

Claudia Leskien

OPERATION WELCOME

HOW STRASBOURG REMAINED A SEAT
OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS, 1949-1979



P.I.E. Peter Lang

An accepted narrative within European integration history is that the issue in which city to locate European Community headquarters was decided on the intergovernmental level between the member states. In the present volume, this view is expanded with the example of Strasbourg by arguing that activity at the local level is an important factor as well.

A set of highly active political and associational local agents used different strategies to consolidate the city's position against competing cities and the European Communities. This study finds that a highly specialised group of municipal politicians and civil servants were an important factor for bringing the European institutions to the city.

Claudia Leskien holds a PhD in European Studies from Aarhus University. Her field of expertise comprises European integration history, international organisations, transnational politics and local political agency.



ISBN 978-2-87574-316-9

P.I.E. Peter Lang
Brussels

Operation Welcome

**How Strasbourg Remained a Seat
of European Institutions, 1949-1979**



P.I.E. Peter Lang

Bruxelles • Bern • Berlin • Frankfurt am Main • New York • Oxford • Wien

Claudia LESKIEN

Operation Welcome

**How Strasbourg Remained a Seat
of European Institutions, 1949-1979**

Multiple Europes
No. 55

Cover picture: private collection.

All manuscripts in this series are subject to a critical review by the book series editors as well as external peer review.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photocopy, microfilm or any other means, without prior written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved.

© P.I.E. PETER LANG s.A.
Éditions scientifiques internationales
Brussels, 2016
1 avenue Maurice, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium
www.peterlang.com; info@peterlang.com

ISSN 1376-0904
ISBN 978-2-87574-316-9
eISBN 978-3-0352-6595-8
D/2016/5678/04

CIP available from the Library of Congress and the British Library, GB.

Bibliographic information published by "Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek"

"Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek" lists this publication in the "Deutsche Nationalbibliografie"; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations and Tables.....	11
Abbreviations.....	13
Preface	15
Introduction.....	19
Section 1.01 Siting European institutions	23
Section 1.02 Siting institutions – not only a political issue.....	27
Section 1.03 Currency of the seat question.....	31
Section 1.04 Conceptualisations.....	33
Section 1.05 Structure of this book.....	37
CHAPTER 1. Strasbourg, seat of European institutions	41
(a) Alsatian history	41
(b) National political support for Strasbourg	45
(c) Local politics and European institutions.....	48
(d) Urban development after 1945	52
(e) Economic impact of the European institutions.....	54
Section 1.06 Attracting European institutions (1949-1952)	58
(a) Siting the Council of Europe.....	59
(b) Siting the institutions of the Schuman Plan	63
CHAPTER 2. Hosting Europe	79
Section 1.07 Constructing Strasbourg's European mission	80
Section 1.08 Central Actors.....	87
(a) City/departmental administration	88
(b) Private organisations.....	105
(c) Other actors.....	128

Section 1.09 The start-up phase: 1949-1956.....	131
(a) Activities and accommodation	133
(b) Promotion of Strasbourg as seat	137
(c) Informing the public about European institutions	139
Section 1.10 The implementation phase: 1956-1959.....	140
(a) Using session frame programmes to increase renown as a host	143
(b) Competition with other seat cities.....	147
Section 1.11 The business-as-usual phase: 1960-1979	160
(a) Session frame programmes	163
(b) Developments threatening Strasbourg's position 1960–1979	168
Section 1.12 Concluding Remarks	172
CHAPTER 3. <i>L'Europe vient à Strasbourg</i>.....	175
Section 1.13 Central Actors.....	178
(a) City/departmental administration	178
(b) Other actors	182
(c) Cooperation between actors	184
Section 1.14 Long-distance transport	186
(a) Air links	187
(b) Chauffeuring service.....	204
Section 1.15 Local transport	207
(a) Public transport	208
(b) Taxis	214
Section 1.16 Concluding Remarks	220
CHAPTER 4. Building Capacity to Cope.....	223
Section 1.17 Central Actors.....	227
(a) City/Departmental Administration	227
(b) Other actors	230
(c) Cooperation between actors	233
Section 1.18 Creating a European infrastructure: 1949-1964.....	234
(a) Constructions.....	235
(b) Accommodation	244

Section 1.19 The Palais de l'Europe	249
(a) Planning.....	251
(b) Affirming Strasbourg's European mission	257
(c) Construction phase	258
(d) Summary	259
Section 1.20 The Immeuble Parlementaire Européenne (IPE)	260
(a) Planning the IPE.....	261
(b) Planning the construction.....	264
(c) Construction phase	265
Section 1.21 Concluding Remarks	267
Conclusion.....	269
Section 1.22 Mapping the local group of actors	270
Section 1.23 Strategies to consolidate the seat status.....	274
(a) Keeping it local	276
(b) Conditioning elements	278
(c) The competitive factor	280
(d) Promoting Strasbourg	282
Section 1.24 Perspectives.....	283
References.....	285
Section 1.25 Unpublished Sources	285
(a) ABR – Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, France	285
(b) AC – Archive of the Council of the European Union, Brussels, Belgium	286
(c) ACE – Archive of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France.....	287
(d) AS – Archives de la Ville de Strasbourg et de la Communauté Urbaine, France	288
(e) CARDOC – Archive of the European Parliament, Luxembourg	296
Section 1.26 Published Sources	297
Section 1.27 Literature.....	298
Section 1.28 Web sites and online sources	303

Article XI. Appendixes	311
Section 2.01 Appendix I: Most active multipositioned actors	311
Section 2.02 Appendix II: Examples of Hosting Programme costs ..	321
The first EP session 19.-21.3.1958	322
PACE and EP session 19.-29.9.1961	323
Index	327

List of Illustrations and Tables

1. The inner circle of actors.....	100
2. Structure of the Comité Strasbourgeois pour le Mouvement Européen.....	107
3. Structure of the Cercle des Amitiés Européennes.....	119
4. Structure of the Cercle Européen de Strasbourg.....	125
5. Post-mark “Strasbourg, Siège du Conseil de l’Europe” (1957).....	145
6. “Do not leave me”-post card (1964).....	170

Abbreviations

CAE	Cercle des Amitiés Européennes
CCI	Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Strasbourg et du Bas-Rhin
CES	Cercle européen de Strasbourg
CoE	Council of Europe
COREPER	Committee of permanent representatives
CSME	Comité Strasbourgeois pour le Mouvement Européen
CTS	Compagnie des Tramways/Transports Strasbourgeois
CUS	Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg
DATAR	Délégation interministérielle à l'aménagement et à l'attractivité régionale
DNA	Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
FIAT	Fonds d'intervention pour l'aménagement du territoire
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
INSEE	Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques
IO	International Organisation
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
UN	United Nations

Operation Welcome

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WEU	Western European Union

Key to Archives

ABR	Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, France
AC	Archive of the Council of the European Union, Brussels, Belgium
ACE	Archive of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France
AS	Archives de la Ville et la Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg, France
CARDOC	Archive of the European Parliament, Luxembourg, Luxembourg

Preface

This book is based on my PhD-dissertation *Operation Welcome. The Municipal Politics of Consolidating Strasbourg's Position as European Institution Host from 1949 to 1979* which is the product of my doctoral studies from 2010 to 2014 at Aarhus University, Denmark. It is an independent study within the research project *Institutions of democracy in transition. Transnational fields in politics, administration and law in Denmark and Western Europe after 1945* conducted by Associate Professor Ann-Christina Lauring Knudsen which ran from 2010 to 2013. The thesis investigates which local agents in the city of Strasbourg attempted to consolidate the city's position as European institution host, as well as which measures and strategies they employed to achieve this aim.

The intergovernmental decision process of determining the host, or seat city, of the institutions of the European Communities is well known. The institutions of the Schuman Plan were provisionally located in Luxembourg and Strasbourg, while Brussels from 1958 started to house the new organisations following the Treaties of Rome the year before. My initial point of entry into the issue were the questions, whether actors on other levels than the intergovernmental one were involved and what occurred in the time spans between decisions of the foreign ministers of the European Communities. In a survey of available literature, it seemed as if Pierre Pflimlin, long-term mayor of the city from 1959 to 1983, was nearly singularly responsible for Strasbourg staying European institution seat.¹

For a first brief research stay in the local archive in Strasbourg, I was interested in confirming or disproving my hypothesis that Pflimlin was the most important local actor in relation to consolidating the city's position as institution seat. After the perusal of this brief search, it appeared that there seemed to have been a myth-building present in literature, because the mayor by no means was the only highly active actor. After a longer, more thorough research stay in the local archive, I can conclude that Pflimlin

¹ E.g. Clark, Stephen and Priestley, Julian, *Europe's Parliament. People, Places, Politics*, London, John Harper, 2012, p. 47 or Hein, Carola, *The Capital of Europe. Architecture and Urban Planning for the European Union*, Westport, Praeger, 2004, p. 100 or De Groof, Roel, "Promoting Brussels as Political World Capital. From the National Jubilee of 1905 to Expo 58", in De Groof, Roel (ed.), *Brussels and Europe – Bruxelles et l'Europe*, Brussels, ASP, 2008, p. 119.

was important for Strasbourg, but also on a more abstract level. As my research shows, a small number of highly active and well-connected city administration politicians and civil servants, supported by various local associations were instrumental to Strasbourg's consolidation efforts. While Pflimlin was not always as actively involved in day-to-day business, he was an important coordinating instance. Taking his importance to a more abstract level, his presence, political network and activity in lobbying for Strasbourg in national and European political circles was an essential element of consolidation efforts. However, in contrast to how available literature portrays him, he was by no means the only, most important actor. Those others can only be found if one looks within the city itself.

Therefore, due to the lack of previous studies concerned with local efforts of consolidating the host status of European institutions, my study is almost exclusively based on primary sources. I collected them from the Archive of the European Parliament in Luxembourg, the Archive of the Council of the European Union (EU) in Brussels, the Municipal Archive of Strasbourg, the Archive of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and the Archive of the Département du Bas-Rhin in the same city. I predominantly use documents from the local archive, supported by those from the departmental archive of Bas-Rhin. The fact that most sources are in the municipal archive demonstrates that most activity occurred on the local level. The institution archives commonly contain information corroborating the 'accepted narrative' of intergovernmental efforts to determine seats of European organisations without including a local dimension, although the archive of the Council of Europe also contains some sources on collaboration with actors in Strasbourg.

The placement of European institutions not only touches political issues as debates between nation states of which country should host the Community institutions, but also whether their placement makes the location a European capital in the sense that it executed the same functions as a national capital. These different forms of scholarship are all intertwined to varying degrees, although they are rarely covered comprehensively, but rather according to topic areas. Additionally, a double blind angle is present in these kinds of literature. Many focus on the present and do not provide much historical analysis; historical studies commonly do not cover the local level, especially in the case of Strasbourg.

One major issue that is not present in this collection of relevant literature from various fields that each discuss aspects of the seat question, is the comprehensive and encompassing study of local actors in an institution host city, their composition and their strategies to consolidate their position. Some works mention local actors in (prospective) seat cities such as Strasbourg and their initiatives, but the brief description of interaction

generally remains on the intergovernmental and supranational levels by presenting either the member states or the European Communities as focal actors.² Additionally, literature exists on Brussels or Luxembourg, but these only occupy themselves with one issue at a time, such as only political activity or infrastructure as will be presented below. Another gap is concrete consolidation efforts. In European integration histories, a concentration on the initial (provisional) sitings and subsequent decisions to finalise them, is apparent. This book aims to fill these lacunae with a case study of all ranges of local actors' activities in the city of Strasbourg.

It draws on a mix of aspects from several disciplines that form the context of Strasbourg's local actors and their strategies. Even though only the case of the Alsatian city is analysed, it was not isolated and influenced by the outside, such as the competitive situation with the other seats of the European Communities. This research fills the lacuna in European integration literature, which focuses nearly exclusively on the intergovernmental decision processes of determining the seat, with a comprehensive case study of local activity in one seat city of European institutions. In addition, it also combines the institutions of the European Communities with the Council of Europe³ that remain separate in European integration literature that generally concentrates on the former.

² E.g. Hein, Carola, *The Capital of Europe. Architecture and Urban Planning for the European Union*, Westport, Praeger, 2004, p. 100.

³ As will be shown in this study (especially in chapter 2), local actors in Strasbourg concentrated until the late 1950s nearly exclusively on the Council of Europe which had its permanent seat in the city since 1949.

Introduction

With the increasing creation of international organisations (IOs) following the Second World War, the issue where and how to site them emerged as a new political theme, as well. Central concerns included the political and juridical status of their headquarter buildings and the areals they were constructed on. Next to the practical application with newly founded IOs, theoretical considerations were made, such as reflections on the status and the administration of its territory.¹ In most cases, negotiations on these aspects occurred between the organisation or representatives of its member states with the government of the prospective host country. They did not seem to have resulted in protracted discussions.

One example constitutes the regional organisation Council of Europe (CoE), founded in 1949, whose siting in the city of Strasbourg, France, proceeded in that manner. In material issued by the organisation, such as the various editions of the procedure and practice of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE),² a description of its founding process is included. From the matter-of-fact statement that its seat is in Strasbourg without any specification of the decision process,³ it becomes apparent that it must have been a relatively undisputed decision.

In contrast, the political question where to site institutions of the different European Communities has been a highly symbolic and contested matter with recurring discussions and attempts for a permanent solution. The treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) specified that a seat should be found in common accord by the member states.⁴ From the Schuman declaration in 1950 until the Edinburgh European Council

¹ E.g. Jenks, Clarence, *The headquarters of international institutions: a study of their location and status*, London, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1945, pp. 53; 44.

² Only the acronym of the present name, PACE, will be employed in this book. In 1974, the designation changed from Consultative to Parliamentary Assembly (cf. "Secretariat memorandum on the name of the Assembly of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg, 26 February 1975)." Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. <http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2005/4/19/f98114c5-8da8-4d43-b7be-daa5b96b3ed2/publishable_en.pdf> (accessed 29.08.2013)).

³ Council of Europe, *The Consultative Assembly, Procedure and Practice*, Strasbourg, 1965, p. 22.

⁴ "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (Paris, 18 April 1951)." Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. <<http://www.cvce.eu/content/>

in 1992 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 in which the long-standing provisional distribution of institutions between Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg was inscribed into the treaty basis, the question where to site permanently the European Communities was a protracted process with many debates.⁵ The seat question is relevant today, since discussions still occur despite the protocol in the treaty and the preceding decision at the Edinburgh Council in 1992. For example, the campaign for a single seat of the European Parliament (EP) was founded in 2010 with the participation of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and other politicians, for example its chair British MEP and Vice-president of the EP Edward McMillan-Scott.⁶ The main arguments are different types of expenses that could be avoided in regard to the EP.⁷ This issue will be returned to below.

For the endeavour of studying these phenomena, the French city of Strasbourg⁸ constitutes an eminently suitable example of dynamics of local initiatives to retain the status as seat of European institutions. It has been the permanent seat of the CoE since 1949 and has hosted the EP and its predecessor assemblies from 1952 onwards. It has become synonymous with the EP and PACE; the designation ‘assembly of Strasbourg’ is a common moniker for both.⁹ It is also home to further European institutions, both affiliated to the CoE and independent. These include, among others, the European Human Rights Court, the Assembly of European Regions or the European Science Foundation.¹⁰ During the 1950s, other European and international organisations met in the city, as

publication/1997/10/13/11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58/publishable_en.pdf> (accessed 24.04.2014), p. 34.

⁵ “Annex 6 to Part A, Decision taken by common agreement between the Representatives of the Governments of the member states on the location of the seat of the institutions and of certain bodies and departments of the European Communities, Edinburgh European Council 11 - 12 December 1992.” European Parliament. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/edinburgh/a6_en.pdf> (accessed 27.6.2014), p. 51 and “Treaty of Amsterdam, Protocol on the location of the seats of the institutions and of certain bodies and departments of the European Communities and of Europol.” <<http://old.eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html>> (accessed 25.06.2014).

⁶ “Who we are.” Single Seat Campaign <<http://singleseat.eu/9.html>> (accessed 26.06.2014).

⁷ “The price of a multi-seat European Parliament.” Single Seat Campaign. <<http://singleseat.eu/10.html>> (accessed 26.06.2014).

⁸ The city is located on the river Rhine in the East of France, in the Département du Bas-Rhin and in the region Alsace.

⁹ E.g. Houdard, Geneviève, “Strasbourg: la vocation européenne”, in *Moniteur du Commerce International*, 607, 1984, p. 37.

¹⁰ Muller, François, *The European Quarter, Strasbourg*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2010, p. 30.

well. For instance, the European Parliamentary Union¹¹ in the early or the Assembly of Captive European Nations¹² in the latter half of the decade held several meetings in the city.¹³

The objective of this book is to investigate two central aspects of local activity regarding Strasbourg as European institution host. Firstly, the different local agents who were concerned with the European institutions in Strasbourg will be identified, as well as the nature of their involvement. Secondly, their activities will be discussed, namely what their strategies to consolidate Strasbourg's position as seat were and how they employed them. The focus will be on the two organisations that were most important to local actors; the European Communities, as well as the Council of Europe.

This study is based on an extensive analysis of documents from the city administration and other organisations from the municipal archive of Strasbourg, supported by material from the departmental archive of Bas-Rhin. Through this investigation, three important themes have been identified, which are measures to host European parliamentarians during sessions, optimisation of the transport network and building infrastructure. The actors and their strategies that fall into each of these three areas will be discussed in a chapter that will highlight how the city of Strasbourg sought to consolidate its position as host of European institutions.

The analysis commences with the siting of the first European institution, the Council of Europe, in 1949, which was joined by the Common Assembly of the ECSC in 1952. The processes of locating these two institutions in Strasbourg are not the focus of this study. They will be outlined briefly in chapter 1 to provide the context for the efforts of local

¹¹ Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the founder of the Pan-European Union (1923), formed this assembly in 1947. It was composed of supporters of European federalism from parliaments of various countries, but especially the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Italy (cf. "The post-war European idea and the first European Movements (1945-1949) – Introduction", Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe, <http://www.cvce.eu/obj/the_post_war_european_idea_and_the_first_european_movements_1945_1949_introduction-en-987cf261-b707-4ca1-8de7-d61ab4f445a5.html> (accessed 03.02.2015)).

¹² The assembly was headquartered in New York, was active from 1954-1972 and its members were former government and cultural leaders of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania. Its goals were to educate about the situation behind the Iron Curtain, peaceful liberation from the Soviet Union and integration into a united Europe. From 1956, annual special sessions were held in Strasbourg (cf. "Assembly of Captive European Nations, Records, 1953-1972" Immigration History Research Center University of Minnesota. <<http://www.ihrc.umn.edu/research/vitrage/all/am/GENassembly.htm>> (accessed 13.02.2015)).

¹³ Archives de Strasbourg (AS), 235 MW 267, *Extrait du Nouvel Alsacien* 2.7.1951; Archives du Département du Bas-Rhin (ABR), 544 D 208, 2^e session spéciale 12.-15.4.1956.

agents to consolidate their position. The activities of local agents to remain institution host was of a different nature than efforts to attract them. Apart from differing policies, the dimension of relations between the local and supranational levels would be much deeper had European organisations already been sited in a city. This connection could be employed strategically to consolidate the seat position by concentrating on a well-functioning relationship. Most academic literature focuses on the process of locating European institutions, or in the case of the European Community (EC) to re-decide or confirm the sitings, and not on concrete efforts to consolidate a (provisional) seat's position.

The ending date of 1979 for this study has been chosen because of two main reasons. Firstly, local archive material shows that directly after this year, activity of local agents towards the European institutions began to decline, a stronger activity only redeveloped towards the end of the 1980s. Secondly, most local agents who had been involved from the beginning or the early stages during the 1950s, retired from politics in the course of the 1970s, completing a generation change. Mayor Pierre Pflimlin, in office from 1959 to 1983, was the last of this type of agents to leave. Nevertheless, when ongoing processes continued into the early 1980s, these will be included or an overview of further events will be given. This was especially the case with the construction of buildings for the EP after the first direct election that commonly ran from circa 1977 to 1981 and 1982. However, aspects following the tenure of Pflimlin as mayor will not be included in the analysis, since a wholly new set of actors began to operate the city's consolidation efforts.

In European integration literature, the ECSC is already recognised as important in other seat cities such as Luxembourg, but the combination of its study with the CoE allows for a new perspective. Furthermore, this research constitutes a new contribution, as it is looking at the siting of the institutions but at the efforts to consolidate these placements. By doing this, a historical depth is added to the ongoing debate of the seat question which is another important addition. Especially in the early 1950s, local actors seemed to have concentrated on the CoE, as city administration documents suggest. Additionally, the CoE shared its facilities and especially the plenary hall with the assembly of the European Communities.¹⁴

¹⁴ Soldwisch, Ines, "Die Gebäude des Europäischen Parlaments in Straßburg, Luxemburg und Brüssel als Orte der Kommunikation und Repräsentation 1979-2004", in Schulz, Andreas and Wirsching, Andreas (eds.), *Parlamentarische Kulturen in Europa. Das Parlament als Kommunikationsraum*, Düsseldorf, Droste Verlag, 2012, p. 426.

Section 1.01 Siting European institutions

The standard narrative in European integration history is that determining and consolidating the seats of the various Community institutions was either shaped by intergovernmental or national actors.¹⁵ Furthermore, scholarship on single institutions generally briefly covers political events regarding the siting of the particular organisation.¹⁶ Hardly any scientific attention has been paid to the aspect of local involvement in the processes of siting European Community institutions.¹⁷ Although the decision power to site the European institutions lay on the intergovernmental level, this must have been conditioned by other political activities. It is likely that the local level figured in a capacity, as well.

Although existing scholarship on political agency in the seat question hardly discusses local Strassbourgesse involvement, if certain aspects are incorporated, they generally focus on Pierre Pflimlin, mayor of Strasbourg from 1959-1983, and long-term advocate of the city as European institution seat. They portray him as the only or most important local actor responsible for Strasbourg's status as institution host. Pierre Pflimlin was a prolific political figure in French and European politics, but also an important local politician in Strasbourg.¹⁸ Among others, he was mayor

¹⁵ E.g. Dinan, Desmond, *Europe Recast*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2004. It contains one paragraph on the political solution and difficulties to provisory site the institutions of the Schuman Plan in 1952, while the rest of the book concentrates on the formation of the administrative structures, their functioning, their members and their political issues (pp. 54-55). Other examples include Dinan, Desmond, *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2010 or Croisé-Schirtz, Edmée, "La bataille des sièges (1950-1958)", in Trausch, Gilbert et al. (eds.), *Le Luxembourg face à la construction européenne – Luxemburg und die europäische Einigung*, Luxembourg, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Européennes Robert Schuman, 1996, pp. 67-104. In addition to such publications, several Master theses dealing with the seat question of the European Communities exist, as well. They commonly cover this general narrative of siting the institutions, but also some local political efforts (e.g. Reymund, Philippe, *La Question du siège de l'Assemblée des Communautés Européennes*. Master thesis, Université des Sciences Juridiques, Politiques, Sociales et de Technologie de Strasbourg, Institut Hautes Etudes Européennes, 1981 or Van Lierde, Claire, *La querelle des sièges des institutions des Communautés Européennes*, Mémoire présenté en vue de l'obtention du grade de licenciée en Affaires Publiques et Internationales, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993).

¹⁶ E.g. Olivier Costa's publication on the European Parliament includes a chapter on its seat, where mostly the political decisions are analysed, although a hint to infrastructural difficulties of Strasbourg was given (Costa, Olivier, *Le Parlement Européen, assemblée délibérante*, Brussels, Ed. de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2001, pp. 228-250).

¹⁷ E.g. Clark, Stephen and Priestley, Julian, *Europe's Parliament. People, Places, Politics*, London, John Harper, 2012, pp. 43-72.

¹⁸ Cf. Appendix I for more information on the political posts Pflimlin held in the city of Strasbourg, the *Département du Bas-Rhin* and the French state.

of Strasbourg from 1959 to 1983.¹⁹ His importance and political influence in connection with consolidating Strasbourg's position as seat is one of the few instances of local agency in Strasbourg that scholarship and biographies consistently acknowledge. These descriptions and analyses could be characterised as facilitating a myth of Pierre Pflimlin.

In one example, the analysis of the French stance during the first ECSC seat application round in 1952 includes the following, "Schuman was opposed to Paris, because it would have outraged Strasbourg and its mayor, Pflimlin."²⁰ Apart from the fact that local actors were reduced to the head of administration, this statement bore another common characteristic of how Pflimlin's involvement was centralised in a way that a myth about his agency seems to have been created. Pflimlin only became mayor in March 1959, at the time of the initial attempt to site the institutions of the Schuman Plan; he was president of the departmental assembly, the *Conseil Général du Bas-Rhin*.²¹ Local archive sources from 1952 show that he strongly participated in local efforts during this period, but was not an executive member of the municipality. He did not participate as municipality actor during the entire debate how to facilitate the candidature for the single seat as the quote suggests. In contrast, the material from Strasbourg's municipal archive displays a more nuanced situation. While Pflimlin was the representative of the city after he became mayor and chiefly communicated with actors outside of Strasbourg on its behalf, a host of actors was highly active behind the scenes. Since Pflimlin appeared to be the most visible one due to his position, his political activity towards consolidating Strasbourg's seat position was likely reproduced in literature and mythicised.

In a similar manner to European integration history regarding the issue where to locate community institutions, scholarship on the CoE's development does not devote much space if any to the question where to site it.²² As with European integration literature regarding the European Communities, such accounts tend to focus on policy issues, political

¹⁹ "Pierre Pflimlin en quelques dates." Strasbourg, l'Européenne. Centre d'information sur les Institutions Européennes. <<http://www.strasbourg-europe.eu/pierre-pflimlin,14544,fr.html>> (accessed 20.03.2013).

²⁰ De Groof, Roel, "Promoting Brussels as Political World Capital. From the National Jubilee of 1905 to Expo 58", in De Groof, Roel (ed.), *Brussels and Europe – Bruxelles et l'Europe*, Brussels, ASP, 2008, p. 119.

²¹ Pflimlin, Pierre; Pflimlin, Édouard; Monmarché, Carole, *Pierre Pflimlin: Les choix d'une vie*, Strasbourg, Editions du Signe, 2001, pp. 162; 164.

²² For instance, Klaus Brummer does not mention the placement of the CoE at all, while Birte Wassenberg dedicates one of circa 600 pages on the history of the CoE to a brief description of Strasbourg as seat city (Brummer, Klaus, *Der Europarat. Eine Einführung*,

developments and administrative structures. The concrete activity of physically locating its headquarters is only briefly covered and then only regarding the intergovernmental level, while omitting public or private actors on other political levels. This book aims to fill this lacuna by presenting a comprehensive case study of the various local actors in Strasbourg and their modes of activities.

Especially the municipal government of a (temporary) IO host city must have a vested interest in keeping them in the city, because it would benefit the city economically, among others. Additionally, the practical organisation of the functioning of international institutions must have been at least partly organised locally. Such questions of relations between supranational and local levels, interactions between international organisations and their host cities, have not been covered in European integration history literature either. These aspects form part of this book, since they all were related to local activities to consolidate the position as host for IOs.

How prospective seat cities dealt with or campaigned for European institutions has never been studied for the city of Strasbourg. For its closest competition, Brussels and Luxembourg, some studies exist, which treat parts of the issue.²³ In addition to political decisions and urban planning, the issue of welcoming European parliamentarians and civil servants in seat cities played a role in hosting international organisations. However, hardly any scholarship exists on it in connection to the European institutions. It is possible to transfer aspects from international congresses or organisations, since the necessary organisational steps remain the

Wiesbaden, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008 and Wassenberg, Birte, *Histoire du Conseil de l'Europe (1949-2009)*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2012, pp. 57-58).

²³ For instance, the edited volume *Luxemburg und die europäische Einigung* (Trausch, Gilbert et al. (eds.), *Le Luxembourg face à la construction européenne – Luxembourg und die europäische Einigung*, Luxembourg, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Européennes Robert Schuman, 1996) contains an article by Edmée Croisé-Schirtz dealing with the political efforts of actors to become seat of ECSC institutions from 1950 to 1958, although it mostly concentrates on the national level. Based on archival research, it presents a rendition of Luxembourg's political efforts to locate the institutions of the ECSC and to consolidate its provisional position (Croisé-Schirtz, Edmée, "La bataille des sièges (1950-1958)", in Trausch, Gilbert et al. (eds.), *Le Luxembourg face à la construction européenne – Luxembourg und die europäische Einigung*, Luxembourg, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Européennes Robert Schuman, 1996, pp. 67-104). Other scholarship contains a variation from the common narrative of intergovernmental decision processes without concisely or comprehensively focusing on one country or even candidate city. Generally, it concentrates on Brussels and especially urban planning for European institutions in the Belgian capital.

same.²⁴ It bears similarities to corresponding efforts of Strasbourg's local actors to welcome the CoE and EP in municipal governments. This could help to identify possible patterns of dealing with the presence of European institutions that might be transferable to similar cases.

While this study focuses on the city of Strasbourg, it is important to note that the aspect of competition with other prospective and provisional seat cities of the European Communities constituted a strong influencing factor for the environment in which the city's local agents organised strategies to consolidate Strasbourg's position as European institution host. Over time, the other two host cities of European institutions, Brussels and Luxembourg, presented the biggest threat. During the 1950s, when the seat question was much more open with ten official applicants, other cities, such as the national capital Paris also constituted close rivals.

However, this book is a case study concentrating on the actors within city of Strasbourg and their strategies to consolidate Strasbourg's position without a comparative element. This methodological choice has been made in order to investigate succinctly all aspects of local agency to cover all facets of the involvement. The archive material from the municipal archive of Strasbourg shows a rich collection of documents which did not only touch political manoeuvring, but also elements of infrastructure and city development. In a comparative study, it would have been more feasible to evaluate a selection of these aspects across several seat cities. Only parts of local involvement, predominantly in Brussels, such as impact of European institution on city development have been the subject of scientific studies. Studies of the entirety of a seat's involvement should be produced before comparing cases. Nevertheless, the competitive aspect will remain an issue and appear recurrently throughout the empirical chapters.

In this connection, that this study is based on sources from the municipal archive of Strasbourg contains certain issues that have to be kept in mind. Firstly, this focus includes the limitation that the efforts and successes of local actors might be overstated. Secondly, it cannot be excluded that decisions about Strasbourg's status were taken outside the city and that documentation about them had not been sent to the city administration. However, the nature of local agency in Strasbourg regarding European institutions is underexplored in academic literature.

²⁴ For example, an archival study on hosting efforts of local actors in The Hague for the Congress of Europe in 1948 presents the actors and necessary efforts in order to receive the attendants and make their stay pleasant (Beers, Marloes, "Hosting Europe. Local Organisation of the Congress of Europe", in Guieu, Jean-Michel and Le Dréau, Christophe (eds.), *Le "Congrès de l'Europe" à La Haye (1948-2009)*, The Hague, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 137-149).

Therefore, it is important to map this activity comprehensively before cooperation with, for example, the French state is investigated.

Additionally, the sources in the municipal archive allow for the conclusion that most activity regarding the themes of hosting transport and building infrastructure occurred in the city. Material shows no obvious gaps and a low number of forwarded documents on Strasbourg's position from the French state show that the bulk of decisions were made by local actors. This is corroborated by the fact that the *Département du Bas-Rhin*, the local representative of the state, only played a supporting role to the municipality, as archive sources suggest. Nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that the concentration on local sources in this study might contain the above limitations.

Section 1.02 Siting institutions – not only a political issue

The issue of housing European institutions also impinges on other areas, such as city development. In European integration literature, the focus lies on political decisions and processes, but providing adequate facilities constitutes an important prerequisite to be able to house an international organisation and has economic impacts, as well. In general, this issue is located between two disciplines, because urban planning and architectural literature focussing on the construction aspect only marginally deals with political processes which conditioned this activity.

Looking at these two academic disciplines, it becomes apparent that scholarship about the placement of European Institutions not only touches debates between nation states of who should host the Community Institutions, but also whether their placement would constitute the specific city as a European capital, or how such a capital city of Europe should look like. The bulk of scholarship in this field has been produced by Carola Hein. She predominantly focuses on urban planning and architectural issues and implications in connection with determining the host of European institutions.²⁵ Commonly, this kind of urban studies literature focuses

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Hein, Carola, "Choosing a site for the capital of Europe", in *Geo Journal*, 51:1-2, 2000, pp. 83-97 and Hein, Carola, "Bruxelles et les villes sièges de l'Union Européenne", in Plissart, Marie-Françoise (ed.), *Change. Brussels Capital of Europe*, Brussels, Prisme Editions, 2004, pp. 118-122 and Hein, Carola, "Hoofdstad Europa: over de vestigingsproblematiek van de Europese Unie/A Capital for Europe: Where to House the European Union", in *Archis*, 11, 1995, pp. 62-73 and Hein, Carola, "Hauptstadt Europa," PhD Fachbereich Architektur der Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg, 1995 and Hein, Carola, *The Capital of Europe, Architecture and Urban Planning for the European Union*, Westport, CT, Praeger, 2004, and Hein, Carola, "The polycentric and opportunistic capital of Europe, A new model for the siting and reallocation of EU headquarters and the design of European districts in Brussels and other host cities,"

on Brussels its development regarding the European and international organisations. Central topics are, for example, the development of *Quartier Léopold*, the area where most headquarters, such as the Commission, are located in that city.²⁶

Next to evaluating the effects the presence of European institutions has on town planning in Brussels, various studies analyse economic impacts of them by using contemporary data without adding a comprehensive historical dimension.²⁷ Aspects, such as how civil servants of the European institutions influence the housing and rental market, exist, as well.²⁸ In the case of Strasbourg, especially financial gains and the impact of the European institution's presence of economic development only began to be analysed in the late 1980s in the form of studies by civil servants or economic associations.²⁹

Apart from the literature focussing on the impact of European institutions, general literature on urbanism in Strasbourg aids to situate construction activities for the CoE and EP which are described in municipal archive sources in the context. For example, the edited volume *Strasbourg, chroniques d'urbanisme* provides analyses of town planning

Brussels Studies, 2 (2006), pp. 1-8, as well as the two books she edited, Hein, Carola (ed.), *Bruxelles l'Européenne, Capitale de qui? Ville de qui?* Brussels, La Lettre Volée, 2006, and Hein, Carola, and Pierre Laconte (eds.), *Brussels, Perspectives on a European Capital*, Brussels, Editions Aliter, 2007.

²⁶ Kuhk, Annette, "Facilitating the Integration if Discourses about the European Quarter: How Can Inclusive Policies for Complex Urban Issues be More Professional?", in Hein, Carola (ed.), *Bruxelles, l'Européenne. Capitale de qui? Ville de qui?* Brussels, La Lettre Volée, 2006, pp. 155-171, or Papadopoulos, Alex, *Urban Regimes and Strategies; Building Europe's Central Business District in Brussels, The University of Chicago Geography Research Paper No. 239*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996.

²⁷ Degadt, Jan, "The Impact of the Presence of European and International Institutions on the Regional Economic Fabric in Brussels", in De Groof, Roel (ed.), *Brussels and Europe – Bruxelles et l'Europe*, Brussels, ASP, 2008, pp. 219-234 or Vandermotten, Christian and Biot, Valérie and Van Hamme, Gilles, "L'économie et la socio-démographie de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale et la présence européenne et internationale", in De Groof, Roel (ed.), *Brussels and Europe – Bruxelles et l'Europe*, Brussels, ASP, 2008, pp. 255-268.

²⁸ Bernard, Nicolas, "L'impact de l'Union européenne sur les prix de l'immobilier à Bruxelles et la configuration spatiale de la ville", in De Groof, Roel (ed.), *Brussels and Europe – Bruxelles et l'Europe*, Brussels, ASP, 2008, pp. 269-281.

²⁹ Villain, Claude. "Rapport sur le renforcement durable du rôle européen de Strasbourg, 31.3.1989", *Ministère des Affaires Européennes*, or Groupement EDR, City Consult, and Médiascope. "Impact économique de la présence des Institutions européennes à Strasbourg." Alsaeco – le portal de l'économie alsacienne. <<http://www.alsaeco.com/etudes/impact-economique-de-la-presence-des-institutions-europeennes-a-strasbourg>,36941850.html> (accessed 06.02.2014).

activity and the local organisations and associations concerned with it.³⁰ Since some of these were involved in the construction of buildings for the European institutions in Strasbourg, this kind of scholarship forms a contribution to the analysis.

Specific publications on building infrastructure in Strasbourg, or even Luxembourg, is mostly included in studies of all three provisional EC seat cities, although literature on Brussels by itself is still the most prevalent. In the field of urban planning and architecture, Hein analyses the three provisional seat cities Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg as a polycentric capital structure, although the decision where to site them remained a political one, which is also stressed by her.³¹ In the early stages, the two ECSC seat application rounds of the 1950s presented such a conditioning political activity. For instance, during the initial attempt to site the institutions of the Schuman Plan in 1952, Hein analyses that urban planning processes were influenced by the political indecision regarding the seat.³² Similarly, in 1958, when the European Communities had instituted a committee of urbanism experts to evaluate a new batch of seat city candidates on common criteria, they virtually had no impact on political discussions.³³ That allows for the probability that in kind, European integration literature did not focus on urban development regarding the institutions of the EC.

Additionally, discussions how and in which form institution buildings should be integrated in the host city, was prevalent within the European Communities, especially in the early 1960s. Most scholarship deals with districts of international organisations, of which Hein also presents a comprehensive picture in her works. This constitutes an important aspect for siting European institutions from an architectural perspective, because its buildings are symbols for its values, which has to be included in the planning process.³⁴ Regarding the institutions of the European communities, Hein analyses this as difficult due to their provisional presence in their seat cities.³⁵

³⁰ Cullier, Francis (ed.), *Strasbourg. Chroniques d'urbanisme*, La Tour d'Aigues, éditions de l'aube, 1994.

³¹ Hein, Carola, *The Capital of Europe. Architecture and Urban Planning for the European Union*, Westport, Praeger, 2004, p. 67.

³² Hein, Carola, "Hauptstadt Europa", Arbeit zur Erlangung des Grades Doktor-Ingenieur am Fachbereich Architektur der Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg, 1995, p. 58.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³⁴ Hein, Carola, *The Capital of Europe. Architecture and Urban Planning for the European Union*, Westport, Praeger, 2004, pp. 1; 37.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Especially organisations' headquarter buildings as symbols or physical representatives of their aims are prominent. Such aspects are studied by political architecture, which also concerns European institutions, such as the European Parliament.³⁶ Another text on its buildings in Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg adds that in the case of the assembly to express this was difficult, since the provisional nature of its siting had repercussions on its buildings. Due to the fact that it had no final placement and moved between the three cities, it could not create a local identity.³⁷ Additionally, the dynamics regarding building construction between the three seats was covered as well, which towards the end of the 1970s had an impact on Strasbourg's actors' strategies to consolidate their position.³⁸

One also might consider the concept of Europeanisation as relevant for this study. It largely focused on politics between European, national and local institutions and the impact of European aspects on those. However, it contains a concept of a general transformation of processes by such a dimension that is not relevant in this context. Furthermore, it is vague. Different definitions of this notion, its occurrences, what it influences, exist in the scholarship and is conditioned by how the concept and how the processes occur.³⁹ Moreover, most literature about the impact of Europeanisation on administrations focuses on how changes were implemented by ordinary structures of government.⁴⁰ However, as will be shown in this book, a separated 'bubble' of actors formed itself within the city administration that was not integrated in the day-to-day running of the municipality. Therefore, the concept of Europeanisation and its impact on various government structures will not be considered here.

³⁶ E.g. Biesenbender, Jan and Grösch, Julia, "European Identity through Architecture? Examining the European Parliament Buildings in Brussels and Strasbourg", in Hein, Carola (ed.), *Bruxelles l'Européenne. Capitale de qui? Ville de qui?*, Brussels, La Lettre Volée, 2006, pp. 112-129.

³⁷ Soldwisch, Ines, "Die Gebäude des Europäischen Parlaments in Straßburg, Luxemburg und Brüssel als Orte der Kommunikation und Repräsentation 1979-2004", in Schulz, Andreas and Wirsching, Andreas (eds.), *Parlamentarische Kulturen in Europa. Das Parlament als Kommunikationsraum*, Düsseldorf, Droste Verlag, 2012, p. 423.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 435-437.

³⁹ Cf. e.g. Featherstone, Kevin and Radaelli, Claudio M. (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

⁴⁰ Dussauge Laguna, Mauricio I., "El proceso de integración europea y sus efectos en las administraciones públicas nacionales: ¿hacia la convergencia administrativa?", in *Foro Internacional*, 45.1 (2005): 293-314.

Section 1.03 Currency of the seat question

Although the location of EU institutions has been formally decided in the 1990s, it is still debated by various actors. Additionally, seat cities capitalise on their statuses. As argued in this book, the various local actors in (prospective) seat cities played an important role with both directly openly and secretly, as well as indirectly influencing the decision holders. An example is Roland Ries, the present mayor of Strasbourg, writing to the newly designated Secretary of State for European Affairs of France Harlem Désir in April 2014 which was published on the web page of the regional newspaper *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* (DNA). He demanded Désir to consolidate the status of Strasbourg in order to strengthen the role of France and Europe and cited historic developments regarding European institutions in the city which would give it a European mission.⁴¹

Arguments of the *Single Seat*-campaign concerned Strasbourg. For instance, figures included that the city administration would have overcharged rent of 80 million Euros in recent years and that hotel rates would increase by 150 percent during EP sessions, but also that the presence of the assembly contributed with 20 million Euros to the local economy.⁴² During a seminar held by the single seat campaign in 2012, one of its members, British MEP Ashley Fox pointed out that historically, Strasbourg had been a symbol of peace and Franco-German reconciliation, but that it now would be a signpost of negative elements within the EU.⁴³

In this context, another research possibility would be how Strasbourg and other similar cities employ the history of the involvement with the European institutions today. For example, in 2014, the new permanent exhibition *Lieu d'Europe* opened in Strasbourg, financed by the city, the department, the region and the state with a contribution by the EP and CoE.⁴⁴ Its objectives include familiarising people with general European culture and other elements, but its primary mission constitutes informing about the European institutions and European history in connection

⁴¹ "Lettre de Roland Ries à Harlem Désir – Strasbourg: Défense du siège du Parlement européen: Roland Ries écrit à Harlem Désir 10.4.2014." *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*. <<http://www.dna.fr/actualite/2014/04/10/defense-du-siege-du-parlement-europeen-roland-ries-ecrit-a-harlem-desir>> (accessed 5.06.2014).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ "Seminar, Single Seat Campaign, Towards 2014: A single seat and the European Parliament Election, 10/2012 (Video)." ALDE Youtube Channel. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDthJzUQxXc>> (accessed 12.03.2014), 7:14-8:20 min.

⁴⁴ "Partenaires." *Lieu de l'Europe*. <<http://lieudeurope.strasbourg.eu/partenaires/>> (accessed 20.05.2014).

to Strasbourg.⁴⁵ The mission statement, “le choix de Strasbourg comme capitale européenne au lendemain du second conflit mondial n’est pas le fruit du hasard mais le symbole de la réconciliation entre les peuples et l’avenir de l’Europe.”⁴⁶ Moreover, promotion material of the city administration throughout time employed the presence of the European institutions as a matter of cause as in “l’Europe se construit et se construira à Strasbourg.”⁴⁷

Furthermore arguments with historic events or the display of them frequently occur in Strasbourg. Since its beginning as European institution host in 1949, the city of Strasbourg identified itself strongly with the presence of the European Institutions, as it designated itself as *capitale européenne*. One of the most visible instances where this is used includes the official letterhead that is also found on the municipality’s homepage.⁴⁸ The fact that the site does not use the country code ‘fr’ for France, but ‘eu’ which is also used by EU institutions such as the Commission or the EP, is another sign for some form of bond with Europe and a possible entitlement of European elements.

From 1 January 2015, Strasbourg has had the status of a *Eurométropole*, which also includes the three most populated agglomerations in France.⁴⁹ In the press release, Guy-Dominique Kennel, *Président du Conseil Général du Bas-Rhin*, states that the city deserves this merit due to its historic role in European integration and the fact that it is the capital city of Europe.⁵⁰ Likewise, such indicators are used in current local politics. The 2014 re-election campaign of Ries not only prominently contained a picture of the European flag on the website, but the slogan “un engagement total en faveur de la vocation européenne de Strasbourg”, as well.⁵¹ Strasbourg as host of European institutions with a history of European significance is

⁴⁵ “Missions.” Lieudel’Europe. <<http://lieudeurope.strasbourg.eu/le-lieu-deurope/>> (accessed 20.05.2014).

⁴⁶ “Strasbourg et l’Europe.” Lieu de l’Europe. <<http://lieudeurope.strasbourg.eu/strasbourg-et-leurope/>> (accessed 20.05.2014).

⁴⁷ AS, 958 W 73, *Architecture*, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Cf. <http://www.strasbourg.eu>.

⁴⁹ Kennel, Guy-Dominique, “Strasbourg Eurométropole et Collectivité Territoriale d’Alsace: une ambition partagée”, Département du Bas-Rhin. <http://www.bas-rhin.fr/eCommunityDocuments/BB9FAA02-A33D-4E64-9176-BA6926CD4D2B/582/document_communique-presse-bas-rhin-tribune-GDK-eurometrople.pdf> (accessed 3.02.2015).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ “Home page Roland Ries 2014,” Roland Ries. <<http://rolandries2014.eu/pionniere-rayonnante/engagement-total-faveur-vocation-europeenne-strasbourg/>> (accessed 06.06.2014).