

World War II to Rome

1945-1957

POL 134: IR IN WESTERN EUROPE

“The countries of Europe are too small to guarantee their peoples the necessary prosperity and social development. The European states must constitute themselves into a federation.”

- Jean Monnet, 1943

I. Post-war Integration Attempts

- Post-war climate
- Treaty of Dunkirk (1947)
- Treaty of Brussels (1948)
- Benelux economic union (1948)
- Hague Congress → Council of Europe (1949)



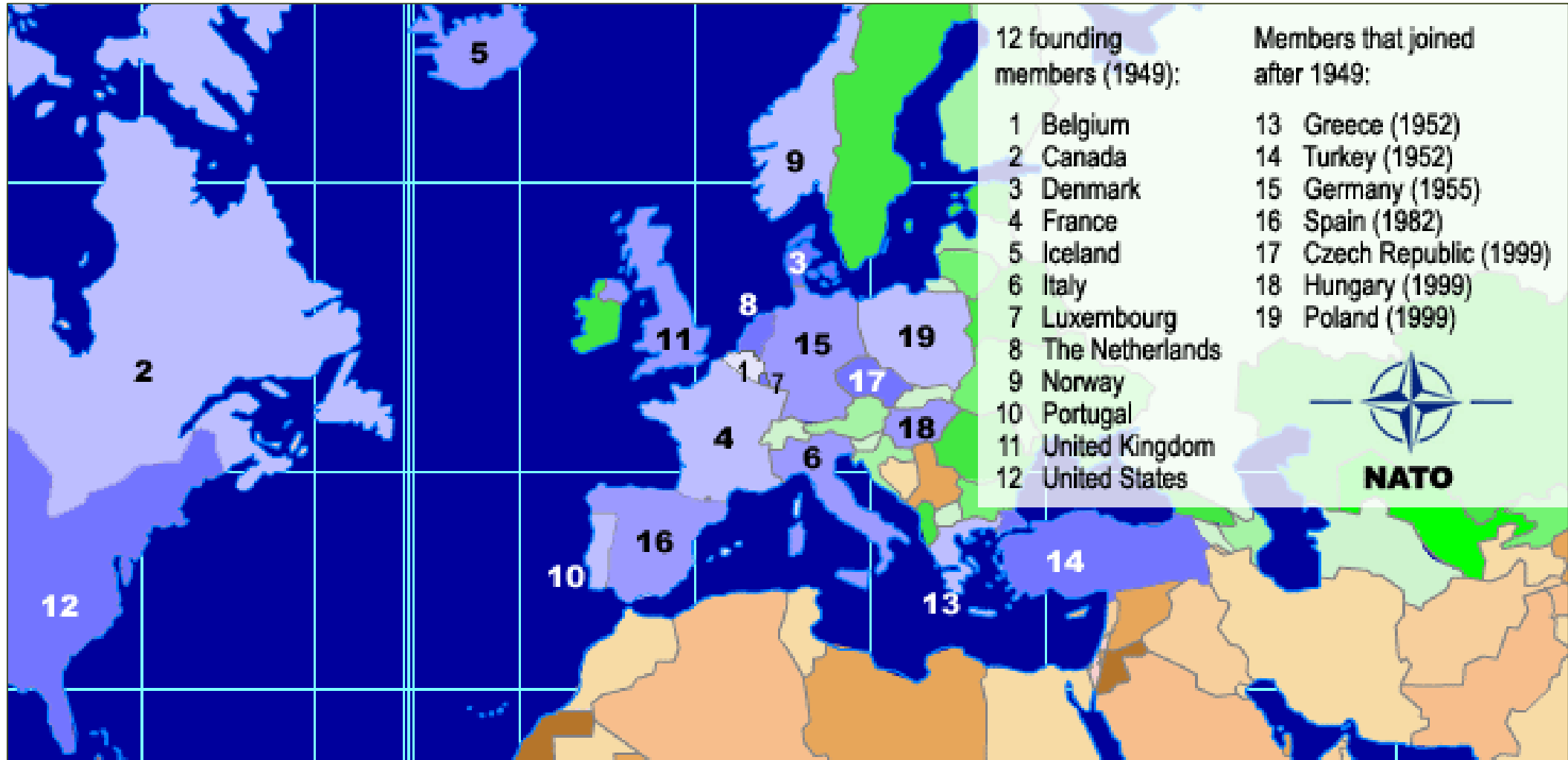
Benelux states
Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg

II. Cold War

- Rivalry between USA and USSR
 - Yalta (1945) → division of Germany and spheres of influence
- Truman Doctrine: US intervention to support democratic governments from communist movements
 - Greece and Turkey
- Marshall Plan (1947) → US aid to Europe for economic recovery
 - Reactions to aid
 - Led to OEEC
- NATO (1949) → intergovernmental military alliance of collective defense
 - Warsaw Pact (1955)



USSR and its satellite states



NATO members

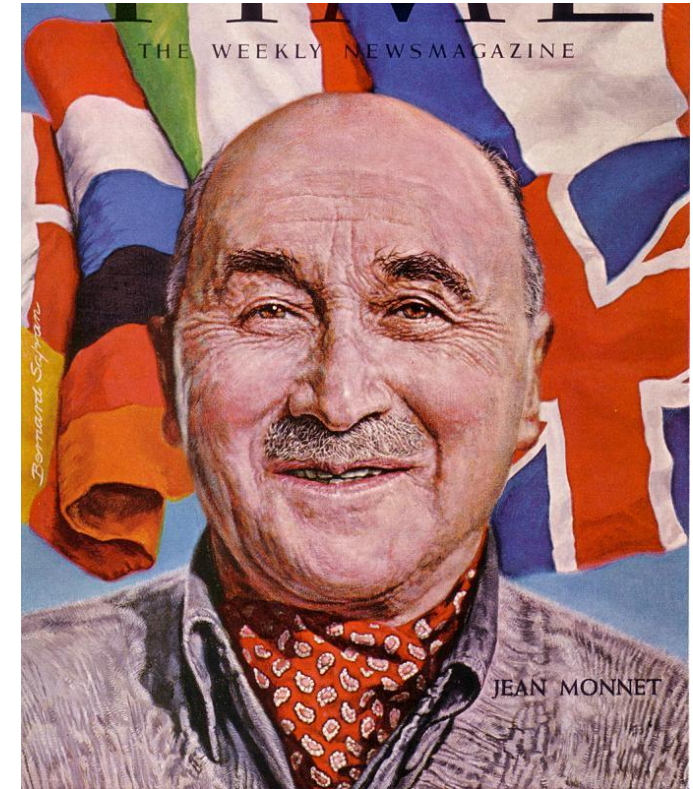


TROUBLE WITH SOME OF THE PIECES.

Cartoon from Punch
“Trouble with some of the pieces”

III. Coal and Steel

- Schuman Plan: pool coal and steel production in France and Germany
- Centrality of coal and steel
 - Economic and military importance
- Jean Monnet: functionalist approach
 - Start small → cooperation in one area will spill over into other areas
 - Types of spillover:
 - 1) Functional; 2) Technical; 3) Political



Jean Monnet on cover of *Time Magazine*, 1961

The ECSC

- Treaty of Paris (1952): created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), a common market in coal and steel
- Institutions
 - High Authority
 - weighted representation
 - Supranational institution
 - Common Assembly
 - Council of Ministers
 - Court of Justice
- Reasons states adopted
- British coolness to European integration

IV. Failed integration

- European Defense Community (EDC): creation of a European army
 - Negotiations linked EDC to ECSC
- Problem → a common army needs a common foreign policy
 - European Political Community entwined with EDC
- Treaty signed (1952), but not ratified
 - Two-level game → German rearmament unpopular in France
- Western European Union (1954): expanded Treaty of Brussels to Germany and Italy

Crisis in the Suez Canal

Discussion Activity

- Background:
 - In 1954, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal from the UK
 - France and Israel feared Egypt's pan-Arabism
 - Suez Crisis (1956) coordinated attack by Israel, France, UK
 - Amid US pressure, UK withdrew
 - France and Israel forced to follow
 - The Suez Crisis had a direct effect upon the “European project”
- With a partner, answer the following:
 - 1) How would the Suez Crisis stifle European integration?
 - 2) In what ways may the Suez Crisis fuel integration?



V. Treaties of Rome (1957)

- European Economic Community (EEC)
 - Extended common market to broader economy
 - Four freedoms: goods, capital, services, labor
 - Agricultural subsidies
 - Preferential trade with colonies
 - Introduced Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) in Council of Ministers
- EURATOM
 - Promoted peaceful use of nuclear energy
- Large step toward integration

Decision-making institutions

European Coal and Steel Community	European Economic Community
High Authority (dissolved 1965)	Commission
Special Council of Ministers (dissolved 1965)	Council of Ministers
Consultative Committee (dissolved 1958)	Economic and Social Council
Common Assembly (dissolved 1958)	European Parliament
Court of Justice (dissolved 1958)	European Court of Justice

Initial role of institutions

Institution	Role
Commission	Protector of the treaties; initiates legislation
Council of Ministers	Decides legislation; weighted voting; supermajorities required
Economic and Social Council	Delivers opinions on Commission proposals
European Parliament	Legislators appointed; consulted on legislation
European Court of Justice	Decides cases brought by the Commission, states, and private parties; no appeal

VI. Conclusions

- Main points of historical overview to 1958:
 - i. Integration did not develop in a smooth path, either through deepening or widening; it developed in fits and starts
 - ii. It was not clear from the beginning which institution, the ECSC/EEC/EU, would be the most successful model