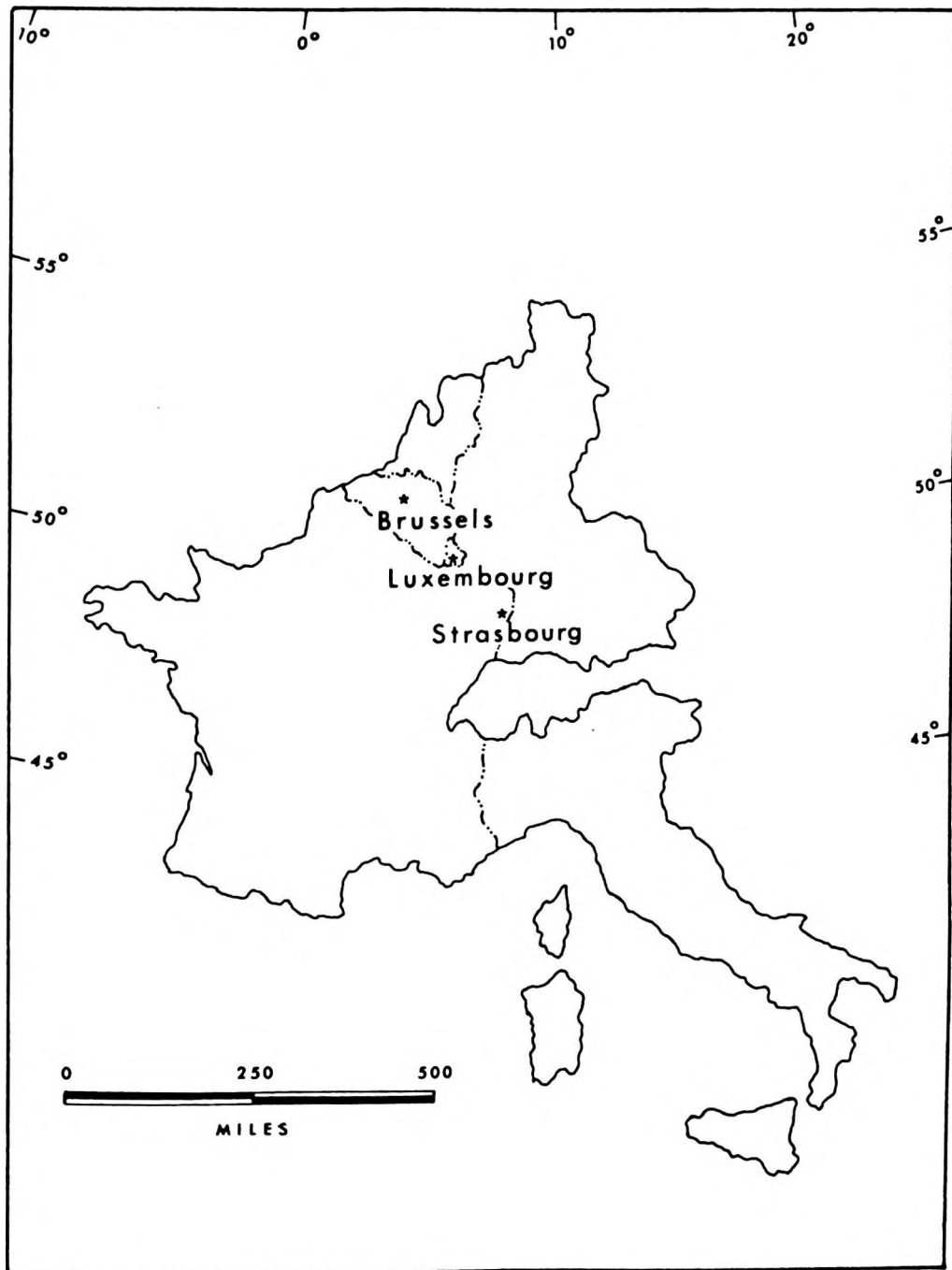


Figure 6. Cities suggested for the capital of Europe.

Obviously Strasbourg has a geographic location that fulfills the requirements for a European capital.

Willingness

The willingness to take on the burdens of service is an essential qualification for the prospective European capital. Without this desire it is impossible for the city to be seriously considered. Strasbourg showed some of the first signs of its interest in the unification of Europe in 1949 when the Council of Europe established its headquarters in the city (Figure 7). Today the Council of Europe continues to exist and to discuss human rights, social security benefits, and legal coordination for its eighteen member countries.³¹ With so many European nations represented here, Strasbourg becomes an important sounding board for European opinion.

Another organization which continues to meet in Strasbourg is the European Parliament. It convenes in the Assembly chamber of the Council of Europe six or seven times a year.³² The continued insistence of France for this body to continue to meet in Strasbourg illustrates the desire that the city has in the European question concerning a capital city.

³¹Member countries are: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, The Irish Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

³²M. Palmer and J. Lambert and others, A Handbook of European Organizations, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968, p. 177.

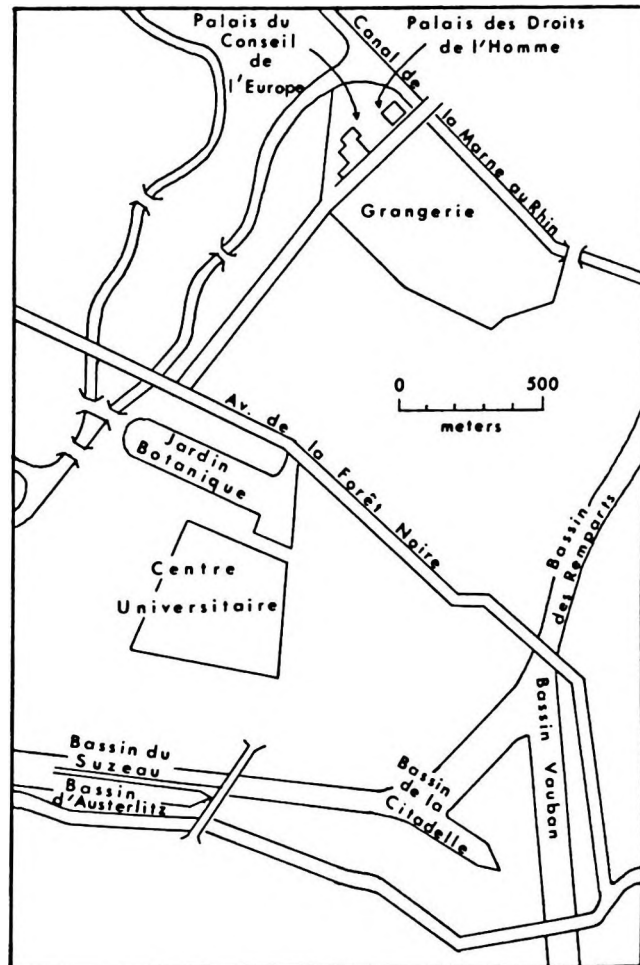


Figure 7. East Strasbourg. From: France, Paris, Pneu Michelin, Service de Tourisme, 1971.

Neutrality

Although a French city, Strasbourg is not as burdened with French ethnocentrism as Paris. In fact, since the city has belonged to both Germany and France, Strasbourg enjoys an image of neutrality that may alleviate some of the historical tensions between the two countries. As an illustration of the "spirit of Europe" that permeates the civic atmosphere of Strasbourg, the main bridge that spans the Rhine linking France and Germany is called the "Pont de l'Europe."

Strasbourg is ideally located to strengthen the capital's function as a bond between the federal states. The creation of a federal district on the Rhine could extend into both France and Germany and be serviced by both Strasbourg and its neighboring German city, Kehl.

Ability

Strasbourg's ability to function as a major capital can be questioned on several points. The first of these is the absence of an essential facility; a major international airport. The closest airport to Strasbourg is located at Entzheim eight miles away. This airport at present handles from 50,000 to 100,000 passengers a year.

Another handicap to the city's choice is the heavy industrial activity of the city. Strasbourg is an inland port and freight center handling much of the iron ore and steel of the Lorraine.³³ Its

³³D. W. Brogan, France, New York, Time Life Books, 1963, p. 77.

industrial population already saturates existing housing facilities leaving little room to accommodate the workers of a new facility.

Prospects

If it is chosen, an international airport would have to be built, or enlarge the Entzheim Airport; additional housing and office accommodations and service facilities would have to be constructed. Since the creation of a new federal district implies new construction, no matter where it is located, Strasbourg could be considered a prime candidate for Europe's capital.

Luxembourg

Geographic Location

A city of about 80,000 persons, Luxembourg is situated on the rim of the Ardennes Plateau, in the south central part of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg at the confluence of the Alzette and Pertrusse Rivers. Both French and a Germanic dialect known as Luxembourgeois or Letzeburgesch rank as official languages.³⁴

Ability

Luxembourg, in spite of its unimpressive small population, contains many facilities including an airport which receives over a

³⁴F. J. Monkhouse, The Geography of Northwestern Europe, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967, p. 349-351.

million passengers a year, mainly on Icelandic Airlines.³⁵ The "European Quarter" built on the Kirchberg Plateau offers office space and facilities for conferences and meetings. A twenty-three story skyscraper constructed in 1966 houses the Council of Ministers of the EEC for three months every year. An administrative and commercial center, it is also a focus of railway communications.

Willingness

The striking spirit of the Luxembourggeois in the movement for European unification is almost legendary. The population of this small, prosperous duchy has exerted an influence far in excess of its numbers and resources.

Luxembourg and Belgium formed one of the first presently existing European organizations in 1921 with BLEU. These two pioneers of European unification have developed a significant rivalry, with each competing for the opportunity to establish a capital of Europe within its borders. Both countries have expressed their willingness to invest funds in constructing new facilities. Brussels' thirteen-story headquarters building of the EEC Commission is rivalled by Luxembourg's "European Quarter" with its impressive skyscraper on the Kirchberg Plateau (Figure 8).

³⁵Walter F. Koch, An Outline of European Geography, University, Alabama, University Supply Store, 1971, p. 61.

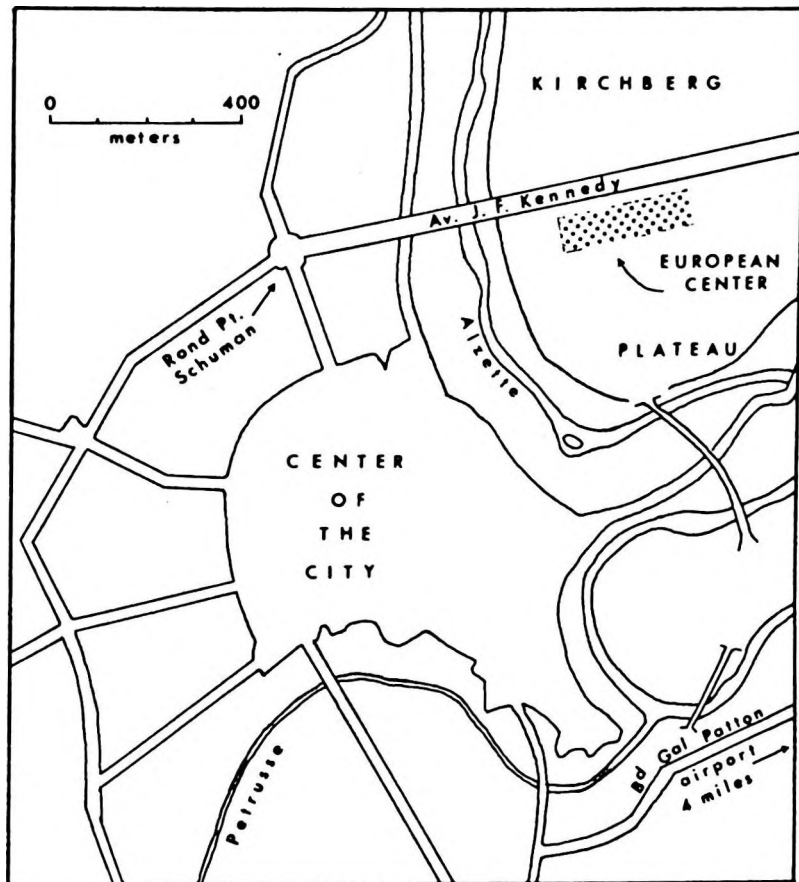


Figure 8. Luxembourg. From: Benelux, Paris, Pneu Michelin, Service de Tourisme, 1971.

Up until January 1, 1966, Luxembourg had established a strong claim for the ultimate selection as the European capital. The General Secretariat of the European Parliament, the ECSC High Authority, and the Court of Justice all functioned smoothly in Luxembourg. Many decisions affecting the European unification were coming from that city and many problems involving normal housekeeping activities were solved.

Early in the 1960's it was realized that when political unification took place the unification of the executive organs of the three European communities i. e., (1) the Commission of the EEC, (2) Euratom, and (3) the High Authority of the ECSC, was imperative.³⁶ The first two of these had their offices in Brussels while the third body was located in Luxembourg. In April of 1963, the German Foreign Minister, Gerhard Schroeder, proposed the merging of the three executive branches saying that the formulation of a common policy on all energy sources would be possible only if the authorities for electric power (EEC) and coal (ECSC) were combined with the European agency responsible for atomic energy (Euratom). With the merger job duplication and tasks could be eliminated.³⁷

³⁶F. Jensen and I. Walter, The Common Market, New York, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1965, p. 244.

³⁷Ibid., p. 245.

Eugene Schaus, the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, fought the merger stating that it would be detrimental to his country's economy, since the over a thousand well paid officials in Luxembourg added an estimated ten million dollars to the country's economy each year.³⁸ However, despite Schaus' opposition, the three agencies were merged in Brussels.

Neutrality

Luxembourg's neutrality in European affairs is traditional and well-known. Located within the small Duchy of Luxembourg it has never been the cause of conflicts or the object of jealousy between rivaling countries.

Prospects

Until April 1965, Luxembourg shared the functions of administration of the embryonic European union with Strasbourg and Brussels. However, the merger of the EEC agencies and the transfer of personnel to Brussels in that year diminished Luxembourg's possibilities of becoming the capital of Europe. This move was not so much a reflection on the shortcomings of Luxembourg, as it was a personal decision of the first chairman of EEC's Executive Commission, Professor Walter Hallstein. Since no definite capital had been selected,

³⁸Ibid.

he decided matters himself by starting work in Brussels.³⁹ He remained in Brussels until he was succeeded there in 1967 by Jean Rey, and in 1970 by Franco Malfatti.

Brussels

Brussels, another city within Europe's core area, has been the subject of several articles and discussions in the past decade. The fact that Brussels was made the headquarters of the Commission of the European Communities in 1966 places it in a very advantageous position in the consideration to select Europe's capital city (Figure 9).

Geographic Location

Brussels, capital of Belgium, and regional capital of the Brabant province, is situated in the middle of the rich Brabant Plain. The Senne, a small underground river, flows through the city in a north-south direction. A city of approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants, it developed because of its administrative function and also out of the prosperity of the surrounding plain.⁴⁰

Situated on the language boundary between the Flemish-speaking northern provinces and the French-speaking southern provinces, Brussels is an officially bilingual city.

³⁹"Where Europe should have its Capital City: In Brussels with Compensations for Luxembourg," Common Market, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1964, p. 148.

⁴⁰J. Gottmann, op. cit., p. 298.

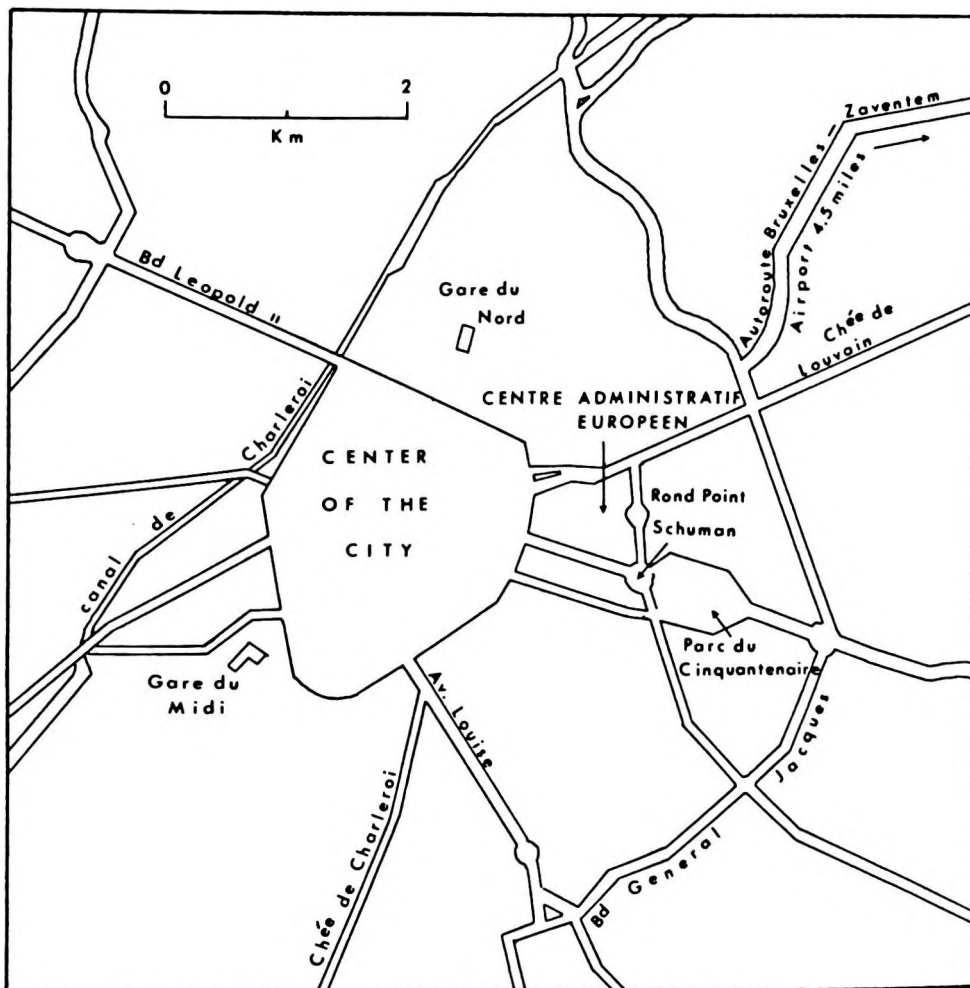


Figure 9. Brussels. From: Benelux, Paris, Pneu Michelin, Service de Tourisme, 1971.

Ability

Brussels' ability to function as the new capital of Europe is reflected in a survey conducted by Donaldson, Lufkin, and Jenrette reported in 1967. In a comparison of a random selection of important European cities Brussels was ranked first in its ability to accommodate and serve foreign representatives and diplomats. On the basis of numerical values given the results of the survey, A-4, B-3, C-2, and D-1, Brussels was rated 29; London, Geneva, and Zurich received 21 points and Paris was ranked lowest with 17 points (Table II).

TABLE II

Advantages Offered By Various European Cities*

	A - Excellent (4)	B - Good (3)	C - Satisfactory (2)	D - Unsatisfactory (1)		
Types	Brussels	London	Geneva	Zurich	Paris	
Communication facilities	A	B	B	A	A	
Attitude of city governments	A	B	D	D	C	
Office space	A	C	C	D	C	
Cost of office space	A	C	B	B	C	
Banking place	B	A	B	B	B	
Housing facilities	A	C	B	B	D	
Polylingual personnel	B	B	B	B	C	
Cost of Living	B	C	B	B	D	
TOTAL SCORE	29	21	21	21	17	

*Source: "La Belgique dans le Marché Commun," Dossiers du CRISP, Brussels, 1967, p. 7.

Brussels is readily accessible to the diplomats of Europe by means of a railway system which has the densest network in the world and which offers excellent connections to all European countries.⁴¹ Brussels' international airport is in the process of modernizing and expanding to accommodate the "giant carriers" and the estimated five million passengers of 1975.⁴² An ambitious expansion and modernization program is also making evident improvements in the internal transportation of the city. An article in the Economist describes these centrally planned innovations as follows:

The inner road that was begun for the 1958 Exhibition has been made into a virtual freeway. A mystifying warren of tunnels has been excavated around the Community Headquarters to speed the flow of traffic to and from the prosperous residential areas to the south.⁴³

Brussels' ability to receive and accommodate the anticipated inflow of administrative personnel is being increased through several building projects. One of the most outstanding is the "Manhattan Project"

⁴¹F. J. Monkhouse, op. cit., p. 312.

⁴²"Brussels National Airport to be Modernized to Accommodate the 'Giant Carriers' of Tomorrow," Belgium Economy + Technique, Brussels, Belgian Foreign Trade Office, No. 24, 1970, pp. 47-48.

⁴³"The Capital of Europe," The Economist, October 25, 1968, p. XIV.

now being discussed and which upon completion will include the largest hotel on the continent.⁴⁴ Of all the cities under consideration, and for that matter, of all the major cities of Europe, Brussels is the only city with a surplus of residential space and in spite of the waves of invasions it still has brand new blocks of apartments for rent.⁴⁵

Willingness

Brussels' building boom is but one example of its willingness to supply the residences and offices from which the "Eurocrats" may set about their business of making a new kind of unified Europe.

The civil administration of Brussels and the Belgian government have made numerous overtures to the members of the EEC to prove their willingness to conform to the European spirit. One of the most remarkable examples of the Belgian effort to subordinate its national interests to the spirit of internationalization was the proposal made by Hugues de Bliquy, the advisor to the Belgian Minister of French Culture. He suggested the official use of English and the four community languages (German, Dutch, French, Italian) in the civil affairs and activities of the new Brussels. "Pentalingualism"

⁴⁴Temple Fielding, Fielding's Travel Guide to Europe, New York, Fielding Publications, Inc., 1970, p. 225.

⁴⁵Anthony Sampson, The New Europeans, London, Hodder and Stroughton, 1968, p. 29.

would mean that all official inscriptions in buildings, all street names, all public notices, documents and forms would be written in five languages.⁴⁶

Neutrality

Like Luxembourg, Belgium has a well-known tradition of political neutrality. The fact that Belgium remained neutral in the midst of two dramatic European conflicts could have a psychological bearing in determining the location of an administrative capital. The central geographic location of Brussels is ideal for the creation of a neutral zone --a federal district--between France, West Germany, and the United Kingdom.

Prospects

The selection of a federal capital is usually a matter of compromise. Compromise usually follows the lines of least resistance. The idea of Brussels as the European capital has already taken firm root in the minds of European decision makers. Brussels already has something of the rarified diplomatic atmosphere of Washington or Canberra.⁴⁷ The presence of the Eurocrats has been compared to the

⁴⁶"Brussels, Bruxelles, Brussel, Brüssel, Bruxelles," European Community, No. 102, April-May 1967, p. 11.

⁴⁷A. Sampson, op. cit., p. 47.

young "New Dealers" who came to Washington in the Roosevelt era, building a new detached community.⁴⁸

In view of Belgium's willingness it should not be difficult to create a federal district within Brussels. Today, it is two cities; one which concentrates on the site of the EEC Headquarters and NATO and the other which presents the cultural, historical and traditional aspects of a true European city.⁴⁹ It would be sufficient to enlarge and federalize that section dealing with solely European affairs.

Throughout the history of the European movement support has gradually been building up for Brussels as the capital of Europe. As support has gained momentum it has generated an infectious spirit of optimism which cannot be denied. The EEC has proved to be a successful operation with the headquarters situated in Brussels. Walter Hallstein's administrative decision seems to have been an excellent one. The EEC headquarters has made itself at home in Brussels, and Brussels has successfully adapted itself to its new role.

Already sixty-two per cent of the population of Brussels regard their city as the capital of Europe.⁵⁰ In an interview, a "Eurocrat"

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁹Drew Middleton, "Brussels," The New York Times, August 2, 1970, p. x.

⁵⁰"La Belgique dans le Marché Commun," Dossiers Du CRISP, Brussels, 1967, p. 7.

was asked what he thought of Brussels as the temporary and perhaps the permanent capital of Europe. He simply answered, "For most Europeans, it is livable, comfortable city, the only one in Europe that does not have a housing problem..."⁵¹ Burgomaster Heusch of Aachen feels that if there can be no question of choosing his city, he would at least like to see Brussels, the nearest large city, chosen as capital of the future United States of Europe.⁵² President Pompidou, after his visit to Belgium in June 1971, gave a guarantee that Brussels "...will remain the capital of Europe."⁵³

Although all Europeans may not be as favorably inclined toward Brussels, it appears that Brussels is well entrenched in the minds of Europeans as the capital of the new Europe.

⁵¹European Community, No. 102, op. cit., p. 10.

⁵²"A Land Without Frontiers," Memo From Belgium, No. 66, July 1965, p. 35.

⁵³"Dialogue avec M. Luns, Nouveau Secrétaire Général de l' O.T.A.N.," La Libre Belgique, Le 3 Juin 1971, p. 3.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Today it is not presumptuous for Europeans to speak of a European capital of a European union. Western European unity has been the aspiration of many individuals for centuries. Unlike the present movement, in the past, successive attempts by Rome, Charlemagne, Napoleon, and Hitler were all characterized by force and the single determination of powerful ambitious leaders. Unity achieved by these forces disintegrated soon after the demise of the leaders.

The tragic years of the first and second World Wars awakened a yearning among a nucleus of European statesmen for a unification based upon mutual economic well-being. Great strides toward this elusive goal have been made in the past two decades. The movement toward modern and peaceful unification may date from the formation of the Benelux Union in 1944. This was one of the first examples of successful economic integration on a regional scale in Europe. With Benelux was born a European spirit for unity which matured in the historic declaration of Robert Schuman in May, 1950. This French

foreign minister firmly implied a gradual political unification through economic cooperation. The basic provision of his "Schuman Plan" was the pooling of French and German coal and steel resources under the administrative control of a High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community.

The success of the ECSC furthered the spirit and interest for European economic cooperation. The EEC and Euratom created in 1957 were the next concrete expressions of this aspiration. Within a decade the ECSC, Euratom, and the EEC took a momentous step by merging its executive bodies into a single Commission with its headquarters in Brussels. The numerous international conferences and discussions which preceded the establishment of this Commission generated a momentum which will hopefully culminate in the political unification of Europe.

Due to cultural diversity existing in Europe a federal type of government seems to be indicated as a system in which unity and diversity can co-exist. The future European federation will require a capital that can exert maximum centripetal forces while allowing minimum centrifugal disruption. In this function the capital city can play the important role of strengthening the bonds which will cement the new federation.

In determining the ideal European capital, it is seen that four major criteria are imperative for the city to fulfill this function. A

central geographic location, i. e. within Europe's core area is of prime importance. In view of the psychological function that the capital will have to perform, it is apparent that only those cities that have been historically involved in the unification movement could be favorably considered. Furthermore, the prospective capital must possess a high degree of urbanization and should contain sufficient transportation, housing, and service facilities. In addition, only a city that has demonstrated willingness to fulfill the role of a capital is worthy of consideration. Finally, in order to avoid friction among the major powers, the city should be considered historically neutral. By the first factor alone many European cities that may appear to fulfill the functions of a capital city are eliminated. Consideration is logically limited to cities within those EEC countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) that are part of the established core area. There are several cities within the core area that may have sufficient facilities to accommodate and serve the employees and diplomats of a capital city; however, there are only three cities that have a marked willingness and desire to accept the responsibilities of a capital city: Brussels, Luxembourg, and Strasbourg. These three cities have been historically active in the European unification movement. Each city government has been willing to construct modern buildings to house the various delegations that meet periodically and regularly in its city.

The sweet aura of political neutrality is common to each of these cities. Therefore, at first view Brussels, Luxembourg, and Strasbourg appear to be equally favored for the role of a capital city. However, after closer investigation it becomes apparent that only one city, Brussels, has developed the spirit essential for success, and emerges as the leading contender.

In view of the expansion of its international airport, and the construction of new hotel and apartment complexes, Brussels surpasses Strasbourg and Luxembourg in its ability to receive and accommodate the multi-national workers required for a national city.

Furthermore, the successful operation of the Common Market headquarters in Brussels since 1958 and the efficient workings of the Commission of the European Communities headquarters since 1966 demonstrate the city's effectiveness in its role as an administrative center for European affairs. This effectiveness has gradually created a spirit for Brussels that is of equal importance, and which may cause some to consider Brussels, the capital of Europe, as a fait accompli. It is obvious on the basis of the established criteria that Brussels is the capital that the new federated Europe deserves.

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