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PAUL HENRI SPAAK IN THE INTERBELLUM: BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The paper deals with issues related to the territory of the type of European politics P.-H. Spaak in the field of European integration. The activity of P.-H. Spaak, "Mr. Europe", a staunch supporter and one of the initiators of the creation of a United Europe in the period after World War II, is widely known. The fruits of its development today are reaped by all, without exception, the inhabitants of the countries joining the European Union. At the same time, the pre-war period of P.-H. Spaak's political career is still receiving relatively little research attention, although a more detailed study and coverage of the period of formation of P.-H. Spaak as a politician would undoubtedly provide a more complete picture of this historical figure and a more objective assessment of his political activities. *Goals and objectives.* To consider the activities of P.-H. Spaak in a relatively little-studied period of his international political activity - up to 1940, based on the texts of political acts, memoranda signed with his participation, as well as his public speeches. *Results.* According to the memoirs of P.-H. Spaak, another Belgian politician, H. de Man, had a great influence on the formation of his political views. It was after talking with him that P.-H. Spaak moved away from his far-left views and over time gained a reputation in Belgium as a "right-wing" socialist. In addition, the period of formation of P.-H. Spaak as a politician was characterized by contacts with I. Trotsky. *Conclusion.* In the period up to 1935 P.-H. Spaak can already be considered part of International History, although his influence on it was minimal. In the period starting from 1935, when he was appointed to the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, P.-H. Spaak can be considered a prominent figure in world politics.

Keywords: P.-H. Spaak, International History, European integration, formation, politician

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ПОЛ АНРИ САПАК СОҒЫС АРАСЫНДАҒЫ КЕЗЕН: ҰЛТШЫЛЫҚ МЕН ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИЗМ АРАСЫНДА

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Аңдатпа. *Kipicne.* Жұмыста еуропалық көрнекті саясаткер П.-А. Спаактың еуроинтеграция саласындағы қызметіне байланысты мәселелер қарастырылады. Екінші дүниежүзілік соғыстан кейінгі кезеңде Біріккен Еуропаны құрудың сенімді жақтаушысы және бастамашыларының бірі «Еуропа Мырза» П.-А. Спаактың қызметі кеңінен танымал. Оның күш-жігерінің жемісі бүгінде Еуропалық одаққа кіретін елдердің барлық тұрғындары игілігіне пайдаланылуда. Сонымен бірге, соғысқа дейінгі саяси мансап кезеңінде П.-А. Спаактың саясаткер ретіндегі П.-А. Спаактың қалыптасу кезеңін егжей-тегжейлі зерттеу және жариялау осы тарихи тұлғаның толық бейнесін алуға және оның саяси қызметін объективті бағалауға мүмкіндік беретіні сөзсіз. *Мақсаттары мен міндеттері.* П.-А. Спаактың қызметін оның халықаралық саяси қызметінің салыстырмалы түрде аз зерттелген кезеңінде – 1940 жылға дейін саяси актілердің мәтіндері, оның қатысуымен қол қойылған меморандумдар, сондай-ақ оның көпшілік алдында сөйлеген сөздері мысалында қарастыру. *Нәтижелер.* П.-А. Спаактың естеліктеріне сәйкес, оның саяси көзқарастарының қалыптасуына басқа бельгиялық саясаткер Х. де Ман үлкен әсер етті. Онымен сөйлескеннен кейін П.-А. Спаак өзінің солшыл көзқарастарынан алшақтап, уақыт өте келе Бельгияда «оң» Социалистік беделге ие болды. Сонымен қатар, П.-А. Спаактың саяси қайраткер ретінде қалыптасу кезеңі Троцкиймен байланыста сипатталды. *Қорытынды.* 1935 жылға дейінгі кезеңде П.-А. Спаакты халықаралық тарихтың бір бөлігі деп санауға болады, дегенмен оның әсері аз болды. 1935 жылдан бастап Сыртқы істер министрі болып тағайындалған кезеңде П.-А. Спаакты әлемдік саясаттағы көрнекті тұлға деп санауға болады.

Түйін сөздер: П.-А. Спаак, халықаралық тарих, еуроинтеграция, қалыптасу, саяси қайраткер

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ПОЛЬ АНРИ СПААК В МЕЖВОЕННЫЙ ПЕРИОД: МЕЖДУ НАЦИОНАЛИЗМОМ И ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИЗМОМ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В работе рассматриваются вопросы, связанные с деятельностью видного европейского политика П.-А. Спаака в сфере евроинтеграции. Деятельность П.-А. Спаака, «мистера

Европа», убежденного сторонника и одного из инициаторов создания объединенной Европы в период после Второй мировой войны, широко известна. Плоды его усилий сегодня пожинают все без исключения жители стран, входящий в Европейский союз. В то же время, довоенному периоду политической карьеры П.-А. Спаака до сих пор уделяется относительно мало исследовательского внимания, хотя более подробное изучение и освещение периода формирования П.-А. Спаака как политика, несомненно, позволило бы получить более полную картину данной исторической личности и более объективно оценить его политическую деятельность. *Цели и задачи.* Рассмотреть деятельность П.-А. Спаака в сравнительно малоизученный период его международной политической деятельности – до 1940 г. на примере текстов политических актов, меморандумов, подписанных с его участием, а также его публичных выступлений. *Результаты.* Согласно воспоминаниям самого П.-А. Спаака, большое влияние на формирование его политических взглядов оказал другой бельгийский политик, Х. де Ман. Именно после общения с ним П.-А. Спаак отошел от своих крайне левых взглядов и со временем приобрел в Бельгии репутацию «правого» социалиста. Кроме того, период формирования П.-А. Спаака как политического деятеля был охарактеризован контактами с И. Троцким. *Заключение.* В период до 1935 г. П.-А. Спаака уже можно считать частью международной истории, хотя его влияние на нее было минимальным. В период же начиная с 1935 г., когда он был назначен на пост министра иностранных дел, П.-А. Спаака можно считать видной фигурой в мировой политике. **Ключевые слова:** П.-А. Спаак, международная история, евроинтеграция, формирование, политический деятель

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Introduction

In Belgium, Paul-Henri Spaak is often seen as one of the most influential politicians of the twentieth century (De Waele, 1999: 93–94; Coolsaet, 2008: 2–3; Van Alstein, 2011: 128). Not only is Spaak seen as an influential politician within Belgian and International literature, but he is also often referred to as one of the key players in the making of the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) and even the United Nations (Vos & Praet, 2020: 110–115; Laurent, 1970: 374–380). Spaak was in office for several decades, being both Prime Minister in 1937, 1946 and 1948 (Vermote, 2011: 240–241). However, Spaak also endures some historical critique due to the fact that his thinking sometimes paradoxes his acting (George, 1975: 254–258). A clear example of that can be found in a speech from the 20th of June in 1936 where he paradoxically stated the following: “I want only one thing, a foreign policy which is exclusively and integrally Belgian” (Spaak, 1969: 42). Spaak is thus not without controversy.

Materials and methods

Regarding the primary sources that are used in this paper, one should be aware that this paper seeks to be thorough. Yet, it lacks the capability to be exhaustive. A lot of primary sources of Spaak are available, but most of those sources consist of personal writings and political acts. While Memoranda have shown to be a valuable form of historical evidence (Spohr, 2020: 143), they are not the only form of historical evidence to consider. Besides official memoranda, Spaak his own memoirs *Combats inachevés* have shown to be very useful for this essay. However, also autobiographies are open for critique and should be treated carefully (Spohr, 2020: 138–147; Carlson, 2020: 198–202). This critique, which is found within the source’s subjectivity, is an interesting element for this essay. Towards the end of this paper, it will become clear that even existing historiography tends to accept Spaak’s writings as the truth.

Besides Spaak’s memoranda and autobiography, this essay has tried to give a brief overview of key speeches, newspapers, and letters. The reader should, however, be aware that most of the sources are written or spoken in French. The translation of these sources are added to prove authenticity.

Goals and objectives

This paper will examine the impact of Paul-Henri Spaak on the development of International History as a

discipline. Of course, in the case of Spaak the question of impact is rather simple, especially in the period after the Second World War, Spaak was one of the main actors in the formation of NATO, the UN and even the European Union. Therefore, this essay will not focus on this period. More interestingly, this paper will focus on his period prior to 1940, and examine whether Spaak did have impact on International History in that period. In order to examine the impact of Spaak's policies and achievements, his speeches, policy acts, and memoranda will be thoroughly examined on their validity, impact and usage.

Spaak, born in Schaerbeek-Brussels – in 1899, was a prominent member of the *Belgische Werklieden Partij*, the Socialist party in Belgium that was formed in the late nineteenth century (Deneckere et al., 2020: 121–123). Throughout this paper, a chronological overview of Spaak's most important realisations will be examined. The author has chosen certain key moments to elaborate on. However, those moments are not exhaustive, yet they are picturing the image of a man that changed his political view throughout the years and got himself in the middle of the geopolitical debate in the 1950s. Finally, Spaak's political acts and speeches will be explained and framed within its impact of International History.

Discussion

After the general elections in November 1932 Spaak first got elected in the Belgian Parliament. He would remain in office until 1957, and become prime-minister, minister of Foreign Affairs and above all very influential in world politics (Mchee, 1972: 455–457; Coolsaet, 2014: 313) during his decades in office. Interesting to note is that Spaak himself does claim that throughout those decades, and especially after his period in London during the Second World War, his opinions and beliefs changed (Weidenfelt & Nicholson, 1972: 512; Janssens, 2008: 260–264).

And this was noted in the works of many researchers devoted to the activities of P.-H. Spaak.

Between 1932 and 1935, Spaak had his first period as a member of the Parliament. Back then, Belgium had to deal with the economic crisis that was caused by the Wall Street crash in 1929 (Deneckere et al., 2020: 221–226). During this period, Spaak was quite controversial within his own party. He even established the very leftist newspaper called *L'action sociale* or The Social Action. Scholars note that Spaak often criticised the official BWP policies, and he clearly said the party was not Socialist enough, and even wanted to reform the Belgian Parliament drastically in order to find a way out of the economic crisis. Also, and this is eminent, Spaak was at this time strongly opposed for the so called *planism* (Hansen, 1981: 303–306; Peiren, 1992: 4; De Waele, 1999: 96). Spaak's *L'action Sociale* was in the middle of a storm within the BWP. Their close ties with the Belgian Communists, prominent communists like Leon Trotsky almost caused Spaak's dismissal from the BWP (Van Herrewegen, 2014: 19–22; Henkens, 1995). It is interesting to see that one of the key players of Supranational Europe was at one point inspired by the Russian Revolution and Communism. Moreover, his political memoirs start in 1936, which is often neglected within the literature and his memoirs. It is clear that Spaak does not really want to be reminded of his early ideas that were quite controversial. However, those ideas are relevant to take into account. This somehow opens the debate on Spaak's memoirs, which are often viewed as reliable within the literature (Laurent, 1970: 1411–1412; Gauthier et al., 1998). The absence of this period in his memoirs creates a certain distrust in the validity of what he wrote about himself. While his autobiography contributes to explaining historical changes (Carlson, 2020: 200–201), it can also be seen as a subjective perception on how the person writing it lived through those events (Carlson, 2020: 199–202). It could be argued that Spaak himself was not obliged to tell this. Schools of historiography, on the other hand, should be aware that autobiographies are prone to be subjective. The absence of this period in his memoirs did contribute towards the fact that this period is not prominent within International Literature. This, however, contradicts the fact that this critique is present within Belgian literature covering Spaak. Vermote, for example, argues that records of official BWP meetings help us picture the revolutionist ideas of a young Spaak, while his memoirs willingly neglect this period (Vermote, 2011: 215). There is, thus, a clear hiatus within international literature concerning Spaak's writings, which should be reconsidered once again. Within the next paragraph, this paper will delve deeper in Spaak's relationship with Henri De Man, who will drastically change his point of view.

Results

The political views of Spaak changed under the influence of BWP chairman Henri De Man (De Waele, 1999: 96). In his memoirs, Spaak explains that it was De Man who countered Spaak's extreme Left views:

*“Henri De Man, who returned to Belgium after a long stay in Germany, had largely contributed to show me what my positions of extreme left had of romantic and unrealistic. I had always been seduced, maybe even a little subjugated, by his personality”*¹ (Spaak, 1969: 26).

This friendship is an interesting starting point to speak about Spaak his views and believes, and how they changed over time. By the end of this period Spaak was internally viewed as a ‘rightwing’ socialist (Van Nieuwenhuysse, 2002: 209).

The image of Spaak was changed due to his support for Hendrik De Man's *Plan Du Travail* or *Plan of Labor* that he established in 1933. This plan was an economic guideline to help Belgium get out of ongoing economic crisis, which was inspired on some radical socialist ideas (Witte et al., 2016; Deneckere et al., 2020: 222). The plan was mainly focused on what would later be called *Keynesian's economics*, with a great socialist reflex (Deneckere et al., 2020: 222–223; Cuyvers, 2015: 88–91). The *Plan Du Travail* was not welcomed warmly by the BWP and caused heavy debates both internally and within Parliament (Witte et al., 2016; Milani, 2020: 126–130). Spaak, however, supported De Man with his ideas. This would later prove useful for Spaak, as he was appointed as minister of Transport in the Van Zeeland government in 1935, after being one of the key negotiators of this government (Henkens, 1995: 220). Within this period of change, Spaak became part of the BWP's board in 1934 (Henkens, 1995). At the beginning, his appearance in the board was not welcomed very warmly (BWP, 1934). This was quite logical, since he was pictured as one of the hardliners on the left side of his party (Van Herrewwege, 2014: 19–22; Witte, 2016). The contradictions in his thinking process during 1934 and 1935 are clearly visible when examining BWP board meetings. In a meeting on the 15th of March in 1935, Spaak made a strong argument to support the involvement in the Van Zeeland government:

*“If we talk about a new government, I think it is better to have a completely new government. By this I mean neither Theunis, nor Gut, nor Francqui, nor all those who have been the champions of deflationary policy. We have to think about our men and women, our troops and what we said yesterday. (...) If we reach the government, we will have to establish the balance sheet. We are not going to continue as we did in 1926, taking responsibility for a situation that we did not create”*² (Bureau BWP, 1935).

At this point, it is clear that Spaak's thinking and acting changed drastically. Spaak's change from international socialism towards a Socialism that focused more on the Nation-State, was probably one of his most radical changes (Lépine, 2014: 6). During the formation talks of the Van Zeeland government, Spaak was in the middle of the dispute. The socialist elite wanted him to become minister of Justice (Henken, 1995: 234.). The liberals, on the other hand, did not want Spaak as a minister, because he had

historical ties with communists like Trotsky (Henken, 1995: 234.). As a compromise, Spaak became minister of Transport (Henken, 1995: 236.).

After his first period as Minister of Transport, Spaak claimed the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government Van Zeeland II (Coolsaet, 2014: 199–301). He was now at the middle of the Belgian political field and would soon impact the International playing fields. Spaak himself considered this period a bit scary and challenging:

“I have often been lucky in my political life. This was the case at the beginning of my career as foreign minister. My first speech in Belgium was very well received. I was not careful to avoid speaking in front of the chambers after my appointment. I wanted to postpone a confrontation which, in the difficult environment of the parliament, was not without danger. on the other hand, I accepted an invitation of the foreign press union. I have

¹Original quote in French: “Henri De Man rentré en Belgique après un long séjour en Allemagne, avait largement contribué à me montrer ce que mes positions D'extrême gauche avaient de romantique et d'irréaliste. J'avais toujours été séduit peut-être même un peu subjugué, pas sa personnalité.”

²Original quote in French: “Si on parle d'un nouveau gouvernement, je crois qu'il vaut mieux avoir un gouvernement tout a fait renouvelé. J'entendre par la, ni Theunis, Ni Gut, Ni Francqui, ni tous ceux qui on été les champions de la politique déflationniste. Il faut penser a nos homes a nos troupes et a ce que nous avond dit hier.

(...) Il faudra si nous arrivons au gouvernement établi le bilan. Nous n'allons pas continuer comme en 1926, prendre la responsabilité d'une situation que nous avons pas créée.”

here the manuscript of my speech. On this occasion, I was obliged to write down what I was going to say, which I hate and generally refuse to do. I defied my improvisations”³ (Spaak, 1969: 42).

As minister of Foreign Affairs – and Prime Minister for a few months – he was often criticised for his politics of neutrality and the way he did not prepare Belgium for the upcoming war with Germany in 1940 (Coolsaet, 2014: 329–333). Spaak wanted Belgium to remain independent and stated that Belgium should not intervene in conflicts between its neighboring countries (Devolder, 1992: 36–37). Although Belgium was not alone in this politics of appeasement (Ripsman, Levy, 2008: 150–153; McKercher, 2008: 391–396), it is striking to see that Spaak kept on believing in his neutrality. Coolsaet rightfully claims that “De Man and Spaak argued that war in the 1930s would amount to a choice between fascism or communism and thus fell victim to an isolationist utopia as a tactic to keep Belgium out of the war” (Coolsaet, 2014: 333). Within the context of International History, this critique is quite interesting to look at. While it is often claimed that those policies did not necessarily impact the outplay of the German Blitzkrieg (Fodor, 1940: 195–197), it shows two important things. First of all, the Belgian position within Europe during this period, was one of neutrality. This position is not something ‘new’ in the Interbellum. It shows, however, that Spaak already had an impact on International History. Those policies were not without critique both internally and externally, as some countries and their politicians wanted to form a strong alliance against the Germans before their intervention in 1940 (Coolsaet, 2014: 333–334). Secondly, Spaak made his entry into International Politics. It is interesting to think, without delving too deep into the what if history, whether Spaak his clear National focus would have changed if the Second World War did not have the playout that it had?

However, what we are sure of, is the fact that Spaak was very critical towards his own thinking at that time stating that:

“It is generally believed that I am the ministry responsible for the policy of independence, practiced by Belgium in international matters from 1936 to 1940. Many also claim that this policy was a fundamental change from the one pursued since the end of the First World War. The first of these two assumptions are correct; the second is not” (Spaak, 1969: 40).

Spaak, thus, clearly took his responsibility for his policies. After this period, his impact on International History became clear (Coolsaet, 2014: 388–392; De Vos, Rooms, 2006: 64–69; Vos, Praet, 2020: 110–115; Laurent, 1970: 374–380). When WWII started in May 1940, Spaak was Minister of Foreign Affairs and together with King Leopold III, he was responsible for the Belgian Military (Janssens, 1998: 460–465). However, only 18 days after the start of the Blitzkrieg, the Belgian king had to surrender himself to the Nazi regime (Deneckere et al., 2020: 238–239). For this reason, Spaak, and the whole Belgian government had to flee to London (De Witte et al., 2016).

Looking ahead: Spaak after 1940

Back in London, he got himself involved in the UN and NATO talks and became the UN’s chairman in 1946 and Secretary-General of NATO in 1957 (Coolsaet, 2014: 364–402; De Witte et al, 2016; Deneckere et al., 2020: 245–251; De Vos, Rooms, 2006: 68–81). Although Spaak was a clear rhetorical talent, some argued that he did not possess any talent to be chosen as a chairman of the UN (George, 1975: 254–258). This paper, however, argues that this was not merely a matter of luck, but that Spaak clearly played a major role in the establishment of these International Organisations. Especially his speeches, and academic writings at that time, show that Spaak was at the top of world politics in the 1950s. Two clear examples can be found below. One is written in a text on the threat of Communism for NATO in 1958. Spaak elaborates on the role of the UN Security council:

“Unfortunately, however, the constitution of the United Nations is vitiated by a serious flaw: the right of veto which was granted at the San Francisco conference to the five great Powers: the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom, France and China. I said then, in San Francisco, that the right of veto was deplorable. I am

³Original quote in French: “J’ai souvent eu de la chance dans ma vie politique. Il en fut ainsi au début de ma carrière de ministre des affaires étrangères. mon premier discours eut, en Belgique, un tres grand rencaissement. Pas prudence, après ma nomination, j’avais évité de devoir parler tout de suite devant les chambres. Je voulais remettre a plus tard une confrontation qui, dans le milieu difficile du parlement, n’était pas sans danger. par contre, j’acceptai une invitation d l’union de la presse étrangère. J’ai sous les yeux le manuscrit de mon discours. Por cette occasion, je m’étais donc astreint, ce que je déteste et généralement refuse de fair, écrire ce que j’entendais dire. Je me défiais de mes improvisations.”

still convinced that international organisations will never be fully effective and capable of playing the part they should until all states, big and small, understand that above their individual interests there is an international law, made by the majority and to which all must submit” (Spaak, 1958: 244–245).

The second one relates to a speech that Spaak delivered on April 4th in 1949 when the NATO treaty was signed:

“Twice, in less than 25 years, the democracies of Western Europe, the United States of America and Canada have been confronted with terrible dangers. Twice, the civilisation they represent, their ways of living and thinking, have been endangered. Twice, it has taken military miracles to save them. Twice, too much blind faith has nearly lost them. It would be unforgivable to leave the repeated lessons of history inconclusive” (Spaak, 1949: 3.15–3.52).

This all clearly shows that Spaak’s role in International Politics, and International History was omnipresent in the period after 1940, and even more in the period after 1945. However, this essay deals with the questions whether his influence on International History was already present in the period prior to 1940. In the paragraph below, these questions will be answered.

Conclusion

This essay has made a thorough analysis of Spaak’s impact on International History between 1932 and 1940. While it is easy to argue that Spaak played an important part in International History from 1940 onwards, it was a little more complex to prove his role in the period prior to that. This essay, therefore, delved deeper into the 1930s and found that Spaak already played a significant role in International History during this period. He already became important when he was still a spokesman for *L’action sociale* at the start of his political career in 1932. Back then, he already had close contact with revolutionary thinkers in Russia such as Trotsky and was highly inspired by the Communist idea to overthrow capitalism. This shows that Spaak found himself in the playing field of International History. In the period between 1932 and 1935, however, Spaak’s impact was minimal as he was only in contact with some important figures of that time. He was, thus, part of the course of International History but did not influence it directly.

Yet, in 1935, when Spaak became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Van Zeeland government, his impact changed drastically. Moreover, he had a large impact on the course of International History with his politics of independence that he imposed on Belgium. Those politics had a great effect on Belgium, but also influenced the diplomatic relations with its neighboring countries. He had, however, large criticism for his politics of independence, as Belgium was overrun by the Nazis in 1940 and he himself had fled to London to lead Belgium in exile. Yet, no proven evidence can be found to argue that Spaak was responsible for the outcome of the inevitable German attack on Belgium. Nevertheless, his position of independence has shown that Spaak already impacted the course of International History prior to 1940. Besides his impact, it is also interesting to consider that Spaak prior to 1940 was not really involved with any multilateral or even international cooperation. This all is interesting when speaking about Spaak’s legacy and influence on International History.

To conclude, this essay argues that within present historiography there is a lack of nuance about Spaak’s early life until 1940, and especially the period prior to 1936. While this fine distinction does not change the course of International History itself, and still affirms the significant role that Spaak played from 1944 onwards, the present International Literature forgets to put emphasis on some important events as well. Some of those are Spaak’s politics of independence of 1936 and his early exchanges with Russian Revolutionists such as Trotsky. As a final remark, this essay has proven that within the literature there is a certain hiatus concerning Spaak’s early years in office, so follow-up research on this matter is recommended.

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