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International Conference of the European Liaison Committee of Historians – Groupe de Liaison des Professeurs d'Histoire Contemporaine auprès de la Commission des Communautés européennes

in cooperation with the
Universidade Nova of Lisbon

*Origins, Implementation and Funding of European policies from the Schuman
Plan to the Maastricht Treaty*

8-9 May 2017, in Lisbon, Portugal

Local organizer: Alice Cunha, Instituto de História Contemporânea – Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Scientific Committee: Maria Fernanda Rollo (Universidade Nova de Lisboa); Antonio Varsori (Università de Padova); Jan van der Harst (University of Groningen); Charles Barthel (Archives Nationales, Luxembourg); Gérard Bossuat (Université de Cergy-Pontoise); Elena Calandri (Università de Padova); Anne Deighton (Wolfson College, Oxford); Michel Dumoulin (Université Catholique de Louvain); Michael Gehler (Universität Hildesheim); Fernando Guirao (Universitat Pompeu Fabra); Johnny Laursen (University of Aarhus); Wilfried Loth (Universität Duisburg-Essen); N. Piers Ludlow (London School of Economics); Kiran Klaus Patel (Maastricht University); Nicolae Păun (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai); Sylvain Schirrmann (Université de Strasbourg III Robert Schuman)

European Union funding has grown in parallel with European integration itself, not only in numbers but also in its conception, and has supported a broad range of projects and programmes covering different areas, such as agriculture, employment and regional development.

The Treaty of Rome itself highlights the need to consolidate economic unity among the Member States, which led to the creation of the first two Structural Funds – the European Social Fund, broadly designed to prevent unemployment and to promote integration into the labour market, and the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund for rural development and the improvement of agricultural structures.

Following the first enlargement round, a third one is created – the European Regional Development Fund –, which introduced, for the first time, the notion of redistribution between richer and poorer regions of the Community; and with the third enlargement round the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes are introduced. To this extent, each enlargement round has potentiated adaptations in European funding and its history has been intertwined with Member States' membership.

In 1987, the Single European Act creates the Economic and Social Cohesion, designed to help the least well-off countries rise to the challenge of the Single Market, and the Maastricht Treaty makes cohesion a priority objective of the European Union. So, along the history of European integration that European funding has evolved in its rules, procedures and priorities, and has included various stakeholders. Do names change, but the policy remains? To what extent, at what cost and with which results?

Historiography on European integration has dealt with a number of research topics, but has neglected so far the multiple diversity of the European Economic Community/European Union (EU) funding. Bearing that in mind, this conference will focus on EU funding broadly in an historical perspective, not neglecting pre-accession aid to candidate countries. It aims to analyse the conception, changes, distribution, management and outcomes of European funds from the Schuman Plan to Maastricht.

Research topics may include, but are not limited to, the impact of European funds and pre-accession aid over time and space; the EU funds' absorption capacity; cost-benefits analyses at the regional, national and EU level; how member-states compete for funds; and at the actors' level, the role played by community, central and local institutions within the framework of EU funding, as well as the inter-institutional coordination and/or public-private partnerships under this scope, and the experiences of the beneficiaries.

The purpose of the *Origins, implementation and funding of European policies from the Schuman Plan to Maastricht* conference is to gather scholars working on European funding, from a wide range of perspectives, including approaches to understand actors, institutions and policies. Quantitative and qualitative research, as well as single case studies and cross-country/regions comparative work, are welcome. Scholars interested in presenting new research at the conference are requested to send a proposal that must include:

- Name of the Applicant;
- Affiliation;
- Title of the Paper;
- Abstract (no more than 500 words);
- Short CV (no more than 250 words)

Proposals must be sent in a single email message in word format to alice.cunha@fcsh.unl.pt by September 15, 2016.

Proposals can be submitted either in English or in French, the working languages of the conference.

After the conference and the peer-review process, selected papers will be published in a thematic issue of the *Journal of European Integration History*, in 2017.

Important dates:

- Abstract submission deadline: September 15, 2016;
- Abstract acceptance notification: September 30, 2016;
- Full paper submission deadline: March 31, 2017.

Conference Report:
**International conference on the history of the European Trade Union
Confederation (ETUC, 1973-2013): Past and present of trade unions and European
integration**

22nd and 23rd October 2015, Social Sciences Faculty – University of Copenhagen

Andrew WATERMAN – University of Portsmouth

This conference formed the culmination of a research project documenting the history of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and brought together a diverse and highly-respected panel of leading researchers in trade union history. Two crucial contributions to the understanding of the ETUC have evolved out of this project: a first volume, written for the 40th anniversary of the ETUC outlining the confederation's history, and a second volume, detailing the relationship between the ETUC and national trade unions which would form the basis of this conference. Importantly, however, the conference aimed to serve a dual purpose. On the one hand, to act as a traditional academic conference in which leading academics from a variety of social science disciplines could present and discuss their research. On the other hand, and perhaps more importantly, the conference also provided a forum in which the members of the project could debate how to develop and expand this project and a network of trade union researchers further. The unity of purpose of the participants and desire to build on the work already carried out in the project was a very striking and welcome change from traditional academic events.

In opening the two day conference, the main organiser of the conference Sigfrido Ramirez Perez (Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen – now at Max Planck Institute for the History of European Law in Frankfurt) noted that this conference was taking place in a context of increasing contestation of the European project and attempts to further marginalise the trade union movement through austerity policies. The importance of historicising the European labour movement's relationship with the ETUC and the EU in this context is something that is realised both by the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) and the trade union historians invited by the ETUI to elaborate this project. Ramirez Perez also noted that a shift away from the cultural turn towards a focus on social and labour history was taking place in various countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany) resulting in a renewed interest in European trade unionism and a new generation of trade union historians, a development that this conference was designed to contribute to.

Pierre Tilly (UCL, Louvain-la-Neuve and co-coordinator of the project documenting the ETUC's 40 year history) then provided some excellent reflections on the progress made by the ETUC over this period in terms of developing into a genuine transnational organisation in response to the dual processes of European integration and globalisation. To understand these changes, Tilly argued that a transnational approach must be taken to analysing the ETUC and that the future direction of research must focus more on the different levels of European trade unionism, from the local outwards.

Carola Fyschbach-Pyttel (former General Secretary of the European Public Service Union (EPSU) in her keynote speech spoke very honestly of the work of her union. Fyschbach-Pyttel is in the process of producing her own work documenting the history of EPSU at the request of the existing EPSU leadership. Her experiences as a EU-level trade unionist and of her own organisation will no doubt be of interest to scholars and the European labour movement in general.

Three sessions were set aside for contributors to the book to present their findings. Though the political culture and history of each country's unions are undoubtedly very diverse, the panels were organised in such a way that some clear themes emerged.

The first session dealt with German (Jürgen Mittag, Deutsche Sporthochschule, Köln), Danish and Norwegian (Jon Erik Dølvik, FAFO Institute, Oslo) trade unions and highlighted that, despite their broad acceptance of European integration, ambivalence had also existed (particularly in the German case). Another theme that was clear from both papers was that both the Scandinavian and German unions benefitted from the overlap of their national-corporatist and the European neo-corporatist intermediation structures.

The theme that linked the trade unions covered in the second session dealing with French (Claude Roccati, University of Le Havre), Spanish, Portuguese (Sigfrido Ramirez Perez) and Italian (paper by Andrea Campiani, Università di Roma LUMSA, discussed by Morten Heiberg, University of Copenhagen) was without question 'division'. These divisions applied both to the internal labour movement politics of each country and the issue of European integration. In the French and Italian examples, these divisions were of a deep ideological nature with national union federations often lacking independence from their party political patrons. In the Spanish and Portuguese cases however, their histories are completely tied up with the issues of post-dictatorship democratisation of which accession to the ETUC was considered of key importance for the labour movement.

The case studies in the third session (discussed by Laura Horn from Roskilde University) dealt with some very contrasting relationships with the ETUC and 'Europe'. Adam Mrozowicki (University of Wrocław) dissected the complexities of the Polish unions' desire to become part of Europe in relation to the internationalisation of their labour movement after the emergence of Solidarnosc. Richard Hyman (London School of Economics) in contrast delved into the often awkward relations between British unions and the ETUC up until the TUC's 1988 'Delors conference' which saw its dramatic *volte face*. Finally, Quentin Jouan (UCL, Louvain-la-Neuve, co-written with Pierre Tilly) outlined how, despite ideological differences at national level, there was a general desire across the Belgian and Dutch union movements to enlarge the ETUC and work at the European level.

The final part of this third session allowed the participants and contributors to discuss how this project could be taken further. It was very clear that there is a great enthusiasm and energy to pursue future collaboration with the trade unions, students and the general public. Ramirez Perez opened the session by firstly stressing the

importance of preserving the history and memory of European trade unionism in an interdisciplinary manner. A starting point to this end would be to expand and formalise our network and set up a regular communication apparatus and seminars where members could present their work in a public setting. In addition to these more modest suggestions, there was a very constructive discussion on the potential for creating an ambitious visual exhibition of the history of the ETUC as a first step towards a broader history of the European trade movement. Taking this step towards the arena of Public History undoubtedly holds a huge potential for interacting with a younger generation who are possibly less aware of the vital role trade unions play in society. There was a real desire in the session to find innovative ways for our research to be disseminated and to create a community of knowledge beyond the traditional academic environment.

The conference concluded with a public debate and discussion on the present and future of the trade unions in the current context of European integration. The keynote speech by Józef Niemiec (former ETUC Deputy General Secretary and now principal advisor of ETUC Secretary General) highlighted in great detail the challenge of the future that the ETUC faces particularly in the current context of ‘Austerity Europe’. This crisis has at once accelerated integration and fear of disintegration. A key theme of his speech was the interrelation between the national and European level. However, there is also disconnect when needing to relate European matters back to their national memberships despite the fact that, from the ETUC’s perspective, there are arenas at the EU level that can benefit trade unions nationally. To overcome the problems facing the ETUC and European unions, Niemiec revealed that the newly-elected ETUC leadership would look to focus their energies on issues of European governance, their relationship with political parties at the EU level and the need to find common European solutions.

Richard Hyman and Ben Rosamond (University of Copenhagen) provided an excellent conclusion to the conference in their discussion on the future direction of European trade unionism and integration. Professor Hyman provocatively questioned whether European trade unions have “managed their own decline”? What followed was a typically analytical assessment of the weaknesses of the European union movement based on objective challenges and shocks that they have faced in recent decades. However, rather than succumb to defeatism, his presentation ultimately argued that unions should see the current crisis as an opportunity to change their strategy from a servicing model to an organisational one by taking roots among neglected constituencies such as migrant and precarious workers.

Ben Rosamond added a particularly interesting perspective to the discussion as someone who was returning to the issue of European trade unionism and integration after many years of absence. What was particularly striking in his remarks was how the enthusiasm for European integration – based on the promise of a significant ‘social dimension’ – and conditions that trade unions operated in had changed so drastically in such a short period of time. Rosamond’s presentation ultimately challenged European trade unions to establish an effective anti-austerity narrative. The other two local

co-organisers of the conference, the sociologists Eva Hartmann from the Copenhagen Business School and Jens Arnholtz from the Employment Relations Research Centre of the University of Copenhagen, also emphasized the importance of generating historical research which is useful for trade unions in confronting their current challenges.

Though this conference was ultimately concerned with the history of the ETUC, these interventions were a great way to close this fascinating and productive conference as they hinted at the very present need to develop more projects of this nature. I have little doubt that this will happen given the enthusiasm and commitment of everyone who attended and contributed to this event.