UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

BACHELOR'S THESIS IN EUROPEAN STUDIES

Federation of the United States of Europe

An analysis of the traits of federalism found in the treaties and events of European integration from 1945 to 1969.

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Term: Autumn 2015

Abstract

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Key words: EU, federalism, federation, supranationalism, intergovernmentalism, treaties, European communities, European integration.

Swedish key words: EU, federalism, federation, överstatlighet, mellanstatlighet, fördrag, europeiska kommuner, europeisk integration

Number of Pages: 30

Number of words: 11,586

This bachelor essay's objective is to analyse the centralization of Europe though federal initiatives during a time period that stretches from the post-war years to the end of the 1960s. By exploring the failures and successes of European integration during this period through a federal perspective, this study aims to contribute to the on-going theoretical debate about the European Unions role as a new kind of federation. This study makes its argument by analysing events and treaties of European integration from the chosen time-period that are of significance to the study of federalism. The analysis is thematically organised into three categories: political, military and economic issues. Earlier research on federalism, specifically earlier research on European federalism highlights the studies theoretical significance and acts as reference in the analysis.

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List of abbreviation

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CEEC	Committee for European Economic Co-opeartion
CVCE	Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European Political Community
EU	European Union
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation

1. European unity through federalism

The on-going project that is the European Union is for many political scientists and theorists an organisation unlike any other political or economical union on the international arena. Though the union's purpose to maintain a peaceful and prosperous collaboration among its member states on international issues is accepted by many scholars, how to describe the union's structure and how it functions is a topic that causes much debate and uncertainty among those who attempt to define it. The European Union's supranational status on the continent as well as its juridical, political and economical authority over its member states has caused academics and political scientists to suggest that it may be classified as a federation. With the entering of several new member states into the union and the economic crisis of 2008 the issue of the EU's authority over its member states raises a lot of questions on whether or not the EU fulfils the criteria of a real federation and if it has gradually become more federalised during its existence. This has lead to research being done on the role of federalism in the European communities after the Second World War to answer whether or not it was intended by the member states that the EU should be a federation or not. This study focuses on the first two decades of the European integration and the centralization of the EU's authority through federalism.

Europe has a long history of tribes and nations that attempted to unite the continent through conquest. The conquering party claimed it was in the best interest of the continent if European integration was accomplished in the manner in which the conqueror believed was the ideal approach. But since most of these attempts have taken the form of conquest, Europe has only experienced a temporary and for most of its inhabitants, involuntary unity. At the end of the Second World War Europe was poor, divided and traumatised by yet another global conflict caused by the nationalistic inspired rivalry between Europe's great powers. While the war had divided Europe into two separate spheres of influence that would be the cause of international tension in the second half of the twentieth century, its aftermath had provided conditions for moves towards a consensual approach to European unity (Bache 2011, p.81). There was a strong desire among the advocates of federalism that there should be some form of European unity to prevent further conflict. Among the inhabitants of former fascist states there was a demand that their newly elected governments should make a decisive move away from nationalism. It was in this atmosphere of change that support for the ideas favouring European federalism began to grow and play a significant role in post-war Europe thanks to significant actors such as Jean Monnet. While at

the same time encounter many challenges caused by reluctant member states or certain actors who preferred an intergovernmental union like Charles de Gaulle. Up until the 1960s words such as federalism and federation were recurrent in the treaties and the debates that took place in the supranational institutions that were founded out of federal ideas.

The events that took place between the end of the Second World War and the late 1960s laid the foundation for the institutions and treaties that would in the future create the European Union, as we know it today. The ideology of federalism and the desire to unite the nations of Europe into a federal union appeared in treaties and speeches during this significant time period and are therefore worthy of research. Whilst referring to research about federalism, specifically earlier research on federalism in Europe, this study aims to analyse relevant events and treaties from the time period explained above. The analysis will give a deeper understanding of the development of European integration that took place during this period and with it an understanding of how Europe was initially united after the Second World War.

2. Definitions

2.1 Federalism

There have been numerous attempts by academics and political scientists to define federalism and how it applies to the EU. It is an ideology that is multi-faced, which makes it difficult to formulate a full-fledged theory. The diverse application of federalism in federations all over the world makes it even more complex (Gagnon 2015, p.235). The application of this ideology in a federation such as the United States differs from how it is applied in an organisation that is suggestively described like a federation such as the EU. According to Burgess, federalism is ideally described as the recommendation and sometimes the active promotion of support for federation (Burgess 1993, p.8). Bryce defines the aim of federalism as "uniting commonwealths into one nation under one government without extinguishing their separate administrations, legislatures and local patriotism"(Bryce 1928, p.25). In this study, federalism is primarily viewed as an ideology that promotes the unification of member states under a central government that holds federal power over the members whilst respecting their sovereign rights in certain issues.

2.2 Federation

A federation is defined as an institutional arrangement taking the form of a sovereign state and distinguished by the fact that its central government incorporates regional units in its decision procedure on some constitutionally entrenched basis (Burgess 2000,

p.25). It is a government based on the principal of "self-rule and shared rule" in which constituent units enjoy autonomy in matters of local concern but have agreed to surrender their sovereignty in matters of common concern where the central government has the authority. A supreme court surveys the relationship between the central government and the main units. According to Burgess it is possible for federalism to exist without a federation (Burgess 2000, p.28). Since the EU is not yet a state, it is difficult to officially classify it as an official federation. However the EU does have several institutional features and policy-making characteristics of an established federation, especially in its legal system and in the collaboration between the supranational institutions and the member states. There are some elements in the EU, though, that contradict the ideal structure of a federation, for example the Council of Ministers (Diebold 1959, p.599).

2.3 Criteria of a federation

In order to distinguish the federal elements in the European institutions during the analysis of this study, it is therefore necessary to point out the defining characteristics of a federation. This will provide a point of reference for the analysis and results at the end of this study. These particular characteristics of a federation are a "brief thumbnail sketch outline" drawn by researcher Michael Burgess (Burgess 2000, p.267). The last sentence of the description is a brief summary of the meaning of the criteria.

1. A federation is a state with a single people that is characterized by the accommodation of the constituent units of the union in the decision-making procedure of the central government on some constitutionally entrenched basis (Burgess 2000, p.268). A central government binds the member states together and coordinates cooperation between them.

2. Federation is based on unity and diversity which are formally recognised by the combination of "self-rule and shared rule" in a written and supreme constitution (ibid). The governing of the federation is sometimes shared between the central government and the member states.

3. Self-rule and shared rule are combined in at least two orders of government/governance, each acting directly upon its citizens, in which the essential units enjoy significant autonomy in matters of local concern but have voluntarily agreed to pool their sovereignty in matters of common concern (ibid). Member states have sovereignty in local matters.

4. The federal constitution incorporates a formal distribution of powers between the central and constituent units with a firm basis in sources of revenue and expenditure

that provide the framework for economic federalism (ibid). Income and spending is balanced between the federal government and the constituent units.

5. The constitution of the federation is not individually changeable by any single order of government. It can be amended only by an overwhelming majority of both the central legislative institutions and the legislative institutions of the constituent units of the federation (ibid). Any changes of the constitution can only be made a large majority of the institutions.

6. The federation has an umpire in the form of a supreme court to regulate the relations between the central authority and the constituent units, and between the constituent units themselves. It has the unchallengeable legal authority to judge on disputes regarding the constitutionality of respective actions (ibid). The highest juridical organ of the federation has the highest authority in legal matters.

2.4 Supranationalism

Due to the consistent usage of the term in the earlier research and sources relevant to this study, a definition of the term "supranationalism" and its relation to federalism is necessary. According to Haas (1958, p.59), supranationalism means the structural existence of governmental authorities closer to the archetype of a federation than any past international organisation, but not yet identical with it. Nearly all the criteria of supranational institutions follow the federal model but the remaining limits on their abilities to make decisions still suggest the characteristics of international organisations (ibid). During the 1950's the term supranationality was viewed as a special criterion for the three communities: ECSC, EEC and Euratom. The purpose of the term is explained by the desire of the founding fathers of the European communities to set them apart from full federations, which many of them hoped to achieve by way of supranationality (Haas 1958, p.32). Terms like federalism and federation could boast a long lineage in the history of political thought and could therefore jeopardize the federalist cause after the Second World War. Whilst an expression such as supranationality offered federalists a more moderate means of expressing their visions for institutional authority and was mentioned in some of the later treaties at the end of the 1950s. Although the term is not identical to federalism, it does originate from the federalist ideas for European integration and therefore shares many of its characteristics.

3. Objective and Research Question

This study aims at analysing the events that took place from 1945 to 1969 that laid the foundation and the development of the early European communities that are known

today as the European Union but was known in this period as the European communities. Given the debate about the role of the EU and the sometimes-neglected status of federalism in theories of European integration by historians, sociologists and political scientists (Gagnon 2015, p.216) this study aims to provide a deeper understanding of the complexity of defining the European Union's function through a historical perspective. This study will focus on institutional treaties and events that are relevant to the study's perspective, which is to look at these events from a federal perspective and determine how federalism developed or failed in political, economical and military issues. As this study will describe, during the early years of the communities many influential people supported European integration but opposed the federalist approach towards it, others opposed both. By analysing through a federal perspective this study will demonstrate the importance of including federalism in research on European integration. Many of the problems that the EU is facing today, at least on an institutional level, existed when the communities were first developed. Understanding these challenges of the past can provide modern academics and politicians with new ideas of how to solve the modern challenges.

The study's objective will be analysed and answered through the following questions:

A. *Did the European communities have federalist characteristics and did their design accord with federalist ideas?*

B. *In what way did European institutions develop federalism in political, economic and military issues?*

The first question is aimed at discussing how the idea of a real federation relates to the work that was made during the 1950s and -60s towards further European integration. The second question goes deep into the events that took place during this period and aims at describing them in the three categories to provide a clear perspective over the attempted federalisation of Europe.

4. Earlier Research

4.1 Federalism and federation

One of the most cited theorists today on the subject of federalism and federation is academic Michael Burgess. In his later work on comparative ideologies of federalism, Burgess argues that whilst there is such a thing as federal theory, there is not yet a fully-fledged theory of federalism (Burgess 2006, p.1). Federalism is by its very nature multidimensional as it concerns issues of political, social, economical, legal and ideological

significance. Burgess describes the European Union as an intellectual puzzle in terms of it being a possible federation and that to understand the historical origins of the influence by federal ideas may develop the debate about the nature of the EU. Gagnon, Keil and Mueller share Burgess opinions on European federalism and regard Burgess research on the subject as valuable contribution to academic literature (Gagnon 2015, p.1). The study of federalism and federations has seen an increase in output since the end of the Cold War, which includes studies of older, "classic" federations such as the United States (Gagnon 2015, p.4). Bransden and Keil regard the contributions of actors such as Jean Monnet to the European communities were done with federalist intention and that the EU has been reduced to an economic union as a result of many of the treaties (Bransden & Keil 2015, p.230). The early years of the European communities have not experienced a similar increase in output, as the recent academic studies may tend to lean towards more recent examples of European integration. One such example is the re-emergence of federalist tendencies during the 1980s and the Europe after the Maastricht Treaty, which this study will not focus on.

4.2 The Schuman Plan

What reappears in earlier research is belief that the Schuman Plan was the event that launched the European project in 1950 due to Robert Schuman's reveal of a strategy that would fulfil federal ambitions through economical means as well as the convergence of national interest and Monnet's ambition to economically unite Europe through federalist means (Burgess 2006, p.227). However the earlier research differs in its opinion of whether the Schuman Plan was a successful or failed attempt of economical unification in Europe through federalist means. But the Schuman Plan was not entirely made out of federalist ideas as its motivation. The first steps in the process of European integration were taken not primarily because of any commitment to any federalist ideas but in response to practical problems (Bache 2011, p.101). Keil and Bransden refers to the Schuman Plan as unreliable, not because of its goal to create a federal Europe, but because of Monnet's reliance on economic and functional approaches that failed to create a stable framework for European integration to stand on (Gagnon 2015, p.219). The federal significance of the Schuman Plan according to earlier research was that it established supranational institutions such as the High Authority, the Court of Justice and the Council of Ministers.

4.3 Treaty of Paris and the ECSC

Earlier research views the Treaty of Paris as an attempt to solve the immediate problem and long-term problems concerning European coal and steel industries. Theses two industries were central to the European economies after the Second World War and their

production capacity had been severely damaged. But the issue was not only economical but also political as it concerned the accommodation of West Germany into capitalist Europe (Bach 2011, p.101). In terms of federalism, the European Coal and Steel and later, the European Economic Community embodied the ambition to develop European integration and economic cooperation through semi-federal institutions (Warlouzet 2011, p.422). According to Burgess (2000 p.64), the genius behind the ECSC was that it was to take a Franco-German problem and give it a European solution. Therefore the ECSC would become, according to Burgess at least, "the gem of European unity".

4.4 The European Defence Community

The European Defence Community is the centrepiece of this study's analysis of the military issues that concerned the European institutions during the chosen time period. The earlier research refer to the EDC as a treaty that was to be signed with the hope that it would solve one of post-war Europe's most pressing issues in terms of strategic and political matters, Germany. Fursdon (1980 p.47), a former major general in the British army, writes that the question of German rearmament and possible contribution to a common European army would lay at the core of any European settlement, political and economical as well as military for the first five years after the Second World War.

Europe depended on American aid to finance its defence against a potential Soviet assault as shown by the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty. The Korean War persuaded the United States that Europe would need to make more contributions to its own defence but there remained the issue of a reconstituted German army. Monnet suggested that Germany, France and the other members should pool their military resources into the European army (Bache 2011, s.105). The earlier research points out that despite there was support for this suggestion by Monnet and other actors, there was a shortage of federal framework that prevented the EDC from coming into effect. Alongside the negotiations over a plan for the EDC ran debates about the European Steel and Coal Community and the proposal to create a European Political Community to co-ordinate foreign affairs and increase federal framework in the EDC.

4.5 European Political Community

The proposal to create a European Political Community (EPC) ran parallel with the creation of the European Defence Community. The EPC was proposed to coordinate foreign policy, a factor that hade been an issue in the debates on European security and defence. This provided federalists with another opportunity to move directly from a Europe of nation states to a federal constitution for Europe (Bache 2011, s.104). But this proposal

concerned the sovereignty of the governments of the member states, who were not ready to surrender it to the institutions. Because of its link to the issue of defence, the fate of the European Political Community was to be the same of the EDC when rejected by the French National Assembly in 1954. Burgess (2000, p.70) suggests that because the EPC failed, historians and political scientist have regarded it as a failure. It was rejected by the French but yet ratified by the Benelux countries and West Germany that nearly made it succeed. The debate on the EDC and EPC has served as an important marker for later federalist attempts to build Europe and is therefore evidence of the influence that federalism hade upon policy-making in Europe. It is this view on the EPC episode contribution to federalism that this study will analyse.

4.6 The Fouchet Plan, the Empty Chair Crisis and the Luxembourg Compromise

In the research on European federalism the years when de Gaulle's Fouchet Plan and the crisis that followed was dominating Community politics, was a period when the federalist's and federalism experienced great opposition. Among the federalist researchers there is an attempt to regard this period as difficult for the evolution of federalism but at the same time make a case that the opposition did not win.

The Fouchet Plan proposed an intergovernmental Union of States in Europe in which the Commission would not be a federal body with independent powers, but would rather consist of officials from national Foreign Ministries (Bache 2011, p.128). In that sense the debate on the Fouchet Plan and the crisis that followed can be viewed as a threat to the promotion of federalist ideas on European integration. Segers (2010, p.132) describes the events, arguably from a Gaullist perspective, as an attempt by de Gaulle to prevent Anglo-Saxons form seizing the initiative in the debate on the future of European integration, which led to the Empty Chair crisis of 1965. The Luxembourg Compromise that followed has been called a major setback for the federalists. According to Ludlow (2006, p.210) the compromise served to suggest to the federalists that the European Council functioned more effectively than the federalists had previously feared. Historians and political scientists have regarded the Empty Chair Crisis as damaging to the Community's federal evolution and simultaneously claim that the crisis was not a triumph for Gaullist Europe (Burgess 2000, p.84).

4.7 The Hague Summit and the Merger Treaty

The resignation of President de Gaulle in 1969, three years after the Luxembourg Compromise appeared to have freed the way to further integration (Bache 2011 p.135). Equally significant was the change of government in Germany. These two changes are

considered to have motivated federalists to make new attempts at European integration through the completion, widening, and deepening objectives of the Hague Summit in December 1969. Whilst completion and widening were successful, deepening which involved closer political co-operation was unsuccessful. Burgess (2000, p.90) describes the results of the Hague Summit as unsatisfactory for the federalists. Whilst progress had been made with the allowance of the EC to have its own resources and the entry of Great Britain into the EC, there was little attempt to address the question of institutional reform that the federalists wanted to achieve. But nonetheless, the strengthening of the EC's budgetary power is arguably an achievement for the federalist cause in the European Community. It raises the question of whether the 1960s was as bleak for federalism in the European Community as it has been described by earlier research.

5. Methodology

5.1 Qualitative text analysis

Because of the usage of political documents as a source, qualitative text analysis will be used in the analysis of this study to answer the research questions as thoroughly as possible. This method is suitable for the study since its main purpose is to extract the essential parts after careful analysis of a texts entire context and its separate parts (Esaiasson 2009, p.237). This study will analyse the contexts of essential treaties of the European communities. These treaties are long and address numerous complex political issues. Certain parts of the treaties are more important than others to answer the study's research question. The treaties will be read and analysed in their entirety but the articles that contain relevant, federalist characteristics will be analysed in detail. Where it proved too challenging to find such relevant articles through careful reading of the entire treaties, this study turns to earlier research and the references made to the treaties articles.

5.2 Ideology analysis

Federalism as a political ideology and the practical application of its ideas in the European Communities is the subject of this study. It is relevant to the objective to find traces of what can be regarded as federalist ideas in the treaties and the historical events that this study will focus on in its analysis. There are however challenges that are expected with identifying and characterising an ideology such as federalism (Dahlgren 1996, p.202). This is especially the case with political documents such as the treaties. They are the end results of much debate among international institutions and member states that have different objectives and agendas with the treaty they are signing or ratifying. Politicians from multiple nations

who were working to advance European integration drafted the treaties of the European Communities. It is unclear where these politicians stood in terms of political ideology, as it is not uncommon for politicians to support an ideology because it is politically practical.

Ideology analysis is a suitable method for this study as it is an analysis of political issues and the study of political issues has a strong connection with the study of ideologies (Bergström 2009, p.166). Since ideologies play a central role in questions of power, the core of politics, the understanding of politics must consist of critical studies of ideologies (Bergström 2009, p.177). Ideology analysis is a versatile method and can be used in different ways. To answer the research questions, the usage of the method will include an analysis of the treaties, a discussion of what the treaties refer to and a discussion about the circumstances that produced the treaties.

5.3 Three Categories

This study aims at identifying the development of federalism in military, economical and political issues. The reason to the choice of these three categories is to provide a wide perspective over the role of federalist ideas in the European Communities. The categories are chosen out of the fact that these issues dominated the debates that were current after the end of the Second World War. These categories will organise the study's analysis more effectively and give a clearer view on the relevance of the treaties and events.

The term "political issues" may sound misleading since all the events and treaties that are to be analysed are political in some manner. Federalism in the European institutions is a key factor in this study; therefore the term "political issues" will refer to the moments when the authority of the institutions or the sovereignty of the member states was being questioned. The category "economic issues" focuses on the economic features of treaties and supranational organizations. An organization such as the European Coal and Steel Community, which was predominantly economic in its policy, will feature heavily in this section of the analysis.

In terms of military issues there was the threat of the Soviet Union that concerned the leaders of Europe. There was the issue of whether or not Germany would be allowed to rearm, an issue that was of great concern to France and affected the outcome of the European Defence Community. Since the entire continent of Europe had suffered great industrial damage during the Second World War, economical recovery was a key issue that federalists wanted to resolve through European unity. The question of the price and distribution of coal and steel was the dominant economical issue since these two industries

were of great importance to France and Germany. The analysis will attempt to discuss these issues in detail.

This particular categorization has its flaws in terms of the treaties. The treaties were drafted out of the many objectives that the actors had and there are traits of all three issues in these treaties. A treaty such as the Treaty of the European Defence Community can be placed under military issue but this does not exclude the economical and political issues that were considered during the drafting of this treaty. As the analysis will explain, the issue of a common European foreign policy played an important role when the EDC was being considered.

5.4 Hermeneutics

The hermeneutic method will be used in the analysis to provide a deeper understanding of the intentions of the actors of the European Communities by analysing the treaties. By using the hermeneutic method in their analysis of historical texts, historians attempt to understand the texts language, its purpose, its author and the circumstances that produced it (Dahlgren 2010, p.211). The hermeneutic method requires the researcher to put himself in the culture or the context of the period he is studying, including its political environment. This study is not attempting to understand an ancient culture but the hermeneutic method is useful in the sense that it can be applied to understand the political environment of the European Communities of the 1950s and 1960s. This study's analyses refers to international institutions, political parties and countries all of whom are significant actors, but not so much about individuals since it becomes an issue with using the hermeneutic method to understand the mind-set of the authors of the treaties. As pointed out before, it is difficult to have a strong understanding of what the motives of a political actor are since they are depending on the circumstances.

6. Material

The choice of material in this study has been motivated by the study's objective of analysing federal traits in the European institutions during the chosen time period. Whilst there are available documents and protocols that were drafted within the institutions of the communities, these sources are not of any primary value since the study's main focus point is the development of federalism and not so much the practical application of it. Therefore the treaties are the main material and sources of this study.

An analysis of the treaties and the federalist traits within them has validation to this study. What is analysed in the treaties are terms and phrases that express or relate to

federalist ideas. It is expected that each treaty will have its own expression of federalism, which will not be regarded as a hindrance, rather as examples of the evolution of federalism as an ideology and the adaptation of its application by the federalists during the chosen time period. The articles in the treaties address multiple policy areas, which can be applied to the three categories in the analysis. If any article cannot be characterised in the three categories or have any relevant traits of federalism then the article, even the chapter, will be disregarded.

The majority of the treaties are gathered in their complete form from the Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE), a public undertaking based in Luxembourg and supported by the Ministry of Higher Education and Research, dedicated to studies of European integration. However due to the lack of a translated version of the EDC treaty in English, it will be analysed from an unofficial translated version. To confirm its context, the analysis will refer to references to the treaty's articles made in the earlier research. A limitation that must be kept in mind about the treaties in regard to the study's objective is that the treaties are the result of compromises. Each member states had to make sacrifices of their sovereignty to the institutions, this can be seen as a victory for the federalist. But the federalist delegation had to sacrifice as well, which in turn can be seen as a setback for the federalist cause. The analysis will explore these factors.

A possible weakness with analysing the treaties is that though they may prove that the communities had traces of federalist ideas, they may not prove whether the institutions applied these ideas once the communities had been established. It is a significant difference between the theoretical and the practical application of federalism. The treaties are not referred to in their original version, which was in French and German. Whilst the treaties are formal and direct, which makes translation by experts manageable, the translation may vary between the treaties depending on where the translation has been made.

7. Analysis

7.1 Political issues

The two world wars of the twentieth century, the rise of two nuclear superpowers and decolonization convinced the federalist forces that Western Europe had to adapt to new forms of institutional development if it was to meet the post-war challenges (Burgess 2000, p.94). During the 20 years that followed, federalist ambitions in the European Communities political policy would experience what has been described by some of the earlier research as triumphs and defeats. Others have claimed that there are traits of federalism during the entirety of European integration and that there were neither triumphs nor defeats.

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The earlier research differs in its opinion on what where the exact goals of the federalist movements.

Pinder (1993, p.46) suggest that many wanted a federal European constitution to be directly established, encouraged by Winston Churchill's speech at Zurich in September 1946 when he mentioned a "United States of Europe". Others suggest that federalists such as Monnet realised that such a proposal was too radical and too premature to become a success and instead proposed supranational governance of issues that were not strictly political, such as coal and steel (Gagnon 2015, p.236).

7.1.1 ECSC

During the earlier years after the Second World War, governments were preoccupied by the German problem, allowing federalist movements room to take a guiding role in the process of European integration (Preda, 2006 P.177). The genius of the ECSC lay in its ability to link the two problems of the French fear of future West German industrial hegemony and the German desire for equality of treatment to a single solution that would also have far reaching implications of Western Europe as a whole (Burgess 2000, p.64). The treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community of Paris in 1951 is primarily a solution to post-war economic issues. There are however several traits of federalist ideas aimed at solving the dispute between member state sovereignty and institutional authority. Article 7 of the treaty of the ECSC establishes the institutions of the Community: the High Authority, the Common Assembly, the Special Council and the Court of Justice (CVCE, 2012).

In the section describing the function and powers of the High Authority, under article 9, there is a clear reference to Monnet's original plan for the supranational power that the High Authority was meant to have. The Common Assembly and the Special Council were added to the institutional structure because of the member states concern for the High Authority's power (Bache 2011, p.116). Under article 9, the High Authority was to have complete independence from any government in the general interest of the Community and out of respect of the "supranational character" of the High Authority's functions (CVCE, 2012). In terms of the power an institutional body has over the member states in a federation, this article is a clear depiction of federalist ideas. But this was indeed a sensitive topic to some member states during the drafting of this treaty. Therefore the member states were granted the task of designating the members of the High Authority and the right to veto under article 10 (ibid). However the Court of Justice had the authority to declare this veto null and void.

The founding of the Court of Justice is a clear federalist trait in the treaty as it is in accordance with Burgess's description of "a supreme court to regulate the relations between

the central authority and the constituent units, and between the constituent units themselves" (Burgess 2000, p.267). In article 33 of the treaty the description of Courts jurisdiction in matters concerning "abuse of power" is an indication of the member states concern for the abuse of their sovereignty by a federal institutional body (CVCE, 2012).

The roles the Common Assembly and the Special Council as described in the treaty prove that the member states were determined to protect their interest the Community (Poidevin 1994, p.25). The Common Assembly, the parliamentary organ of the Community made up of representatives from each member state, was described under article 20 to have "supervisory powers" (CVCE, 2012). The Council task was cautiously described under article 26 as to "harmonize the action of the High Authority and the governments" and to communicate with the High Authority (ibid). The Council was free to decide its own rules of procedure as well. The functions of the Assembly and the Council give the member states autonomy in matters of local concern. This is in accordance with the federalist idea of "self-rule and shared rule" since the member states have pooled much of their sovereignty over their steel and coal productions to the High Authority (Burgess 2000, p.268). The role of the Council, the juridical authority that could be exercised by the Court and the limited capacity of the High Authority to rule the conduct of coal and steel enterprises were exceptional but fall short of what a true federal government would have enjoyed (Haas 1958, p.58).

7.1.2 EPC

The European Political Community was planned out of the European Defence Community's need for a common foreign policy. Since the EDC was the institution that would handle the question of a common European Army, a common foreign policy would have to be co-ordinated for the EDC to carry out its intended task. Monnet believed that integrated defence was unthinkable without first having an integrated political authority to direct it (Fursdon 1980, p.84). This provided the federalists with another opportunity to lead European integration further towards a federal constitution for Europe (Bache p.104). Since a European military was proposed to be organised into a "ECSC style" institution by René Pleven in October 1950, it is clear that there were federalist leanings in the drafting of the EPC (Rittberger 2006, p.1213). These early federalist plans shaped the EDC, and therefore the EPC, to be a supranational commissariat with a supranational assembly and court (ibid).

The institutions that were to be a part of the future EPC included a two-house parliament that would be able to act as a genuine legislative body, a function that, until then, was the exclusive prerogative of the Council of Ministers of the ECSC. Despite these institutions having a democratic character similar to the ECSC, there was still confusion

whether the future organization would have a federal or confederal structure (Burgess 2000, p.69). Article 38 of the EDC Treaty suggests that the Assembly of the EDC would bear in mind whether the EPC was to be a federal or confederal structure (CVCE, 2012). This is a clear indication that the proposed EPC was an opportunity for institutional federalism, so much so that the writers did not bother do disguise the word "federal" with a less provocative word. The word "confederal" is included in article 38 as to suggest the possible for compromises and not to provoke the opposition (ibid).

The treaty did in the end prove to be too much as it was ultimately rejected. The governments of the member states were of the opinion that a political community like the EPC could not be established until the issue of the EDC had been solved. It remained an important issue for the member states since it concerned the sovereignty of their armed forces. The call for a more active Western European military by the United States at the beginning of the Korean War in 1950 did not do enough for the EDC and EPC proposals to gain the support of enough member states.

7.1.3 Fouchet Plan

The Fouchet Plan was an attempt initiated by the then French President Charles de Gaulle to alter the emerging institutional balance of the European Community away from federalism and towards a looser, intergovernmental approach (Teasdale 2012, p.1). The plan offered to solve the political issues left open by the failure of the EDC and EPC as well as proposing to create a new "Union of States", a union that was to be parallel with the existing European Communities. As the preamble in the second draft of the Fouchet Plan from January 1962 describes, the contracting parties were to "pursue the task of reconciling their essential interests already initiated by the ECSC, Euratom and the EEC" (CVCE, 2014). The plan's outline raised discussions on a progressive deconstruction of the EC's supranational character and any frustration that the member states or others who opposed federal integration had of the supranational character of the EC (Teasdale 2012, p.1).

The "Union of States" was to be a confederation and would consist of officials from national Foreign Ministries (Bache 2011, p.128). But de Gaulle's plan to neutralize federalism met stiff resistance from federalists such as Hallstein in the Commission and federalist sympathizers like Spaak (Burgess 2000, p.80). Monnet's response was surprisingly supportive of the plan, welcoming a progress in an area that had not been achieved since the conclusion of the Rome Treaties (ibid). The debates on the Fouchet Plan proved the opposition to supranational institutions during a period in European integration when the federalists where fighting a "rear guard battle" (ibid). At the same time, its demise shows how

the member states valued the role of the European communities. The insistent proves in the end the reoccurring institutional and political problem involved in designing structures where national states share their sovereignty in areas of power, such as defence and foreign policy (Teasdale 2012, p.2).

7.1.4 The Merger Treaty

Unlike the OEEC and the ECSC both of which had been drafted and put into effect during a period when federalism appeared to be playing a significant if not dominant influential role in European integration, the Merger Treaty was drafted simultaneously to the Empty Chair Crisis and the Luxembourg Comprise, a difficult time for the federalist cause. Since the collapse of the EDC and the Treaty of Rome in 1957 there had been considerable changes away from prefederal tendencies (Menon 2006, p.146). The Merger Treaty of Brussels was, as the name suggests, primarily a treaty that merged the three Communities: ECSC, EEC and Euratom, and created a single Commission, Council, Court and EP for what subsequently became known collectively as the European Community (EC) (Burgess 2000, p.86).

Perhaps one of the most significant traits of federalism that is found in the treaty is how its goals are expressed in the preamble. Compared with the treaty establishing the ESCS, which used the words "supranational" and "federal" directly, the Merger Treaty used terms that were less provocative and less political than "federal" (CVCE, 2015). In the treaty's preamble the goals are phrased as "to continue along the road European unity" and "to effect the unification of the three Communities" (ibid). The term "unity" is not strictly a federal term but it does have a federal trait as it, in this case, refers to further centralization of supranational communities into one single community and pushing towards "an even closer union" (Burgess 2015, p.280). This makes the Merger Treaty a significant achievement in the centralization of supranational institutions that the federalists had hoped for during the previous decade. The Merger Treaty repealed several articles of the previous treaties of the three communities in regards to the authority of the new institutions of the European Community. These authorities were similar to the previous institutions of the three communities.

7.2 Economic issues

The literature suggests that both the origins and the goals of European integration were "political" and that it was the means to achieve them that were "economic" (Burgess 2000, p.76). The economic issues during this period were born out of the economic turmoil that the nation states found themselves in at the end of the Second World War. Coal

and Steel productions, two of the most vital industries in Europe at the time, had been significantly weakened and so to hade trade. These issues were to lay the foundation of the institutions that would characterise the economic policy of Western Europe. Meanwhile the federalists made attempts to exploit the proposed solutions to these economic problems in order to take a guiding role in the process of European integration (Preda 2006, p.177). In the early years of economic integration, there was a sense that the nation states could no longer pursue their separate national interests independently from other countries (Burgess 2000, p.66).

7.2.1 OEEC

European trade was hindered by a lack of foreign exchange and required an international authority capable of effectively organising trade worldwide (CVCE, 2012). The United States decided, partly out of its interest to promote its own exports, to aid the European economy to recovery through the Marshall Plan. The United States insisted that the European states who would receive aid from the Marshall Plan had to cooperate more effectively and jointly decide on the use and distribution of the Marshall aid (Fursdon 1980, p.24). There were some in the United States who thought that the Marshall Aid would be more effective if the numerous and smaller European nation states were joined into one body. This body was the Committee for European Economic Co-operation that later developed into a permanent body, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

The OEEC presented the federalists with a possible supranational organ that would manage the future economic integration of Europe. To the member states, this would have meant surrendering national sovereignty in many areas of economic affairs and giving in to the policy of the United States (Bache 2011, p.88). The opposition of some of the European governments to the OEEC developing into a powerful supranational organization was proof to the federalists that a more binding and regulated organ was needed to promote further integration in economic matters (Burgess 2000, p.67). The OEEC was not a failure for federalist ambitions but it can be stated that it was not a success either. If economic integration was to be promoted with federalist ideas than the leverage that U.S. had enjoyed under the Marshall Plan had to be excluded from any future organisations and the interest of European governments had to be taken into account if federalism was to have an influence (ibid). The European Coal and Steel Community provided such an opportunity with its increase of supranational authority in economics.

7.2.2 ECSC

Monnet started working towards federalism with supranational governance of policy areas that were less political; coal and steel were the first steps in Monnet's promotion of a federal Europe (Verdun 2015, p.236). As mentioned earlier about the political issues addressed by the ECSC, Monnet construed the ECSC as a means to solve two post-war problems concerning Germany's future into one solution (Burgess 2000, p.64). Robert Schuman was of the same opinion as Monnet and in 1950 Schuman declared in a public speech that the first step towards the concrete foundation of the federation of Europe was to be the pooling of coal and steel production (ibid). There was to be much dispute among the member states and institutional actors concerning the powers and organization of the different bodies of the ECSC. Only to the extent that ECSC was to serve the renewal of French industrial society did economic aims occupy an important part whilst simultaneously serving the aim of a federated Europe (Haas 1958, p.243).

Despite the disputes, the ECSC could claim credit on promoting integration and limiting restrictive practices in the coal and steel sectors, which was the main purpose of the community (Bache 2011, p.119). Under article 69 of the treaty establishing the ECSC the member states were obligated to renounce any restriction based on nationality against coal and steel workers (CVCE, 2012). The same article obligated the member states to work out a common definition of specialities and conditions for qualifications. A common agreement on the qualifications of steel and coal workers in addition to the renouncing of nationality as a credential is an indication of the federalist idea of a central organization, the ECSC, pooling the member states sovereignty under a common concern.

According to Burgess's criteria for an ideal federation, the constituent units or member states are included in the central decision making process on a constitutionally-entrenched basis (Burgess 2000, p.268). The articles in the treaty of the ECSC describe the member states role in the decision-making that they were to share with the institutions of the ECSC. The third title, "economic and social provision", which concerned the matter of production and distribution of coal and steel included the member states sovereignty in a diplomatic manner that was in line with Monnet's "step-by-step" promotional tactic of federalism. The High Authority's power to supervise the administration of coal and steel is described under articles 72 and 73, which are examples of a compromise between member state sovereignty and federal authority in the treaty CVCE, 2012). The member states would be able to set their tariffs to their national procedure but the High Authority would in turn be able to suggest modifications (ibid).

In terms of whether the ECSC enjoyed what can be described as "federal authority", it is not wrong to state that it did. But compared to what an actual federation would have been able to enjoy, the ECSC's falls short. The member states did surrender their former ability to control the productions, pricing and distribution of coal and steel to the institutions of the ECSC. Yet the member states maintained their ability to control the economic conditions under which coal and steel were produced and sold: monetary and foreign economic policy (Haas 1958, p.58).

7.3 Military issues

Earlier plans for European federal union had been advanced as a means to avoid war, but advocates of European union increasingly claimed it was necessary for the survival of European civilization (Deudney 2007, p. 231). The aftermath of the Second World War presented the Western world with a new threat to its way of life in the form of the Soviet Union. European federalists evoked this new threat as a justification for the creation of a common European army. This army or armed forces' primary purpose was to be the security and defence of the member states of the European communities. An additional purpose of this military to the federalists was to further integrate the member states. However, this plan was to be face great opposition caused by the foreign policy of the member states.

7.3.1 NATO and Treaty of Brussels

As mentioned earlier in the previous category, the Marshall Plan gave the United States an unprecedented degree of leverage with which to influence internal European economic development (Wall 1991, p.128). The North Atlantic Treaty was similar in providing a foothold for American influence in Western Europe but in strategic matters. NATO was an organization that was apart from the European communities but the unwritten presumption was that a Western European country had to be a member of NATO in order to be a part of European integration. France made attempts to take advantage of its relationship with the United States through NATO as means or re-establishing itself as a military and diplomatic power of world rank (ibid). At the end of the 1940s France was still thinking in imperial terms and tried to use the European unity movement as a means of maintaining a measure of control of the process regarding the German question, which it failed to do (Wall 1991, p.189).

The concern of any future German aggression made its mark on the Treaty of Brussels in 1948, intended entirely for Europe and to bring its members greater security against the communist and Germany. Article 8 of the Treaty of Brussels states that at the request of the High Contracting Parties, the Council shall allow the High Contracting Parties

to consult with each other with regard of a renewal by Germany of an aggressive policy (CVCE, 2015). Because of its disregard to Germany being a part of European unity, the Treaty of Brussels did not carry as much significance to the federalist cause as the European Defence Community.

7.3.2 EDC

During the Second World War, the exiled military leaders from the Continent based in London often spoke of European unity and even the possibility of a common, European military of some sort (Fursdon 1980, p.13). The economic turmoil that plagued the European nation states after the end of war, together with the rising threat of the Soviet Union, was to give the suggesting of a European military a strong voice in the early years of European integration project.

The question of a European military was complicated by the issue of a possible German rearmament which caused concern among the member states especially France who had been attacked twice during the first half of the century by a militarised Germany. Monnet schemed that instead of having a German army, he proposed that Germany would pool its military resources, along with France and the other member states into the European army (Bache 2011, p.105). The idea was appealing to the member states and succeeded in getting the EDC treaty signed in Paris 1952 but rejected by the French National Assembly in 1954. However Burgess (2000, p.70) suggests that despite the French rejection, the EDC had come very close to being ratified, proving that federalist ideas were being heard in military matters, if not accepted by all the member states. The military units of the EDC were to be integrated, a suggestion that could cause administrative confusion, but was nonetheless seen as a symbolic step towards further integration by the federalists. Parsons (2003, p.26) shows that federal ideas shaped the plan for a supranational EDC during the early years of the integration project: the creation of a European army under the command of supranational and with a supranational community and court based on the "ECSC model".

The first and second article of the treaty describes the objective of the community as purely defensive and would ensure the security of all the member states (CVCE, 2012). This would have been achieved within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty by integrating the defence forces of the member states and the economical employment of their resources (Fursdon 1980, p.153). The institutions would therefore have had greater authority of the member states during any potential security and defence crisis. In the first article there are federalist characteristics in the basic philosophy of the EDC as being supranational in character and composed of common institutions, common armed forces made

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up of conscripts or regular volunteers wearing a common uniform and a common budget (Fursdon 1980, p.153).

On the more practical level, the EDC's supranational control over armaments and strategic administration was feared to cause a negative effect on national defence industrial production (Deudney 2007, p.232). For as it was described under articles 9-18, no member state could recruit or maintain national armed forces other than those for which the Treaty had made special provisions for, such as troops intended for the personal protection of a national head of state (CVCE, 2012). As strong as the supranational authority of the institutions over the member states may appear in these articles, the member states had the right to withdraw part of its EDC force to meet national emergencies according to articles 12-14 (Fursdon 1980, p.154). This conditional sovereignty is in accordance with Burgess' third criteria for a federation. That a member state can enjoy autonomy in matter of local concern but have volunteered to pool its sovereignty in matters of common concern (Burgess 2000, p.268). The EDC's equipment, training and preparation for duty were to be ensured by the Supreme Commander NATO according to the treaty. This proclamation touches on the overlooked truth that after the Second World War without American aid there would have been no defence industries, no supporting infrastructure and hence no effective defence in Europe for years to follow (Fursdon 1980, p.26). The relationship between the EDC and NATO is described in detail in the treaty and stands to prove the significance that the EDC had in Europe's relation with the United States, at least in the military matters that dominated community integration during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Despite the move towards European integration and its significance in defence matters, the EDC proposal was not strong enough for it to be ratified after it was signed in 1952 and finally rejected by the French National Assembly. Even though Paris had compromised with Washington to merge its military with a supranational army, France's military burden in Indochina in the early 1950s made it change its priorities (Wall 1991, p.204). Many historians have regarded the collapse of the EDC as a failure for the federalist cause in European integration and a staggering blow for Western defence (Fursdon 1980, p.394). But the aftermath that followed did not only have an effect on the defence policy of Western Europe but on European integration as whole as it would inspire federalists to make more indirect attempts on integration, as described in the previous categories above.

7.3.3 The Fouchet Plan

Despite the failure of the EDC, military issues and their role in European integration were not isolated from further attempts at further integration. The first draft of the

Fouchet plan in October 1961, proposed the establishment of an intergovernmental union of States and cooperation alongside the Communities treaties in several policy areas, including defence according to Article 2 (CVCE, 2014). The article proves that the opponents of further European integration who proposed the plan were trying to solve issues of defence and security that was left uncertain after the failure of the EDC. The plan's proposal was complicated by the on-going discussion between Europe and the United States on the future of NATO (Wall 1991, p.270). To this concern was added a fear that de Gaulle would attempt to use European defence policy to promote the continent's independence from US strategic interest and NATO (Teasdale 2012, p.2). The member states, especially Belgium and the Netherlands, fear of a potential Gaullist threat to Western security and stability lead to the failure of the Fouchet Plan (ibid).

8. Results

8.1 Did the European communities have federalist characteristics and did their design accord with federalist ideas?

Whenever a political endeavour is at hand, supporters of certain ideologies will make an attempt to take advantage of the situation in favour of the ideology they support. The design of the European communities during the early years of European integration is no exception to this pattern. This study has found several federalist traits in the treaties that established the European communities but that is not surprising since the aim of this study was to examine European integration through a federalist perspective.

Political organisations and institutions are the results of the work made by advocates of multiple ideologies who have compromised the total fulfilment of their ideology in the name of a common cause. That is what the European federalists learned once integration was beginning to take shape during the 1950s. Compromises were made in the interest of the advancement of European integration and the federalist characteristics in the communities became less restricted to the ideology. The design of the communities was not in full agreement with the characteristics of federalism since federalism was not a political possibility during that time. Since it is in its nature to develop, few designs are ever in full agreement with the criteria of a specific ideology. However, the compromise of the original federalist ambitions for the structure of the communities should not be disregarded as a failure for federalism.

The main goal of federalism is to further integrate and unite sovereign states under a central authority. The strength of the central authority varies depending on the

diversity of the member states and the progress of the integration. This study has discovered that even though federalism encountered much opposition during the 1950s and 1960s, progress was made towards further integration and the foundation of an official European Community from the Merger Treaty serves to prove that the institutions became more centralised.

8.2 In what way did European institutions develop federalism in political, economic and military issues?

8.2.1 Political issues

With the institutions that made up the structure of the European Coal and Steel Community, federalism experienced its first practical realization in the post-war Europe. The institutions of the ECSC had a recognized supranational legal authority in regards to the production and distribution of coal and steel, as was its purpose. This institutional power was combined with the community's cooperation with the member states who kept much of their sovereignty.

The European Political Community was an example of a sacrifice of sovereignty that the member states were not prepared to make. The federalist attempt in the EPC was perhaps too premature and too forward in its tone for the member states to accept. Leading to a more moderate development of federalism in the near future.

The Fouchet Plan nearly lead to a complete political defeat of the federalist cause during the 1960s, but the authority of the institutions survived the Gaullist attempt to create a more intergovernmental Europe. Federalism did little development during the debate, but its value however was proved and defended. The Merger Treaty's centralisation of the institutions, with supranationalism as a motivating ideology, made the 1960s end as a turbulent yet modestly successful decade for federalism.

The foundation of the institutions has laid the foundation for the international cooperation that fuels the modern European Union. They did not further the integration process as fast as the majority of the federalists hoped they would do. Politically speaking, European institutions were created primarily to create a democratic organ for member states to meet and agree on means of cooperation between them. But this does not exclude federalism as a driving force in this movement, which has in the politically unique institutions make federalism more adapted to the modern age.

8.2.2 Economic issues

It is in the economic area where the value of the European Union is at its strongest, or at least it has been in the past before the crisis of 2008. The Union has created a

significant single market but it does not yet have a EU patent or a "made in the EU" mark to cement its economic identity (Burgess 2000, p.273). But the communities did manage to connect the member states into closer economic cooperation during the post-war years. The OEEC was the first federal/supranational organ that the federalists hoped would manage economic integration. Yet the fear of the member states for this supranational organization proved the premature nature of its existence, but more so was the influence of the United States over the member states economic sovereignty that was the challenge for the federalists. The OEEC did succeed in reminding the federalists of the "shared rule & self rule" principle of federalism (Burgess 2000, p.268). This principle would be applied more effectively with the ECSC, a community that was more European in membership and purpose.

In the ECSC, federalism made significant developments in economic issues. There was centralization of coal and steel sectors, abolition of former restrictions such as the employment of workers based on nationality. Undoubtedly the most significant development was the ECSC's control over the production, pricing and distribution of coal and steel. Making it difficult if not impossible for France and Germany to wage war on one and other. The member states kept their control over the conditions under which coal and steel were produced and sold. The economic ambitions of federalist such as Monnet were achieved to great extent within the ECSC.

The Merger Treaty was an achievement for federalism after the Empty Chair Crisis and Luxembourg Compromises. The three essential European communities were merged into a single supranational organization called the European Community. This significant centralization of supranational communities would make the union even closer therefore creating a more effective cooperation between the institutions. The Merger Treaty is unique in its expression of federalism in its articles. By replacing the word "federal" with "supranational" or "unity", the treaty developed federalism from its traditional form into something more suitable within the new EC.

8.2.3 Military issues

Federalism made little development in the military issues of European integration. There simply wasn't enough support from the member states who were not prepared to surrender their sovereignty over their security and defence policy during the early years of the Cold War. The Treaty of Brussels is an example of the short lived and unsuccessful continuation of ancient rivalries during the post-war years. Disregarding German reconstruction, the treaty was in turn disregarded by federalists and the advocates of European unity who understood the consequences of excluding Germany from the process.

The European Defence Community aimed at solving the dispute of German rearmament and further to integrate the member states under a common military. It has been a challenge throughout history for a central, federal government asking its member states to supply arms and troops for a military that will not be controlled by them but instead by a federal government. The EDC proposal was not spared such concerns and was eventually rejected. But a common European army, subject to the power of the institutions, was nearly made a reality during the 1950s. Federalism hade in fact succeeded in being heard and its goals were nearly recognized in this sensitive issue. The failure of the EDC gave the opponents of federalism an opportunity to promote sovereignty in security and defence under the Fouchet Plan that failed as well. Proving that the military issues of the European communities would not be solved by any one ideology but left in the hands of the member states. In the end, the episode of the EDC proved not to be the next development of federal integration that the federalists had hoped it would be.

9. Conclusion

Through its analysis of the treaties and events that took place during the early years of European integration after the Second World War, this study aimed at understanding the political atmosphere that surrounds the EU in modern times. The Euro crisis, the accepted membership of several post-Communist nation states and the current migration crisis have stirred several debates on whether the EU is an effective political organization in its current form or if structural changes are necessary. According to some of the advocates of federalism, changes should be made closer towards federalism. This debate that questions the very foundation of the organization that has kept large parts of Europe politically stable and economically prosperous has its roots before the first shots of the Second World War were fired. In the same way as the federal government in the United States is sometimes criticised, the same can be said of the supranational institutions of the European Union as this study has shown. To understand the events and treaties from the first years of European integration is to understand the circumstances that led to the creation of the European Union. There were of course several more events that can be viewed as essential building blocks in the European project but this study was limited to the chosen time period.

Federalism has often had a neglected status in theories of European integration. This study has analysed the chosen time-period with the objective to provide a deeper understanding of the complexity of defining the EU's functions through a historical perspective. The pioneers of European integration were faced with and attempted to define the

functions of the new organization that they had created. As this study has shown, the definition of the primary function of the European communities was simple, to preserve the peace and stability among the nations of Western Europe. The real challenge was the practical realisation of those goals. The treaties and the criteria of federalism described in this study were apart of the practical attempts to realise the goals. The results of the analysis of the first question are reminders of the truth of revolutionary politics, that compromises must be made with the old order and that the new organization must be patient if it is to function properly. As the results pointed out, the design of the Communities were not in full agreement with the characteristics of federalism. Yet this study was never convinced that the Communities had been solely federal and that the treaties were solely federal documents.

The results of the second question proves that federalism, was a significant driving force during the first decade of European integration but faded during the late 1950s and -60s. How much attention federalism was giving in the three separate issues depended very much on the importance of the issues themselves and any progress made by the advocates of federalism. Since federalism was integrated in the European Community as the new ideology of supranationalism, the results of this study has shown that federalism played its role in the foundation of the institutions. Whether federalism would develop in the future depended on the goodwill of the member states. The institutions developed towards a more centralized organisation in the late 1960s with supranationalism as a significant player. Proving that federalism kept its influence over European integration, if only just indirectly.

In comparison to what was described by the earlier research, the results show a complex, multi-layered description of the federal ideas in the treaties. These ideas would have been hard to notice if the treaties had been analysed through a different perspective. Much has been said of the treaties in the earlier research, for example the Treaty establishing the EDC by Fursdon, the earlier research lacked however an analysis of the evolution of federalism. How the treaties' description of federalist ideas adapted to the time the treaties were drafted in and became more moderate in their tone. For as pointed out in the results, a political ideology like federalism can be theoretical analysed and re-evaluated by political scientists. In reality the ideology must prove its value and adapt if the circumstances demand it in order to be applied.

Whether federalism will claim a larger presence in European integration and whether the EU will resemble a real federation in the future remains uncertain. What is certain is that the European communities have established themselves, with or without federalism as the dominant driving ideology, as an accepted part of the political and economic life of

Western Europe. The historical analysis in this study has proven that federalism, together with several other political ideas, played and likely will continue to play a vital role in the venture that is the European Union. It may be difficult to notice it in the "step-by-step" policy making process of the EU that Monnet initiated in the first years of European integration.

The function of the EU has been praised and rejected by member states and voters since its foundation. What is certain is that European integration is an ambitious political project and, like any ambitious project, it has little chance of coming to its realisation without a political idea behind it. This is why the role of federalism in the European integration process deserves and needs further research. Such research would hopefully provide political scientists and analysts with more suggestions for the politicians of the European Union on how to promote integration towards a stable future.

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