

Introduction

Fernando GUIRAO

The contents of this issue show that research in European integration history is still alive and kicking. The eight articles that follow put forward new views on various topics that had already received research attention. Their authors base their fresh views on heretofore unused documentary sources, new readings of existing documentary evidence, or on original research techniques to treat traditional sources.

The first group of papers has to do with politicians who aimed to change the course of history. These individuals failed, in the concrete episodes described in the first three papers of this volume, to obtain what they were fighting for in the short term, but they had – according to each of the authors – a lasting impact on European integration. Elena Danescu considers that Pierre Werner, for twenty years the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, was not only the ‘pragmatic visionary’ who prepared his country for ‘a century of change’ but also the ‘precursor’ of today’s European Monetary Union. The Werner Plan would have been, according to Danescu, a masterpiece of political engineering, which, despite its short-term failure, would have had a lasting effect, visible twenty years later when ‘the Delors Report finally brought the Werner Report to fruition’. Giuliana Laschi affirms that Sicco Mansholt, the first and longest-in-office Commissioner for Agriculture, conceived the Common Agricultural Policy within the mental framework of sustainable development and tried his best to steer it in this direction once its reality had rendered the CAP unsustainable. In other words, Laschi considers that the CAP was well conceived but poorly implemented. Deborah Cuccia presents Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Emilio Colombo, Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany and of Italy, respectively, taking concerted action to push the European Community forward towards a higher level of political integration. Although they failed in 1982, Cuccia presents the ‘European Act’ as milestone ‘in the path which led to the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992’. None of the three topics is new in research terms, but the three authors manage, with skilled craft, to present them in a new light. It remains to be seen whether the scholarly community accepts, on the evidence provided, the core arguments of the three pieces.

The second group of contributions in this volume is concerned with debates about the pro-European Unity ideas of political parties and the meaning and practice of democracy within West European parliamentary chambers. Jacopo Cellini deals with ‘the idea of Europe’ held by conservative, particularly continental Christian-democratic parties, from the end of World War II to the second half of the 1970’s. Matthew Broad deals, in turn, with the evolving perceptions within the Labour Party of the integration activities taking place in the continent before 1961. In both cases, we see the complexities involved as politicians moved to define concrete policy options. Cellini talks about ‘the gap between ideas and their implementation’ and the difficulties involved when adapting ideas to concrete political proposals, more so when

the purpose of such political proposals is as ambitious as the establishment of pan-European political structures. Broad analyses in turn how the Labour Party's views evolved in line with its high-rank members' perception of the capacity of the European Community to alleviate the anxieties of Labour voters. Both articles address the same topic but in relationship to different political ideologies and timeframes. And both relate well with the contribution by Hilde Reiding et al. How 'European democracy' should look like is an 'intricate question' indeed. It was so in post-war Europe; and in the mid-1970's; and, it remains so today. The tension between the European Union parliament and the parliamentary representation of national sovereignty at the national level is as natural a phenomenon as that between representatives of the national and regional sovereignty. The tension between the various levels of representation—European, national, regional and local—will exist while the divergence of opinions about the most appropriate level at which certain decisions should be adopted (as to guarantee the best protection for those citizens that constitute their direct electoral constituencies—European, national, regional and local) persists. Furthermore, even if a certain degree of cohabitation is possible, non-controversial relations can only be temporary given the evolving conception of democratic representation and the simultaneous changes in the interests of citizens.

Two further papers complete the set which makes this issue. 'Does the EU Have a Past?' is, in appearance, the question that Kiran Klaus Patel, Alexandros Sianos and Sophie Vanhoonacker would like to answer in their contribution. But in fact, what they deal with is whether the history of European Union matters in public opinion terms; in other words, does the knowledge of the past inform contemporary/present debates? And the answer is – as any historian in the field would have expected – in the negative. There is a certain irony in this, since the European Communities have always invested time and effort to interest public opinion in their activities and to use influential journalists to spread the 'Good News'. The critical question, however, is how precisely this lack of knowledge affects our collective capacity to build a better union. The answer to this question, which constitutes a core issue in our role as historians, is by no means straightforward.

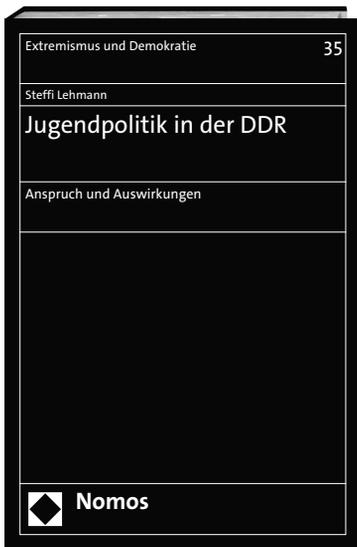
The eighth paper of this set, by Nadjib Souamaa, deals with the changes that International Labour Organisation went through when the new States emerged with decolonisation in Africa. It narrates the transformation of the original universalistic views of this organisation, founded in 1919 as part of the Treaty of Versailles, into a more regional approach, after 1946, as a specialised agency of the United Nations. The role played by Europe – that is, European Communities institutions and West European labour regulations – in this transformation is the central theme of this paper. Finding out the degree of effective application of European labour templates in African countries constitutes the wide avenue on which further research in this specific topic should continue.

The topics addressed in this issue speak to present-day debates: the question of sustainable growth (Laschi); the importance of the Franco-West German entente in promoting or retarding further integration in Europe (Cuccia); the need to move for-

ward but in parallel with economic and monetary integration (Danescu); the conflict between those who are active in European Community institutions and benefit directly from European Community/Union initiatives, with those who are mainly engaged in national politics and dependent upon decision to be adopted at national or local levels (Cellini); the changing views of political parties concerning European integration on the basis of the benefits for their most loyal electoral constituencies (Broad); the role of mass-media-constructed narratives regarding European integration that might generate support for the European Union (Patel et al.); the different conceptions of democracy held within the political systems encompassed within the European Union (Reiding et al.); and the need of any international organisation to adapt its practices to the evolving reality of world change (Souamaa). The authors appearing in this issue remind us, their readers, that historical research, regardless of topics or approaches, is most relevant when it helps us to formulate the right questions vis-à-vis our present.

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Jugendpolitik in der DDR. Anspruch und Auswirkungen



Jugendpolitik in der DDR

Anspruch und Auswirkungen

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Bislang sind die Ziele bzw. die Schwerpunkte der Jugendpolitik in der DDR und deren praktische Auswirkungen unzureichend untersucht. Steffi Lehmann setzt in ihrer Studie die ideologischen Ansprüche der SED und die realen Auswirkungen der Jugendpolitik sowie den Umgang der Staatsmacht mit – vermeintlich – oppositionellen Jugendlichen von 1949 bis 1989/90 erstmals in einen Kontext. Sie untersucht, aufgegliedert in vier zeitliche Phasen, einerseits den Anspruch der offiziellen Jugendpolitik mit Blick auf Ziele, sozialistische Erzie-

hungsdoktrin und Funktionen der FDJ, andererseits die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse anhand der Einstellung zur FDJ, des privaten Raums und der Freizeitgestaltung, Konformitätszwang und Anpassung sowie Nonkonformismus. Ihr Ergebnis: Die meisten Jugendlichen verinnerlichten, die von der SED diktierten Phrasen im öffentlichen Raum, etwa in der Schule oder im Betrieb, wiederzugeben; im Privatleben und in der Freizeit jedoch stieß der erzieherische Einfluss an seine Grenzen.



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