European Unification and the Planning Issue:
Visions for a Capital of the United Europe
and the Reality of its Headquarters

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Abstract

The European Union — Europe's most important supranational institution — has achieved international economic recognition, but has not led to a united Europe yet. Although European economics strongly influence regions and cities, the member nations continue to hold regional and urban planning power. The problem of the European capital is a good example of the negative effects of decisions taken by nation states without respect of European interests. Forced to take unanimous decisions, the European Council of Ministers maintained the doctrine of a unique capital for 40 years, provoking numerous urban and architectural visions, while simultaneously accepting the existence of three provisional headquarters, geared by the host nations to economic considerations and local needs.

The Maastricht treaty, the ongoing strengthening of European and regional institutions and the choice of Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg, the prior provisional headquarters, as definite capitals in 1992 give cause for hope that concepts for urban and regional planning as well as the design of the European capital will now be elaborated with regard to European and regional necessities. A European network of cities and regions including the three political capitals of Europe, expressed in infrastructures and buildings, seems to be the best expression of a cultural and humane Europe.

Introduction

The European Union (EU), Europe's most important supranational institution, has gained worldwide recognition as an economic factor. After 45 years of existence, the union, which was created by six countries, now groups fifteen nations and covers a large part of Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural mountains[1]. Numerous other countries, especially from East Europe, are waiting to join. Though economically a success, the main aim of unification — a compre-

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hensive Europe — has not yet been reached: Political, social and culture collaboration have still to be realized. Although borders are falling and new geopolitical regions are emerging, the translation of cross-border cooperation into regional and urban reality is largely decided by the nations concerned — sponsoring some parts and neglecting others. A spatial reflection of the networking of cities and regions on a European scale is only starting to be considered, while as yet no concept exists for the design of the European headquarters[2].

Up until now, the Union has been housed in business districts in Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg, districts which have developed over the past 40 years within the planning policies of the host nations. The design of these districts is geared to economy and functionality and as such reflects European policy of the past decades. The forbidding appearance of the Euro buildings and ensembles (often even hostile towards the city) is in any case not in keeping with the Union's reaffirmed aim of establishing a cultural and humane Europe. Only a well-balanced social and economic policy will get the support of citizens necessary to continue European integration. Even without the issue of a deepening of European cooperation, we can no longer tolerate institutions of such major political and urban importance contributing to the disintegration of the city - and only because there is no long-term plan and no discourse at a European level on the question of where Europe's capital should be established and what form it should take.

When the united Europe came to life after World War II, it was based on visionary ideas. To fulfill this dream, completely new organizational structures had to be elaborated. Nevertheless none of the member states was eager to abandon its power to an institution, whose future form and destiny was yet unknown. The European communities are thus composed of a main administration, the European Commission, which elaborates proposals from a supranational viewpoint and hands them for decision to the Council of Ministers, composed of the respective national ministers; and the European Parliament, which has yet to develop into a full fleshed decision making institution. All important decisions have to be taken unanimously and in fields touching national interests, the ministers often use their right to veto. The choice of the capital was such a prickly item as it always seemed to be one jump ahead of the future capital of Europe, an honor which each member state claimed for itself.

The debate on the site of the European headquarter was largely defined by national political criteria instead of European ideas. A decentralization of the institutions had been advocated by the Benelux countries, who were aware of the impossibility of housing a huge organization in their tiny cities without the danger of alienation. This proposal was turned down under the leadership of France, at that time the strongest of the member states. The French saw Europe as a super-nation with a representative capital referring to their own national history and its centralized and monumental capital Paris[3]. They clung to this idea, although history had shown that international institutions lacked stability as well as political and financial powers, that none of the visions for international capitals had been realized, and that the buildings when finished were no longer appropriate for the institutions which had meanwhile changed their form, size or location[4].

In 1952 — in conjunction with the siting of the European Community for Coal and Steel — the French concept of a single capital was declared official doctrine. After the example of new capital cities such as Washington, Canberra and Brasilia, a Euro quarter was to be created to house all of the Community's institutions and be an urban symbol for Europe. However, the ministers involved failed to agree on an actual location. So as to be able to commence work as soon as possible, temporary ones were chosen: Luxembourg and Strasbourg in 1952, joined by Brussels in 1958. This heralded a decentralization which immediately frustrated the resolution in favor of a central seat. In the years that followed, the issue of Europe's capital divided into two aspects, which should in fact have remained a single entity: on the one hand, the abstract visions of an ideal capital city, which could not be realized owing to the lack of a political basis; and on the other hand, temporary headquarters whose design would be overridingly determined by economic and political considerations.

Capital ideas

In spite of the provisional implantation of the institutions in three cities, European unification inspired a number of visions of what Europe's capital could be[5]. However, for the most part these were in keeping with the concept of a national capital city and the tradition of monumentality demanded by the member states. An external analysis of the question of Europe's capital was rejected by the national ministers on a number of occasions and neither on the occasion of the creation of the ECCS in 1952 nor at the time of the founding of the ECC and Euratom in 1958 were the European institutions allowed to make a choice or even a suggestion concerning the best place for their work. They had to limit their search for a permanent seat to city competitions whose participants had to be approved by the member states which were also entrusted with the final decision.

The participating cities were invited to present proposals, both for a temporary seat and for a Euro quarter. This meant, however, that two issues that ought to have been dealt with separately, became entangled. A temporary seat required an existing city, since only existing cities had suitable infrastructures. Giving form to a district, on the other hand, could proceed from supranational and symbolic concepts. Yet such initiatives could not be expected from individual cities or nations. The final decision was left to the Council of Ministers. Thus the geopolitical teachings of the candidatures and their possible contribution to the formation of Europe went largely unnoticed. In fact, most of the candidate cities like Luxembourg, Lüttich, Strasbourg, Saarbrücken, Turin and Nice were placed in Europe's internal border area, on a North-South line between Germany and Italy in the East, the Benelux countries and France in the West[6]. These areas were especially interested in the creation of Europe as it promised concrete advantages to them through the liberation from national straitjackets. What is more, these cities had been influenced by different neighboring countries and possessed a bicultural background as well as a bilingual population, making them an important means to promote Europe (Fig. 1).

Brussels, although not directly on the frontier, could also offer a bicultural background, its

Fig. 1   Geographical distribution of the candidate cities for the implantation of the European
         Community.

 ♦ the political capitals of the European Union
 ★   candidates for the implantation of the ECCS headquarters in 1952
 ● candidates for the implantation of the EEC and Euratom headquarters in 1958
 # proposals for a capital of Europe prepared individually by the municipalities or private architects

main motive for the candidature was nevertheless the same as Milan's: to improve its position in the network of European cities. The Hague, meanwhile, tried to strengthen its international role through the European candidature[7]. Paris, for its part, aimed to substantiate its position as a European metropolis[8]. The criteria underlying the proposal for siting within Paris are typical of the egotistical thinking which in one form or another determined all of the candidates: Paris offered the Community the area of Montesson. Opting for an area in the west of the city, i.e. facing away from Europe's center, can be explained only in terms of local considerations. Constructing the Euro quarter along an extension of the traditional Paris axis would have speeded up work on the then projected ringway and the business city La Défense. Yet a Euro seat on this site would have given the impression of functioning as a peak as well as the next step in French history, something which was unacceptable to the other member states (Fig. 2/3).

The different opinions of the member nations concerning the appropriate site for the headquarter were reflected in the debates concerning the form a European capital should take. A debate on the question of urban design for Europe was opened not by the European Community but by one of the candidates. The Saarland, which had become part of the French tax area after World War II hoped that a European function would help it to avoid annexation by France[9]. To publicize its candidature it organized a competition for a Euro quarter in 1954–55. The competition ended with a compromise showing the discrepancies of planning ideas in Europe. Three first prizes were awarded: One for a proposal which integrated working and housing facilities in correspondence to the North European concept of "Stadtlandschaft" (Rudolf Krüger in association with Erich Stoll), one based on the move away from monumentality and urban mass, featuring the modest modern style proclaimed by postwar German planners (the group around Gerhard Kilpper) and the third one for an imitation of Paris' Ecole des Beaux-Arts urban concepts (Henri Colboc and Pierre Dalidet). This last proposal conceived the European center as a single gigantic design and proposed a ring-shaped building for the ECCS, which was to have been accessed by a one-and a-half-kilometer-long approach road (Fig. 4–7).

In fact, while the Saar competition for the first and last time displayed various European urban concepts of a centralized European center side by side, the vast majority of later proposals are imbued with Beaux-Arts philosophy[11]. The form principles of this school, its pursuit of monumentality and architecture as a symbol, coincided with the conceptions, politicians and urban designers from the French-speaking region in particular had of a "true capital city". They cannot, nevertheless, be considered as the only or an ideal response to the capital city question (Fig. 8/9).

The Saar proposal aimed at the creation of an independent European district based on the image of the District of Columbia. Such a district would have been even more representative of European union, if it had been anchored in two or more nations. The creation of a transfrontier district, however, was rejected by the majority of politicians and the population as a reminder of war occupation. Even the idea of a spiritual center of Europe to be erected between the Siegfried and Maginot Lines, at the vicinity of Wissembourg, was rejected, though it had been proposed between 1946 and 1958 by a German journalist, Karl-Oswald Schreiner, and a French

painter, Georges-Henri Pescadère, who had met in a concentration camp. The state's focus on economic problems and functional business districts left no place for such a proposal.

National, local and personal interests motivated most of the visions for a European capital; idealism was rarely the driving force. Architects generally concerned themselves with the subject if there was a commission in it for them, to publicize their name — or as a means of reinforcing their stylistic claims. The only architect, who as an idealist, concerned himself with European unification was the American James Marshall Miller[12]. In his project "Lake Europe", published in 1962, Miller worked out some engaging ideas. In order to rid the Euro capital debates of their national stamp, he proposed building a city straddling the border between Luxembourg, France and Germany. Unlike the other designers, Miller did not sketch a static scheme for a ready-made city, rather he designed a dynamic structure: multifunctional urban islands to allow for cellular growth. Miller also contributed a new idea to the subject of capital city symbolism: in place of the traditional brick centers of power, an artificial lake was to be the heart of the new city as well as function as a leisure resort for the locals. In view of the hesitancy among the member states, Miller also developed new ideas for the project's funding: international concerns were to bring Europe's capital into being and pave the way to housing the political institutions there (Fig. 10).

Although the Euro quarter's chances of realization became increasingly slim, the member states stuck to the idea of a single headquarters for decades on end. Most designers followed this official attitude and limited their interventions to concepts for an ideal European capital. Only in Brussels, where the negative consequences of an unplanned, temporary seat could not be overlooked since the sixties, did architects and citizens take an interest in the seat issue and work on proposals for improvement. Instead of functionalist tenets and economic objectives saturating state planning, they called for more humane planning initiatives, including a return to traditional forms, materials and techniques. The Union rejected such demands on the grounds that they failed to meet its requirements of functionality and safety. Since the institutions were against any planned integration of their headquarters, some Brussels pressure groups elaborated an urban proposal illustrating their requests for the construction of a Euro district on the site of the disused Josaphat train station[13]. These projects for Brussels and later proposals for Luxembourg brought the seat issue to the fore at a local level and influenced urban discourse in the 1970s and 1980s. They did not, though, generate a supranational debate on the issue of Europe's capital (Fig. 11/12).

Although all proposals have been presented as visions for a European capital, only a few of them refer to the particular European situation and none proposes urban features which may be considered as guidelines for the design of the European headquarters. The question of the form of a decentralized capital city as part of a European network of cities and regions remains intact. As long as such a vision is missing, the reality of the headquarters will continue to develop without long-term, large-scale concepts.
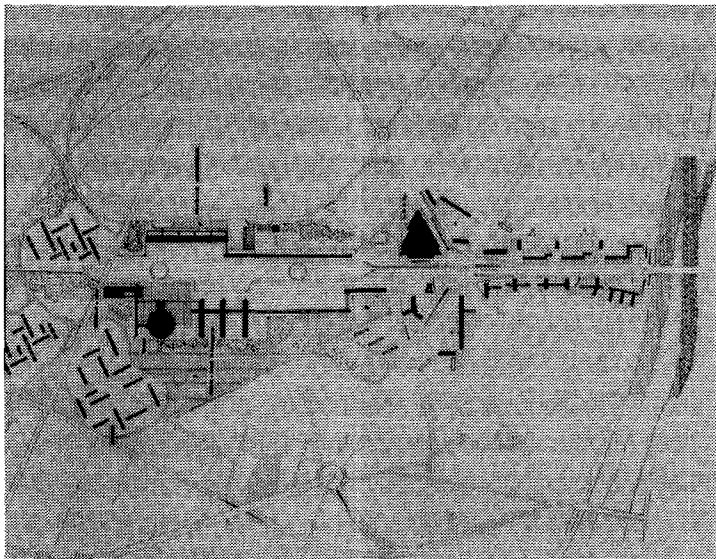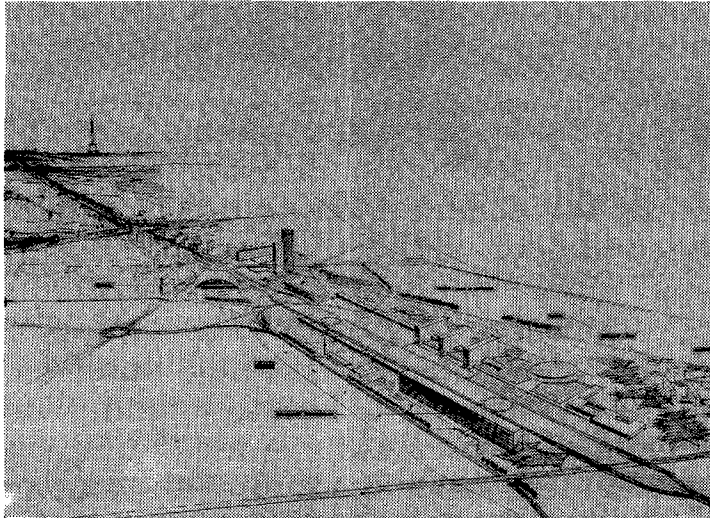
Fig. 2/3 Robert Camelot, Jean de Mailly, Bernard Zehrfuss, Design for a
European district in the area of La Défense (Paris), 1958

Fig. 4–7   Urban planning competition for a European district south of Saarbrücken, three 1. prices
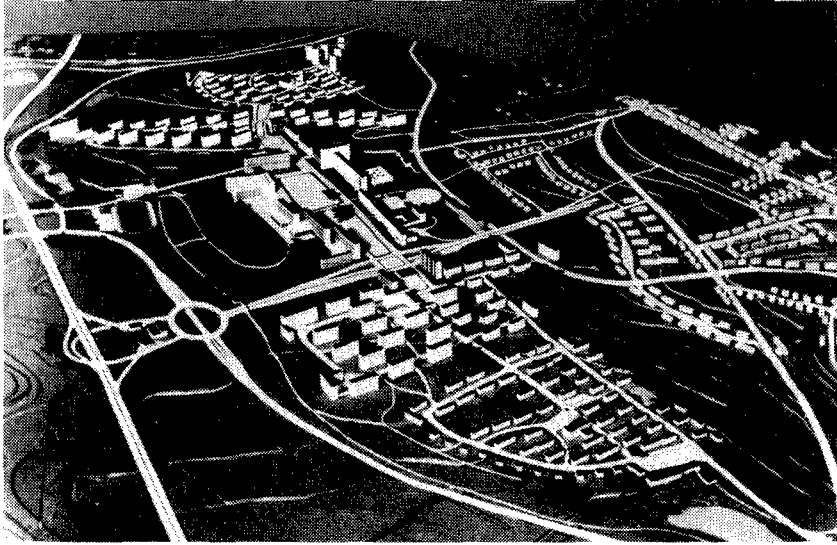

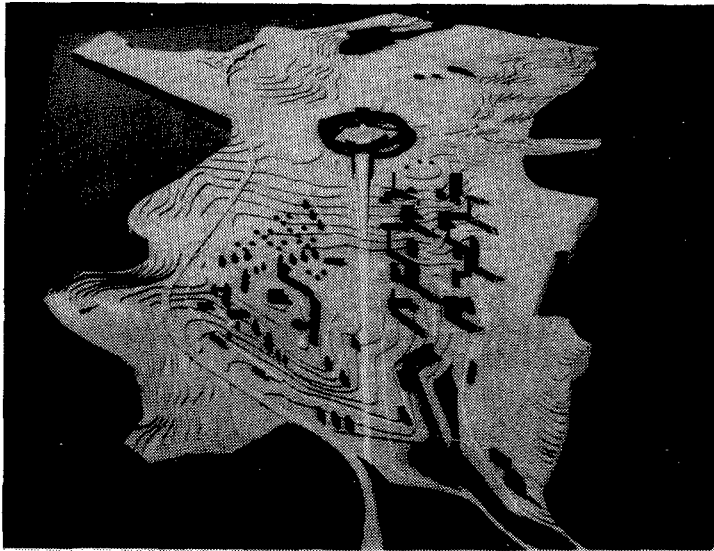Fig. 4 Rudolf Krüger, Erich Stoll, model, 1954/55 (Photo: Gerhard Kilpper)

Fig. 7 Henri Colboc, Pierre Dalidet, model (Photo: Pierre Dalidet)

Fig. 5 Gerhard Kilpper, Kurt Baldauf, Erwin Klein, Klaus Hoffmann, model of the
city of Saarbrücken and the European district, 1954/55 (Photo: Gerhard Kilpper)
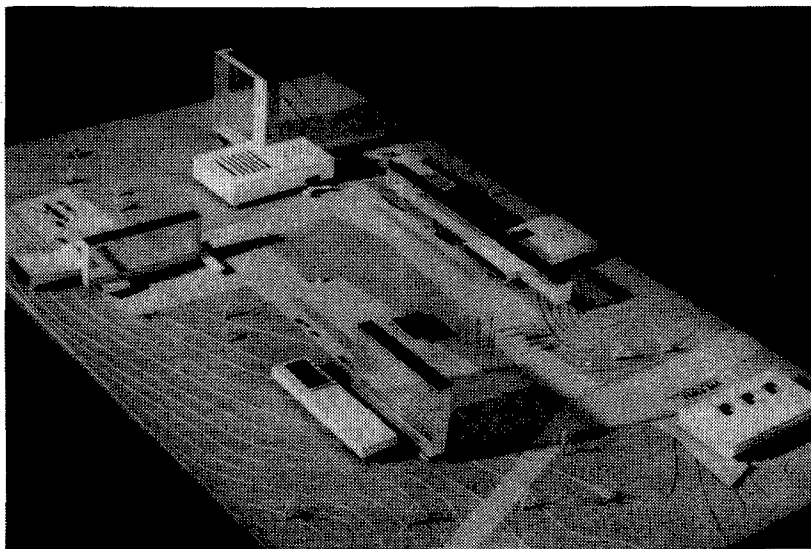

Fig. 6 idem, model of the building for the European Community for Coal and
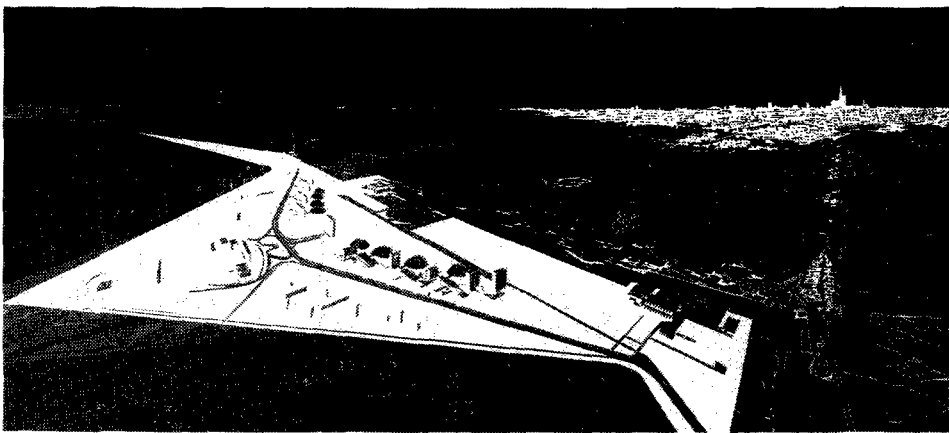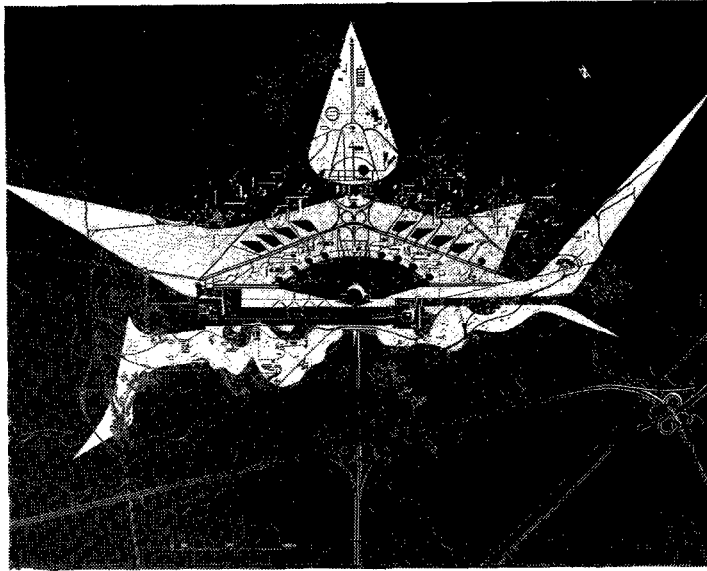Steel, 1954/55 (Photo: Gerhard Kilpper)

Fig. 8/9 Henri-Jean Calsat, Design for a European government center in
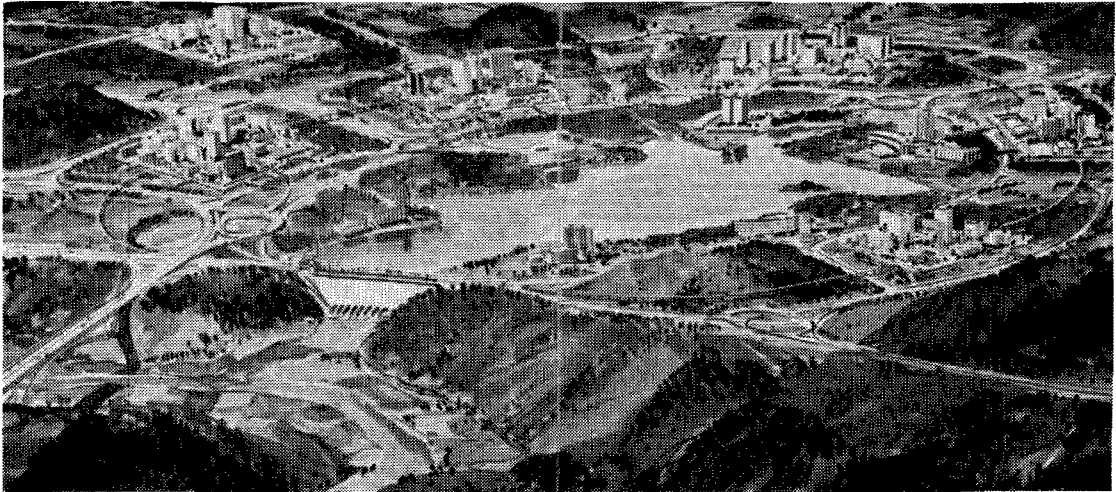Oberhausbergen by Strasbourg, Perspective and site plan, 1958

Fig. 10   James Marshall Miller, Lake Europa, general perspective, 1962
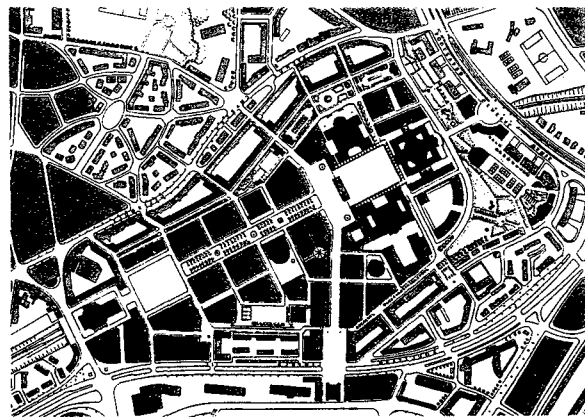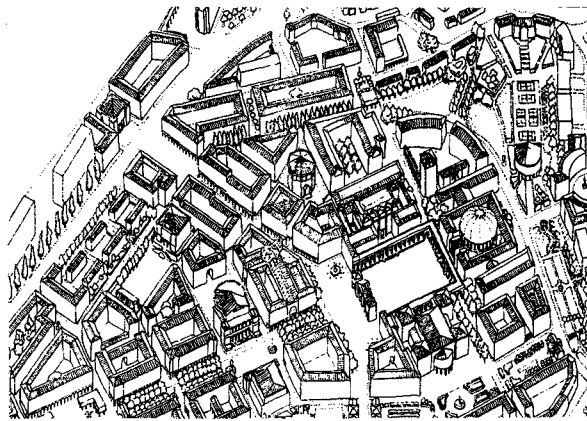

Fig. 11/12 Brigitte d'Helft, Anne Gérard, Design for a European district on the site of the Josaphat
Station in Brussels on the initiative of Inter-Environment Brussels, ARAU and the
initiative of Maelbeek, plan and axonometric, May 1982

Reality of Europe

Due to the provisional status and the permanent threat of a move, the European Union could not intervene in the design of its headquarters. Temporary seats warranted neither large investments nor architectural initiatives. Even so, buildings and infrastructure had to be adapted or constructed to accommodate them. The host nations were assigned this task, and in the absence of a long-term guarantee, their governments limited themselves to interventions which were in line with national objectives.

The Belgian governments after 1954 in particular availed themselves of the Euro headquarters issue to boost Brussels' urban development[14]. The preparations for the world exhibition of 1958 had served the same purpose. In its name, major urban projects such as the laying out of a road network in the city center, had been carried out in record time. The choice of site for the temporary home of the European institutions was also a part of plans to transform the city into a metropolis. Although there were numerous empty sites in Brussels on which an entire district could have been constructed, the Belgian government chose the Léopold district, an area close to the city center and with first-rate accessibility. In so doing it realized a project which had been conceived back in the 1940s and which envisaged the transformation of this prominent residential neighborhood into an office area.

This transformation of the Belgian capital took place in close collaboration between public and private sectors. The first European headquarters, the star-shaped Berlaymont building, was one outcome of this operation. The site on the Schuman roundabout was proposed by a contractor who was later commissioned to build it. The Berlaymont was financed by the Belgian government, once the European institutions had given to understand that they too were interested in using it. An extensive infrastructure initiated by the state was built along with it. On its completion ten years later, in 1968, the Berlaymont was not only far too small for the Community's rapidly expanded administration, it was also quite unsuitable too. Its offices had an open-plan layout, like that of the Belgian ministries, just in case the European institutions should have to leave Brussels. The Community had other ideas about interior space, however, and it was only after lengthy discussions that it reluctantly accepted the Berlaymont as the Commission's building. Such half-hearted compromises are not uncommon in the history of the European Union headquarters (Fig. 13).

With the construction of the Berlaymont building and the new infrastructures, the fate of the Léopold district and its surroundings was sealed. Because of the level of investment in this area, in the years that followed the Belgian government rejected other proposed sites for the Euro institutions. In order not to jeopardize the Léopold district's transformation into an office area, the politicians responsible gave private entrepreneurs too much freedom and frequently failed to honor planning resolutions. There were special permits granted not only for the many small office buildings, but also for the large Euro buildings which dominate the district today. For the monolithic Council of Ministers building, completed in May 1995, the regulations for land use had to be revised. The new buildings for the European Parliament are predicated on a

made-to-measure development plan whose extreme density bears no relation whatsoever to the surrounding area (Fig. 14–19).

The urban quality of the Léopold district is now so poor that a number of companies which had occupied buildings there have relocated to the suburbs.   The European Commission evidently doesn't feel attached to the district either.   Under the pretext of asbestos pollution, it left the Berlaymont in 1991 and moved to new offices developed by project managers in the Brussels suburb of Auderghem.   No decision has yet been taken as to whether the Commission will leave these fortress-like buildings and return to the Berlaymont.   The government for the Brussels region, first elected in 1989, wants the Berlaymont to be rebuilt for the Commission, and is at the same time making plans to upgrade the Euro quarter.   However, apart from better road surfacing materials and new street furniture, no real results are discernible as yet (Fig. 20).

Unlike in Brussels, where the siting of the European institutions was influenced by a centralized location, in Luxembourg the extensive Kirchberg-Plateau, which had been used solely for agriculture, was available for the purpose. The planning of this area was placed in the hands of a public body, the "Urbanization Fund for Kirchberg".   This move satisfied the prerequisite conditions for designing a major urban project capable of rivaling La Défense, the business center being developed concurrently in Paris. The end result, however, was a lackluster office district (Fig. 21).   Instead of regarding the sites for the first Euro buildings as part of a long-term project, the Fund segmented them without proffering a unified spatial concept. True, it organized architectural competitions on more than one occasion, yet financial and functional criteria took precedence.

This result is all the more lamentable, since as early as 1958 the Luxembourg urbanist Henri Luja had produced a detailed design which proposed first-rate sites for the European institutions as a part of a complex and well designed new city project, including housing, shops and schools (Fig. 22).   The lack of clear political decision-making, however, as well as a dispute over competencies between the administrations involved, prevented this project from being realized. In the years that followed, further schemes were developed for Kirchberg though these never got off the ground either. When, in the early eighties, various institutions called for expansion, the Fund commissioned an interdisciplinary and international team to design a new blueprint for Kirchberg, which is being fleshed out at the time of writing (Fig. 23).

The new project's point of departure is to reroute the motorway running through the middle of Kirchberg that up until now has absorbed both through and local traffic. The route of this motorway has been planned by local government in the fifties, although it soon became clear that it would constitute an obstacle to the design of Kirchberg.   Luja had pointed out this problem back in 1958 and had provided for two roads in his plan: a motorway for through traffic which was to follow the northern edge of the site, and an urban boulevard to open up the district. Current attempts to incorporate the disparate institutions in a single ensemble seem to be aimed at compensating for the mistakes of the past-mistakes which could have been avoided with coherent, intelligent planning.

Unlike its rivals, the third Euro city, Strasbourg, received virtually no national support[15]. The French government concentrated its investments in the capital and neglected the cities in

the border region. The other member states responded to the lack of suitable Euro structures in Strasbourg on repeated occasions with a call to relocate the European Parliament. These demands were rejected by the French government, though no real improvements in the situation resulted either. It was only under the newly (in 1989) elected municipal government that design became a means of keeping the Europeans in Strasbourg. The construction of a building for the European Parliament — independent of the European Union's Europalace — became a key element. In 1991, for the first time in the history of European parliament buildings, a competition — albeit a limited one — was organized in which architects of various nationalities were invited to participate. The winning design by the Paris firm Architecture Studio is now under construction (Fig. 24/25).

A further product of Strasbourg's concern with design is the European Court for Human Rights by Richard Rogers, completed in 1994. Distinguished by its openness to its surroundings, this is the first building in this Euro quarter to take waterside siting into account. Rogers' design emerged from a competition after plans to realize an already approved but inconsequential project had been abandoned by the city council in concordance with the national government. The criticism of the new city representatives had found support of local architects as well as of planners from all over Europe, who on this occasion showed for the first time an interest in the design of Euro buildings.

Strasbourg did not, however, limit its initiatives for Europe to designs for single buildings. Since 1989, this metropolis in Alsace has been developing in collaboration with its German neighbor Kehl, a project for a district which is to straddle the border between the two cultures, Alsace is attractive to organizations operating throughout Europe. Opportunities for locating here are to be offered to these organizations and to other key institutions in a 300 hectare area along the planned motorway to the south of Strasbourg. Preliminary urban ideas for this project were worked out in May 1991 in a competition. The re-election of the socialist city council in June 1995 gives cause for hope that development will indeed take place. The cross-border collaboration between two municipal governments, who are harmonizing their urban planning regulations, is a real contribution to the rapprochement between states and deserves to be imitated (Fig. 26).

During the first decades of European cooperation, the member states mainly referred to centralized structures, reflected in a unique capital. The real evolution of the European Union has nevertheless shown a strong tendency towards decentralization with the headquarters fixed in three cities and smaller institutes settled all over Europe. Simultaneously, various cities are availing themselves of the concept of Europe as a means both of elevating their urban and architectural projects to a higher plane and of underlining their pursuit of economic growth. Not only the metropolises of Paris and London, but flourishing cities such as Barcelona, Lille and Rotterdam too are using the idea for propaganda purposes. Special events like international exhibitions, Olympics or the cultural capital function serve as vehicles for promoting the cities. These individual initiatives reflect the increased interest in Europe, but have yet to make any real contribution to international rapprochement.

The actual cross-border network of business contacts, administrative collaboration, cultural

exchange and concrete infrastructures reflects historical European structures. In fact, the Hanseatic cities or the German "Kaiserpfalzen" were parts of networks with a decentralized capital. These networks between cities and regions have left their traces in the European cross-border infrastructures, in urban planning and buildings. City plans, palaces, churches, town and guild halls show the existence of a common European history and culture, document the growth and fall of powers and create the particular identity of each city. They are especially visible in the capital cities, where political, financial and administrative power is concentrated.

The analysis of visions and reality of the European capital has shown, that a polycentral capital has come into existence during the last few decades. Nevertheless it is not based on a coherent vision of the European space but on a number of political compromises and initiatives of the nation states. The lack of European regional planning appears, for example, in the non existence of a rapid train connection between the three capital cities. From a national point of view such a construction makes no sense, European initiative is necessary to realize it. But it is only since the 1980's that the European Union has received the financial and political possibilities for regional and urban planning. The first guidelines for future European development, especially with regard to an equilibrium between the center and the periphery as well as the strengthening of decentralization through development poles, have been elaborated only recently. Nevertheless, regional and local initiatives remain in the center. Instead of the "blue banana", which has served for several years as an illustration of competition inside Europe, a "bunch of grapes" and thus a network of cities and regions as well as a decentralized capital seem to be the appropriate spatial expression of the future European networking[16].

Planning for Europe

For decades the form of the Euro headquarters was imbued with national concepts. With the redistribution of political power at a regional and European level, however, this phase is now coming to an end. As part of the ongoing regionalization process in Belgium and France, local institutions have been given political instruments for independent decision-making. The first results of this new distribution of power are the Brussels and Strasbourg proposals for the Euro headquarters. The election in 1992 of the former three provisional cities as permanent seats of the Union has further strengthened their position. They need no longer fear a relocation and therefore can make long-term plans and put their urban requirements on the table. The permanent siting of the seats gives cause for hope that the European institutions will start taking an interest in the form their accommodation is to take. The present power of the Union, which increases in parallel with the regionalization process, ought to make it easier to actualize supranational interests — the seat question included. Hence the design of the Euro headquarters may well turn out to be the product of an alliance between regional and European institutions.

Europe's politicians, regrettably, have shown little interest in the EU's seat issue to date. So given the architectural and urban importance of this subject, it is the task of qualified professionals in these fields to take the lead and instigate a debate at a European level. Such discourse is necessary to support municipal governments in their attempts to give shape to their
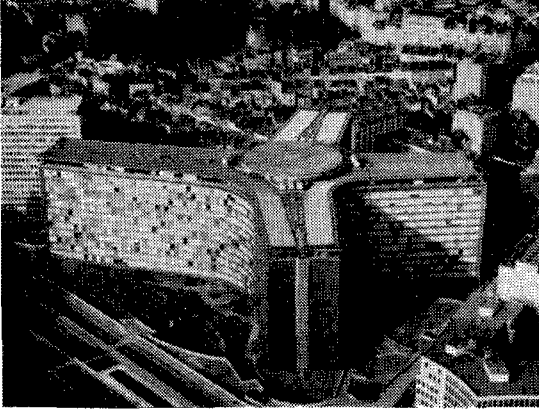
Fig. 13 The Berlaymont building in Brussels, formerly used by the European Commission.
(Photo: European Parliament)

Fig. 14 The construction site of a building for the European Council(Photo: European Parliament)
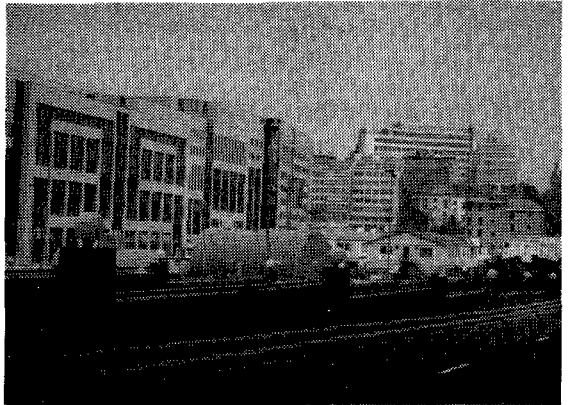

Fig. 15/16 The new building for the European Council of Ministers (Photo: Carola Hein)

Fig. 17- 19 The new European Parliament building in Brussels
Fig. 17 The new European Parliament building seen from the "Rue du Luxembourg"
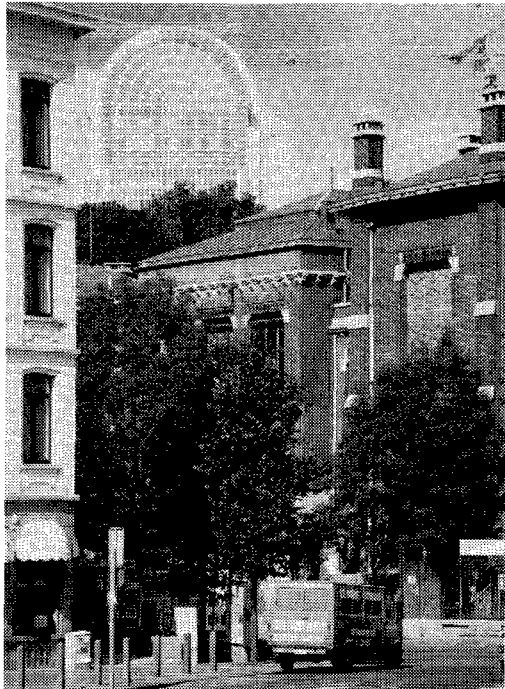(Photo: Carola Hein)

Fig. 18 The new European Parliament building seen from the "Place Jourdan"
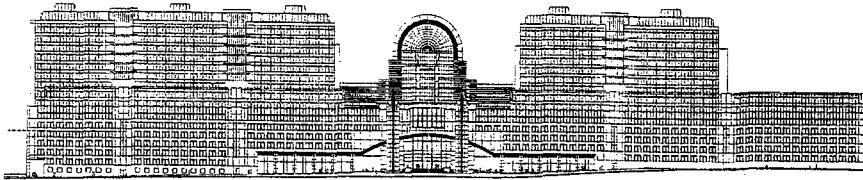(Photo: Carola Hein)

Fig. 19 Atelier de Genval sa, CERAU sa, Atelier Marc Vandenbossche sprlu, Atelier
        d'Architecture CRV sa, Atelier Espace Léopold, The new European
        parliament building, facade
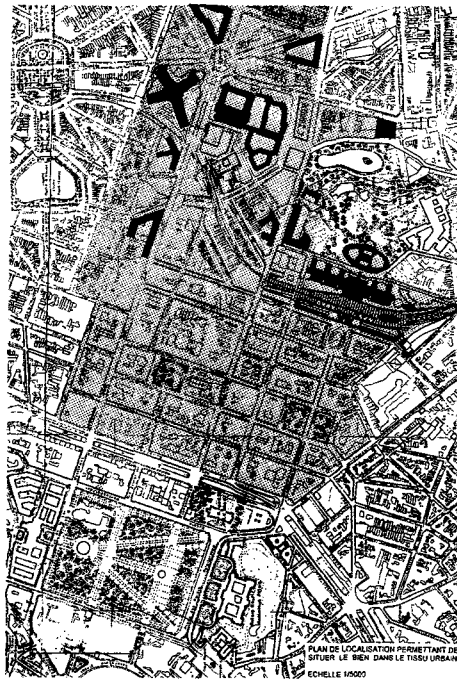

Fig. 20 The European district in Brussels with the main
        European buildings (Atelier Espace Léopold)

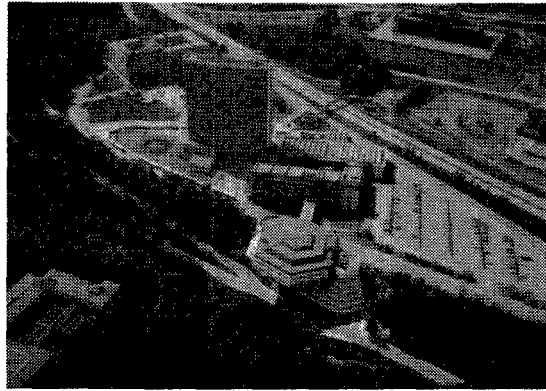Fig. 21 – 23 The European district in Luxembourg

Fig. 21 Aerial photo of the European Parliament on the Kirchberg plateau
(Photo: European Parliament)
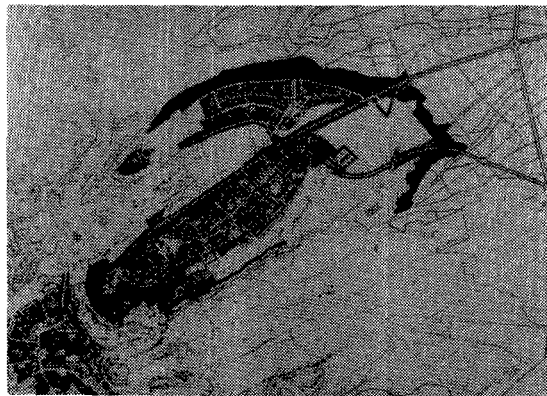
Fig. 22 Henri Luja, Proposal for a European capital on the Kirchberg plateau, 1958

Fig. 23 Jourdan + Müller-Pas, Peter Latz, Christian Bauer a. o.
Contour plan for Kirchberg, 1991

Fig. 24- 26 The European district in Strasbourg

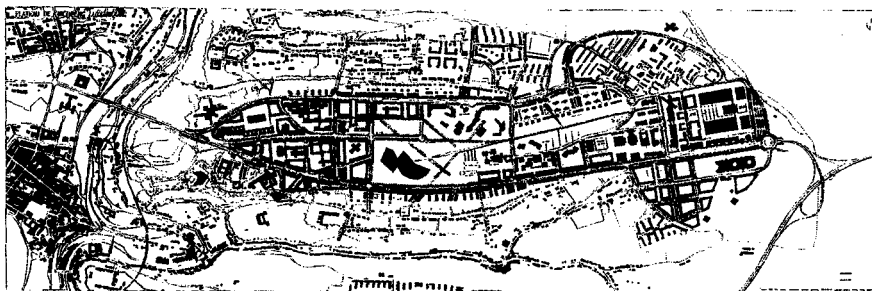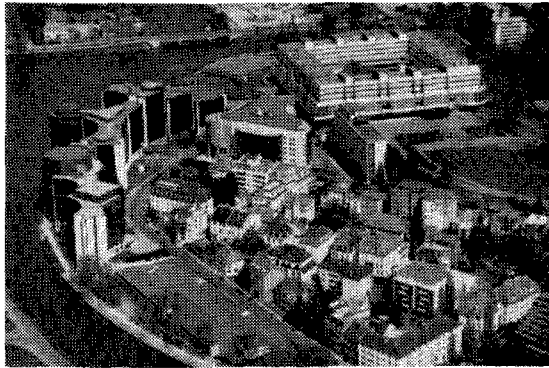Fig. 24 The European quarter in Strasbourg (Photo: European Parliament)
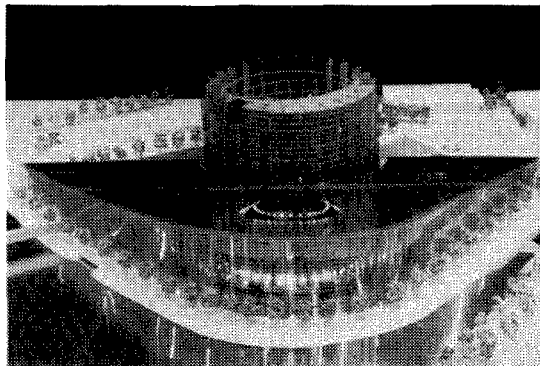

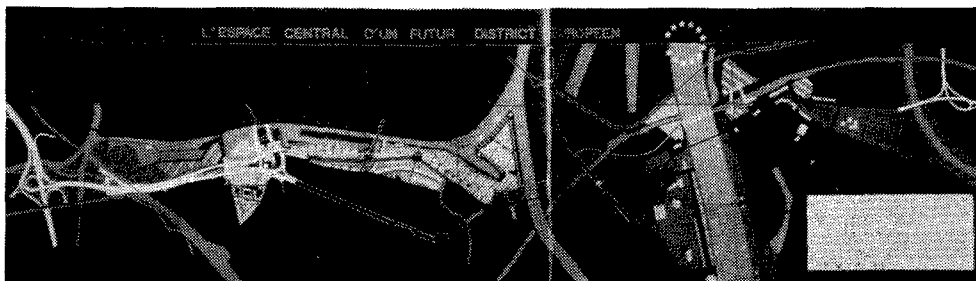Fig. 25 The new building of the European Parliament(Photo:European Parliament)

Fig. 26 The area proposed for a border-district between France and Germany.

ideas, but above all to help Brussels make a stand against the investors and construction companies operating throughout Europe. Interventions by designers must not, however, be limited to designing European government buildings. Proposals as to how architecture and urbanism can contribute to shaping a European identity also need developing. To this end, a public platform might be installed on which designers can discuss major building projects with investors, politicians and entrepreneurs at a European level.

An institute concerning itself with European architectural and urban issues has yet to emerge. Might not interest groups or national architectural museums, supported by professional journals, set up an organization which, under the aegis of the European Parliament, could deal with European building culture? Such an institute might well be anchored in international research teams at universities. It would be their task to organize exhibitions and idea competitions, and to initiate and coordinate European projects. Architects, and all other parties concerned with the issue of planning and design, would have to transcend their purely nationalist mode of thinking and view it as their task to make a place for and design a project as important and as influential as Europe.

Notes

1) Founding members in 1952: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands. Members in 1996: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.
2) The present article is based on:
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   This thesis may be consulted for a more detailed analysis of visions for a capital of the United Europe and the reality of its headquarters as well as more information concerning the primary and secondary sources which have been used. The following footnotes only include general indications on secondary sources.
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Figures

Fig. 1   With very few exceptions — due to a particular political situation, as in Trieste, economic and historic aspirations, as in Paris, or national reflections for the Loir et Cher area — the candidate cities for the implantation of the European institutions were all concentrated on a North-South line along the inner border of the European Union. In wartime these regions had been used as showcases and suffered from fighting. In peacetime, however, they had often been forgotten, while national development concentrated on the center. For these regions a European union thus means a liberation from the threat of war and national straitjackets. As border regions influenced by several nations, with bilingual population these areas and their people can be particularly helpful in the creation of a united Europe.

Fig. 2/3   The European headquarter was conceived as the highlight of the traditional Paris axis from the Louvre down the champs-Elysées to the proposed business district at its western end. The three architects in charge of the European project had been tesponsible for the planning of this area since 1950. They had proposed a business district at La Défense, a large boulevard lined with modern buildings, and an international exhibition center on the adjoining Western area. This proposal became the basis for the European concept. In fact, the two level structure with highways, parking, a train station on the ground and a pedestrian space on a elevated level, for which the La Défense area has since become famous, was prepared by the same architects only in 1959, thus not at all as a response to the visionary political concept of Europe.

Fig. 4-7   To avoid a French annexation, the Saar region promoted itself as a European district from 1952 until 1955, when a return to Germany was decided. During this period the Saar organized the first and last urban planning competition for a European headquarter. Designers from all member states of the European Council were invited to develop ideas for laying out a Euro district on an expanse of land in the south of Saarbrücken. The jury, which also included independent European architects, refused to single out a winning design and finally awarded three first prizes. The design by the Saarland architect Rudolf Krüger (in association with Erich Stoll) had as its theme the Euro seat as an expansion for Saarbrücken. Krüger, working against the express wishes of its future users, designed the Euro quarter as an urban landscape, in which living and working would complement each other per district. The design lacked a representative character and a landmark function. The group around Gerhart Kilpper analyzed the design

of a European capital from a comprehensive point of view and suggested a ring-road around the city instead of the tunnel which had been proposed by the city administration to connect the center and the European quarter. Their design for the institution's buildings features a modest modern style and a move away from monumentality and urban mass, which was typical of postwar German urbanism. The designers of the third prize-winning design developed a very different scheme. In imitation of Paris' Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the French urbanists Henri Colboc and Pierre Dalidet conceived the European center as a single gigantic design. A ring-shaped building was proposed for the European Community for Coal and Steel, accessible from all sides by streets converging on its center. A monumental axis of one and a half kilometers extended to the East creating a long but not necessarily functional approach — and giving access to the other institutions.

Fig. 8/9   For numerous architects from the Beaux-Arts tradition, the topic of a capital city of Europe seemed to be a perfect occasion to display the principles of the school, its pursuit of monumentality and architecture as a sign. This seemed to coincide with the doctrine of a unique and representative capital adopted by the European Council of Ministers in 1952. An example of a typical Beaux-Arts design is the project by Henri-Jean Calsat, commissioned by the city of Strasbourg in 1957 – 58 for Oberhausbergen. Clearly inspired by Brasilia, Calsat designed a city plan in the shape of a bird. A dome-shaped building for the European Parliament was to have stood at its center with similar buildings for the various institutions fanning out from it.

Fig. 10   The American architect James Marshall Miller, who as an idealist concerned himself with European unification, advocated a European capital straddling the borders of Luxembourg, France and Germany. The city of "Lake Europa" was to develop around an artificial lake, fed through pipelines by water from all European rivers. Public facilities should surround the lake and provide a leisure resort where its inhabitants could freely exchange their ideas. Up to 2 million inhabitants would have been housed in multifunctional urban islands, connected by a circular monorail and separated by highways placed in green areas. Miller saw his proposal not only as a suggestion for the capital of Europe but as a proposal for future cities in general.

Fig. 11/12   Brussels pressure groups elaborated on numerous counter-proposals to show that their claims of a better urban design were based on realistic assumptions. They presented ideas for the area used by the institutions, as well as a proposal for a newly created European district. The project of a European quarter on the land of the disused Josaphat train station gave them the opportunity to show their urban ideas. A small-scale structure and axes were to articulate the district and present a backdrop to the headquarters of the European institutions, which had been allocated key sites. The Brussels' plans were not isolated enterprises. In 1978, the Luxembourg architect Léon Krier produced a pilot scheme for Kirchberg that also proposed reinstating traditional city forms.

Fig. 13   The star-shaped Berlaymont building was erected on the site of a monastery of the same name and close to a 19th century bourgeois residential area seen on its backside. When the construction of the Berlaymont was decided, the Brussels master plan was changed. In spite of a North-South subway, linking the working class suburbs to the center, an urban highway and a subway were realized in an East-West-direction, connecting the city center to the business district and the residential areas in the East.

Fig. 14-16   The construction of a building for the European Council had been discussed since the accomplishment of the Berlaymont. Numerous sites were inspected, but the requests of the institution combined with the temporary state of the headquarters made it difficult to provide an appropriate site. In 1979 an investor-competition was held but several pressure groups opposed the outcome. This was a monofunctional Euro bloc, which reflected the security obligations but was without any desire of urban integration. The economic crisis of the early 80s stopped the project but the economic revival in 1985 led to its realization. Special permits were granted, several housing blocks expropriated and the slightly redesigned complex of the monolithic Council of Ministers building was inaugurated in May 1995.

Fig. 17-19   The European Parliament is the latest of the monolithic buildings for the European Community. The Belgium government had always hoped to attract this organization to its capital. On first sight the European district in Brussels did not offer any other space large enough to house such an important institution, but in fact the Léopold train station and its surroundings had already been chosen in

the 1960's for a European use. The quality of the urban surrounding, along with the traditional buildings of the Rue du Luxembourg in the West and the Parc Léopold in the East were supplementary arguments for this choice. For reasons of European policy — the official site of the Parliament being Strasbourg — the assembly building was introduced as a project of a private investor for an international congress center. Thus, the other nations could not protest. But also no architectural competition or debate took place in regard to the architecture and urban integration of the offices and the assembly building for the Parliament (altogether about 284.000 m2 of built surface) which is to become the very symbol of European unity and democracy.

Fig. 20 The Léopold district, had been conceived after 1840 on a rectangular plan as Brussels' first urban extension and home to the upper class. A monumental and artificially leveled axis, the Rue de la Loi crosses some lower streets where poorer population groups traditionally lived. This leads to the monumental roundabout were the Berlaymont is implanted and ends at a large park created for the fifty year ceremonies of Belgium. In the 1920's, with the change in lifestyles and the spread of the car, the exodus of the rich inhabitants started and the Quartier Léopold was abandoned to office functions. The implantation of the European institutions and the erection of the Berlaymont finally triggered it's transformation into a European district. Numerous office buildings were erected by investors and rented to the European institutions or organizations connected to them. Still today large parts of this area are used by European institutions.

Fig. 21 The site for the European Parliament building on the Kirchberg was chosen for pragmatic reasons and unrelated to a master plan. The highway, connecting the city of Luxembourg with Germany cut this area from the rest of the European quarter. The hexagonal assembly building was finished in 1980 after plans for a gigantic skyscraper-assembly had been abandoned. Hoping for a transfer of the Parliament from Strasbourg, the Luxembourg government had constructed the assembly building. It has served the European parliament only a few times and is also used today as a conference center, illustrating thus the negative effects of a competition between the three provisionary headquarters. Nevertheless, the existence of three assembly buildings for the European Parliament can also be seen as a chance for a future decentralization.

Fig. 22 Henri Luja, the chief urbanist of the state of Luxembourg first examined the possibilities of the 800 hectare Kirchberg plateau during the German occupation. In 1958 he prepared a new plan for this area which is separated from the old city center by a deep ravine. A competition for a bridge spanning the valley had already been held in 1957 and a motorway was planned in order to connect the city with the German highway system. The 1958 competition for a European district incited Luja to design an urban proposal which was characterized by an intelligent mixture of urban planning concepts. Instead of a monumental, straight axis typical for Beaux-Arts proposals, he proposed a slightly curved boulevard along which the European institutions could erect their headquarters. Sport facilities and a commercial district framed the office area, while the housing facilities were grouped and embedded in green zones at the Eastern end of the plateau. The new district was to be a positive esthetic contribution to the landscape and Luja therefore suggested urban dominants, like a skyscraper and a cathedral, on the Western edge of the plateau visible from the old city of Luxembourg.

Fig. 23 After several decades of severe fighting for the presence of the European functions in Luxembourg, the city's future as a financial and juridical center seems to be settled. However, in order not to clash with European desires, the Luxembourg planners had not insisted on the implementation of a master plan. Only at the time of writing, after 40 years of opportunistic urban planning without a long-term vision has a general plan for the future of the European settlement in Luxembourg been fleshed out. The highway crossing the Kirchberg is actually transformed into an urban boulevard, and the originally free standing structures will be harmonized by their integration into a block system.

Fig. 24/25 The European district in Strasbourg is the smallest of the three European quarters. The European presence there has been less destructive than in the other cities. National support for the European function of Strasbourg was limited to political statements and the square building for the European Council. The latter organization, without decisive power was created in 1949 by ten nations and today unites more than twenty. Its definite headquarters is in Strasbourg and its facilities have been rented to the European Parliament. For many years the European Parliament claimed its own

representative building which is actually under construction. This assembly building and the new Court of Human Rights designed by Richard Rogers are the result of municipal initiatives made possible by French decentralization and a growing awareness of the European problem.

Fig. 26   The creation of a motorway south of Strasbourg connecting the French and the German highway systems was the starting point for the the project of a cross-border district, grouping business functions, especially those interested in the bicultural possibilities of the Alsace region, large scale projects and the planned new high-speed train station. Half a century after the end of the war, a cross-border district which had already been suggested in the 1950's is finally becoming possible. An urban planning competition was held in 1991 and showed that interesting solutions for a symbolic and functional urban design of the area exist. Nevertheless it will take some 20 to 30 years to realize this project which includes an area where harbor and industry is still active.

Key Words (キー・ワード)

Urban Planning (都市計画), Capital City (首都), Decentralization (分権化), Networking (ネットワーキング), European Union (欧州連合), Brussels (ブリュッセル), Strasbourg (ストラスブール), Luxembourg (ルクセンブルグ)

ヨーロッパ統合と計画の課題
—統合ヨーロッパの首都に関する構想と、その中枢機関の現実—

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　欧州連合（EU）—ヨーロッパで最も重要な国家を超えた機関—は、国際経済社会で認知されたものとなった。しかし、創始者達の、経済的統合から総てを含む統一ヨーロッパに発展するだろうという夢は、まだ現実のものになっていない。そのようなヨーロッパとしての活動は、多くの分野に影響を与えているが、重要な決定権は、なお国民国家のもとに残されている。このことは、都市計画や地方圏計画一般についても事実であるが、とくに統一ヨーロッパ組織の中枢機関の立地についても同様な問題がある。

　加盟国は、単一の記念的な首都という原則について、1952年に合意しているが、その場所に関して、全員一致が必要な決定を下すことが出来ないでいる。単一首都という原則は、理想都市に対する多くの構想をもたらしたが、それらの多くは、ワシントン・パリ・ブラジリアなど国民国家の首都のデザインから発想されたものであり、国・地域・個人の利害を反映したものであった。ヨーロッパの首都に関するこれらの構想は、ヨーロッパ各国内の計画論争を示しており、独自のヨーロッパ全体の計画構想の欠如の証拠でもあった。

　首都について決定が行なえなかったことから、ブリュッセル・ストラスブール・ルクセンブルグが一時的な中枢に選ばれ、その機能は以後40年間保持されることになった。ヨーロッパとしての一貫した戦略がないまま、機関のそれらの都市への集約が、国家的・地域的な利害、手続き、方法により決定され、その結果、都市的・建築的特徴のない、場合によっては、その都市に適さない、単一機能の業務地域が形成された。1960年代にはいると、無計画なヨーロッパ機関の集積の否定的効果は—特にブリュッセルの住民から—批判されたし、反対提案もまとめられたが、政策の変更はおこらなかった。

　それらの都市に、諸機関が現に在ることの影響と、文化的人間的に一つのヨーロッパという最近の欧州連合の目標からみて、中枢機関の実際のあり方は、もはや放置することはできない。単一ヨーロッパ首都の構想と、諸機関の本部の現実の分析を通じて、ヨーロッパの首都のあり方に関する戦略の確立の科学的基礎がつくられるであろう、また、その問題に関する論議もおこされるだろう。

　ヨーロッパの再方向づけが最近行なわれたので、そのような論争の機会としては、最適のように思われる。マーストリヒト条約の成立は、その政治的・社会的・文化的目標、地方圏の権限を強化すべきだというその主張、従来の国家大権をヨーロッパや地方権のレベルに対して再配分すること及び暫定的な中枢機関を欧州連合の恒久的な政治的首都（複数）とする選択、などによって、将来の一つの人間的文化的ヨーロッパの創造に希望をもたらした。

　同時に、ヨーロッパ構想は、多数の個別の動きを促進しつつある。リールやバルセロナあるいはロッテルダムのような都市は、そのような構想を、自分のところの都市及び建築のプロジェクトを持ち上げたり、国の規制から自らを自由にする手段として用いた。そのうちに、例えば、ストラスブール市とそれに隣接するドイツのケールのように、国境を越えた共同が始まった。そのような動きは、地方圏に根ざしたヨーロッパの再組織の始まりであり、ヨーロッパをおおう都市と地方圏のネットワークの創造につながる。欧州連合の仕事は、このような国家的利害に反する動きを支持し、ヨーロッパの枠組みにま

とめること及び均等な発展を保障することである。

　国家の境界の影響を受けない、都市と地方圏のネットワークは、今日提案されているところのヨーロッパ連邦への適切な表現であり、また、それ以上にヨーロッパの伝統的な態様でもあるように思われる。実際、国境がしばしば変更される中にあって、一方では、都市と地方圏の構造が、かつての結合の証しとなってきているのである。一つだけ例を挙げれば、ローマ時代の街道と都市の配置は、現在でもヨーロッパ全域で認めることが出来る。他方、都市と地方圏は、国家の境界とは無関係に、様ざまな関係を伝統的に維持してきた。このようなつながりは、都市形態と建築に、今日でも、見ることが出来る。それは、パリ、ベルリン、ロンドンおよびハンブルグを比較してみれば明らかである。

　都市と地方圏のネットワークは、ヨーロッパ首都の分散の根拠を提供することにもなるだろう。実際、三つの中枢機関と多数の小規模な立地の存在という現在の状況は、政治的経済的利害の結果生じたものではあるが、それは、単一首都の原則が目指し、多くの構想の中で追求された、記念的な首都よりも、ヨーロッパをよく表している。このような分散された首都は、ハンザ同盟都市のような歴史的例を、その前例としてあげることが出来る。政治的首都（複数）をむすびつける都市と地方圏によるヨーロッパのネットワークは、良くデザインされたインフラストラクチャー・都市形態・建築群と置き換えることが出来、そして、それはヨーロッパのアイデンティティと統合を強める結果をもたらすだろう。