Journal of European Integration History

Revue d'Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne
Zeitschrift für Geschichte der europäischen Integration

JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION HISTORY

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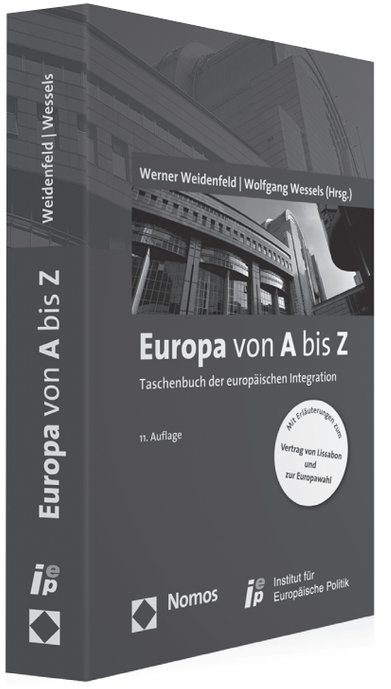

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Crisis and stabilization in Southern Europe during the 1970s: Western strategy, European instruments

Antonio VARSORI

During the early 1970s the European Community was characterised by some relevant developments. The Hague summit conference, held in December 1969, marked a renewed "re-launching of Europe" that concurred in changing some of the European construction's previous patterns. The enlargement led to the end of the so-called "Europe of the Six", or "petite Europe", a fairly homogeneous group that for about twenty years had been the standardbearer of the integration process, based on the functionalist approach. The "completion" favoured the creation of a unified Community budget that became autonomous from the member states' decisions. The "deepening" led to the creation of series of new European policies: from the monetary policy to a renewed social policy, from the regional policy to the environmental one.[1] Moreover, although it was not a Community policy, but an intergovernmental one, the "nine" tried also to launch a common foreign policy through the European Political Cooperation (EPC).[2] If till the late 1960s the European integration had been mainly successful in the economic dimension, the member states, owing to the process inaugurated on the occasion of the Hague summit conference, aimed at imposing the European Community as a relevant international actor with a definite "identity". To that end at the Paris summit in October 1972 the "nine" pointed out that social progress was a main goal for the Community, as important as economic development. One year later, in December 1973 at the Copenhagen summit the "nine" issued an official declaration in which it was stated their intention to create a European "political identity".

Such ambitious policies were the consequences of some relevant changes that were characterising on one hand Western Europe's economic, political and social balance, on the other hand the wider international arena. As far as the Western European internal context, the period between the late 1960s and the early 1970s was characterised by a turn to the left. In this connection the coming to power in 1969 of the Social Democrats in the German Federal Republic was a major event; moreover the Western European society was largely influenced by the 1968 "social revolution": traditional Western values, on which the early European construction had been based, lost most of their appealing, especially among the younger

1. See the special issue of the *Journal of European Integration History*, 2(2003), edited by Jan van der Harst, J. VAN DER HARST (ed.), *Beyound the Custom Union: the European Community Quest for Deepening, Widening and Completion, 1969-1975*, Bruylant/LGDJ/Nomos, Bruxelles/ Paris/Baden-Baden, 2007; M.E. GUASCONI, *L'Europa tra continuità e cambiamento. Il vertice dell'Aja del 1969 e il rilancio della costruzione europea*, Polistampa, Florence, 2004.
2. See the recent contribution by D. MOECKLI, *European Foreign Policy during the Cold War Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York, 2009.

generations.[3] In the international arena the American model that had been successful during the previous decades and a point of reference for the European integration was severely tarnished by the Vietnam war and the Watergate scandal, while the transatlantic relationship was damaged by political misunderstandings and economic rivalries: from the end of the Bretton Woods system in summer 1971 to the blunder of Henry Kissinger's "year of Europe" to the differences of opinion on how to face the first oil shock and the emergence of a more assertive third world. The attempt at creating an early European monetary system, the setting up of the EPC, the ambitions at launching a dialogue between the European Community and the Arab world were the most obvious consequences of those international developments, that were largely influenced by a changing mood in Western European public opinions.[4]

For a long time historical contributions on the European construction have pointed out that the development of a European "foreign policy", mainly through the EPC, was doomed to failure, but more recent thoughtful studies have offered a by far different interpretation. On the basis of thorough archival research it has been argued that the EPC achieved important results in the context of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe and the Helsinki agreements, signed in 1975, were mainly the outcome of the diplomatic skill and efforts deployed by the Community member states.[5] Moreover between 1974 and 1975, mainly through economic instruments, the "nine" launched a different policy towards the third world, whose climax was the Lomé agreements.[6] Although there was no intention to break the traditional transatlantic bond such European initiatives mirrored on one hand the fears and suspicions nurtured by most Western European leaderships towards both the policies pursued by Richard Nixon's "imperial" presidency and Kissinger's plans for a bi-polar international system; on the other their ambitions at imposing the "nine" as an autonomous international actor.

Such an aspiration by the "nine" at playing an independent role in the international arena appeared to come to an end in the mid-1970s. The process that had been started with the Hague summit conference seemed to lose its driving force. Some European initiatives, such as the "snake", ended in failure. Some new policies had to confront the costraints imposed by the severe economic crisis.[7] Last

3. On the relevant phenomena that changed the characters of the Western world, especially Europe, during the 1970s see A. VARSORI (ed.), *Alle origini del presente. L'Europa occidentale nella crisi degli anni Settanta*, Angeli, Milan, 2007. For a wider analysis see P. CHASSAIGNE, *Les années 1970. Fin d'un monde et origine de notre modernité*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2008.
4. See the works quoted in the previous footnotes.
5. A. ROMANO, *From Détente in Europe to Europen Détente. How the West shaped the Helsinki CSCE*, PIE/Peter Lang, Bruxelles/Bern, 2009.
6. M.-T. BITSCH, G. BOSSUAT (eds.), *L'Europe unie et l'Afrique. De l'idée d'Eurafrique à la Convention de Lomé I*, Bruylant/LGDJ/Nomos, Bruxelles/Paris/Baden-Baden, 2005; moreover see G. GARAVINI, *Dopo gli imperi. L'integrazione europea nello scontro Nord-Sud*, Le Monnier, Florence, 2009.
7. This appears to be the interpretation by D. MOECKLI, op.cit., pp.249 f.

but not least, in 1974 the European leaders who had been the main actors of such a different "relaunching of Europe" during the early 1970s disappeared from the political scene: in West Germany Willy Brandt was compelled to resign and Helmut Schmidt became chancellor; in France Georges Pompidou died and the presidential elections saw the victory of the Liberal Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and in Britain the Tories lost the elections and Harold Wilson came back to Downing Street, although in 1976 James Callaghan took his place. Those leaders appeared to be less interested in furthering the integration process. Actually, if attempts at deepening supranational integration lost ground, such changes did not mean the end of the aspiration by the major countries of the EC to play a significant role in the international arena, although a different approach was developed and new policies were pursued, that, however, did not ignore the European Community. The crises in Southern Europe represent a test case that appears to confirm such an interpretation.

In April 1974 the Carnation revolution in Portugal opened a period of political uncertainty and economic and social turmoil that spread to most of Southern Europe, although in different ways and with different motivations. Complete stabilization was achieved only by the late 1970s/early 1980s. The attitude of the European Community, better of its major member states, demonstrated that Western Europe had not lost its ambition at pursuing an effective foreign policy and, although direct Community initiatives were not the major pattern, the most important European nations, especially West Germany and France, through national policies, multilateral initiatives and Community instruments, played a relevant part in effectively solving the crises that, starting in 1974, would affect Portugal, Greece, Spain, Italy, and Turkey.

Mainly as a consequence of economic difficulties and of unpopular colonial wars the authoritarian régime that had ruled Portugal for several decades suddenly fell: a group of Army officers led a military coup, openly supported by the majority of the Portuguese population. The "Carnation revolution" opened a period of great political and social uncertainty and, especially in 1975 the leading Western powers feared that an alliance between the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and left-wing Army officers could come to power in Lisbon, so threatening the Atlantic Alliance, of which Portugal was a member. Such events immediately caused serious concern in Washington and in 1974 Kissinger was tempted to resort to covert operations in order to counter a possible Communist take-over.[8] Such an attitude could lead to a Chile style scenario, a perspective that worried most Western European decision-makers, who were obviously aware of the severe damage that US intervention in the overthrown of Allende's régime had caused to both America's image and Western interests in Western Europe; moreover the "old continent" was not Latin America. In this connection, although the Portoguese revolution came as a surprise, very quickly Schmidt's West Germany developed a

8. M. DEL PERO, *I limiti della distensione: gli Stati Uniti e l'implosione del regime portoghese*, in: A. VARSORI (ed.), op.cit., pp.39-66.

series of effective initiatives, that are thoroughly analysed in Ana Monica Fonseca's and Mario Del Pero's articles.[9]

Del Pero points out that Kissinger's early policy was contrasted by the newly appointed US ambassador in Lisbon, Frank Carlucci, who was the advocate of a soft policy, that was similar to the one pursued by West Germany.[10] Such a policy aimed at strengthening the moderate, pro-Western Socialist Party, led by Mario Soares and to impose the Portuguese moderate democratic forces as the most obvious partners of both the US and, above all, the European Community. Moreover Del Pero shows how in 1975, although with scant enthusiasm, Kissinger complied with such a strategy, that also meant a major role for Washington's European partners. On her part, Fonseca's article demonstrates that both the German SPD and the Bonn government focussed their attention on the Portuguese situation: economic support, political recognition and diplomatic initiatives were the instruments through which the Federal Republic helped Soares and the Portuguese democratic forces in winning the struggle against Cunhal's Communist Party and the group of radical Army officers. In West Germany's strategy the European integration was a key factor as Bonn's initiatives implied that the European Community was interested in the Portuguese crisis and a future close relationship between Lisbon and the EC would be the almost obvious outcome of the Portuguese people's sound decisions: a pro-Western democratic choice would involve economic help, political recognition and a future in the comity of the Western European democracies. It is not surprising that once the Portuguese situation was stabilized, in 1977 Lisbon put forward the country's candidature to the full membership in the European Community.

A few months after the fall of the Caetano's régime, the Greek military dictatorship, that had taken power in 1967 and was facing increasing internal opposition, favoured a right-wing military coup in order to overthrow the Cyprus government led by Archbishop Makarios; Athens hoped to achieve the island's "enosis". But Makarios was able to flee while Turkish troops invaded Cyprus in order to defend the rights of the Turkish minority. Actually Turkey occupied large areas and favoured the creation of an independent Turkish-speaking Cypriot state. Greece and Turkey were on the verge of war, but the Athens authorities understood that they had lost the gamble and the military decided to leave power after seven year's dictatorship.[11] The new Southern European crisis opened a serious row in the Atlantic alliance as the US, which in the past had supported the Greek military, now preferred to back the most powerful Turkish ally.[12] The fall of the military régime opened a period of political difficulties in a

9. See M. DEL PERO and M. FONSECA's contributions in the present issue.
10. See the recent contribution by B. GOMES, T. MOREIRA DE SA, *Carlucci vs. Kissinger. Os EUA e a Revoluçao Portuguesa*, Dom Quixote, Lisbon, 2008.
11. On Cyprus see for example V. GRECO, *Greci e turchi tra convivenza e scontro. Le relazioni greco-turche e la questione cipriota*, Angeli, Milano, 2007.
12. B. O'MALLEY, I. CRAIG, *The Cyprus Conspiracy. America, espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York, 2004.

country that had already been in the late 1940s and the 1950s one of the most dramatic theatres of the cold war.[13] It was now to France to react: president Giscard d'Estaing favoured the immediate coming back to Athens of Konstantinos Karamanlis, an influential conservative politician who from the early 1960s lived in exile in Paris. Greece's position was different from the Portuguese one as in 1961 it had become the first European country to sign a treaty of association with the EEC; in 1967, after the military coup, the European Community had decided to freeze its relationship with Athens and both the European Commission and some member states had always regarded the Greek military dictatorship as a thorn in the flesh of Western Europe's democratic tradition; especially the European Parliament had often given voice to its open condemnation of the Colonels' régime, that moreover had been compelled in 1969 to leave the Council of Europe in order to avoid an open condemnation for the violation of human rights.[14]

In spite of its weakness, the new government led by Karamanlis immediately regarded the European Community as the most obvious point of reference in order to restore an healthy democracy and a close link with the Western world that could also help Greece in its contrast with Turkey; moreover, as a consequence of the wave of anti-Americanism that had accompanied the fall of the military dictatorship, Karamanlis, following Charles de Gaulle's pattern, decided that Greece would leave NATO, although still being a member of the Atlantic alliance. On their part the most important members of the European Community thought that they had to support the Karamanlis government as such a policy would strengthen the pro-Western Greek moderate party of Karamanlis' "Nea Dimocratia" against the two small Communist Parties and the radical, neutralist PASOK led by Andreas Papandreu. In such a context the Association Treaty was fully restored, the European Investments Bank granted Greece some financial help that had been freezed in 1967 and West Germany offered further economic help. In late 1974 France became the staunchest supporter of Greece's candidature to the European Community,[15] a claim that Karamanlis openly put forward in April 1975 on the occasion of an Association Council held in Athens at the highest level. Mainly owing to France's support the nine complied with Karamanlis' request and negotiations between Greece and the European Community were opened as it was thought that such a choice would lead to the final stabilization of the Greek internal situation. Such a decision would pave the way to Portugal's and Spain's further

13. E. HATZIVASSILIOU, *Greece and the Cold War Frontline State, 1952-1967*, Routledge, London/ New York, 2007.
14. A. VARSORI, *The EEC and Greece from the Military Coup to the Transition to Democracy 1967-1975*, in: K. SVOLOPOULOS, K.E. BOTSIOU, E. HATZIVASSILIOU (eds.), *Konstantinos Karamanlis in the Twentieth Century*, vol.I, Konstantinos C. Karamanlis Foundation, Athens, 2008, pp.317-338.
15. On the conversations between the French Prime minister Jacques Chirac and Karamanlis, see Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Paris), Europe 1971-1976, box 3321, tel. French embassy (Athens) to the Quai d'Orsay, 03.12.1974.

candidatures to the Community, that now began to be perceived as the symbol of a western democratic choice, that would not involve a mere pro-American stand.[16]

Greece's candidature to the European Community almost automatically raised the question of Turkey's position as in 1963 Ankara had signed an Association Treaty too and its aspiration at being recognised as a full "European" partner was a well-known aspect of Turkey's foreign policy. In this case the attitude by the "nine" was different. As Elena Calandri argues in her article, although during the 1960s the "six" had accepted Turkey as an associated partner also in order to favour its integration into the Western world, they had always been very cautious, also due to Turkey's internal political and economic difficulties and the role the military played in Turkish political life.[17] Although the Community appreciated the strategic role that Ankara played in the Western defence system, they could not forget the close link between Ankara and Washington. Between 1974 and 1975 Turkey's policy towards Cyprus seriously damaged Ankara's claims to be regarded as a privileged partner of the European Community; moreover Greece's candidature did not help Turkey and in 1975, on the occasion of a meeting between the President of the European Commission, François Xavier Ortoli, and the representatives of the European Council of ministers, the French delegate stated that Greece's history and culture justified its becoming a suitable candidate to full membership in the Community, so implying that, as far as Turkey was concerned, there was no reason to go beyond the Association agreement; as Calandri argues, for a long time Turkey was perceived by the Community like "any other third country".[18]

The relevant and effective role played by France and West Germany, with the backing of the Community, in dealing with the Portuguese and Greek crises were also the consequence of a dramatic change in US foreign policy. As a consequence of the Watergate scandal and of Nixon's resignation, the new Ford administration was very weak and the "imperial" presidency, with its foreign policy, was the target of harsh criticisms by the media and its international initiatives were attentively scrutinized by the Congress; especially the activities pursued by the CIA were the object of two congressional inquiries by the Church and the Pyke Committees. Although the crises in Southern Europe appeared to threaten US interest in this important area, the Ford administration and Kissinger chose a low profile attitude that involved the development of some form of close cooperation with Washington's major European allies. In December 1975 a National Security Council memorandum reviewed the whole situation in Southern Europe and the document pointed out that in several cases the European allies and the European Community, through political and economic instruments, could be more effective

16. A. COSTA PINTO, N. SEVERIANO TEIXEIRA (eds.), *Southern Europe and the Making of the European Union*, Boulder, New York, 2002.
17. See E. CALANDRI's article in the present issue.
18. Historical Archives of the European Union, Emile Noel Papers, box 2677, Note de dossier – Relations avec la Grèce, 06.05.1975.

in safeguarding Western interests, than US policies.[19] So Western Europe and the European Community could achieve political and economic stabilisation while the US would focus their attention on the defence of some military guarantees in the NATO context.

It is not surprising that a Portuguese style strategy was implemented also in the case of Spain, when it became evident that Franco's regime would not survive the disappearance of the old dictator, who died in November 1975 after a long agony. In such case the German Federal Republic, as has been demonstrated by Antonio Munoz in his article,[20] had already begun to show its interest in Spain's fate from the early 1970s. Like in Portugal, West German leaders tried to influence post-Franco's Spain and to favour the creation of a sound pro-Western democratic system, that could avoid both the return of a military dictatorship and the rise to power of the Communists. In this connection an important role was played by both the SPD and the CDU/CSU, also through their foundations, and the Bonn authorities looked for some suitable Spanish partner, such as the young Socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez. After Franco's death and the difficult transition period that led to a new constitution, the major Western European nations, through economic help and political initiatives, favoured the stabilization of a new democratic regime; once again the adhesion to the European Community was the most obvious prize for the implementation of a peaceful transition to democracy and in 1977 Spain put forward its official candidature to full membership.[21]

In the context of a changing Southern Europe, Italy's case was obviously different: Italy was a democratic country, one of the major Western European actors, an industrialised nation and a founding member of all the major European and Western organisations: from the Council of Europe to the Atlantic Alliance, to the European Community. In spite of the fact that from the late 1960s Italy entered a period of political uncertainty, economic difficulties and social turmoil that transformed the peninsula into the "sick man" of the European Community; moreover such a crisis was destined to last for more than a decade till the early 1980s.[22] Western concerns began to grow, however, in 1974 when it became evident that, also owing to the effective strategy pursued by the new party secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, based on the so-called "historic compromise" and "Euro-Communism", the PCI could come to power. In 1975 the Italian Communists scored an almost triumphal electoral success at the local elections and most international and Italian opinion-makers thought that the PCI could overcome

19. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976*, vol.XXX, *Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, 1973-1976*, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 2007, Doc. n°.56, US and Allied Security Policy in Southern Europe, 15.12.1975, pp.194-207.
20. See A. MUNOZ' article in the present issue.
21. F. GUIRAO, *Spain and the Integration of Europe 1950-77. A Comparative Perspective*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004; A. TROUVÉ, *L'Espagne et l'Europe de la dictature de Franco à l'Union Européenne*, PIE/Peter Lang, Bruxelles/Bern, 2008.
22. AA.VV., *L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni Settanta*, 4 volumes, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2003.

the Christian Democracy. In early 1976 the president of the Republic called for new elections. The electoral campaign was dominated by the fear – or hope – that the Italian Communists could come to power through legal means. In those months the four major Western powers tried to work out a common strategy that could bar the Communists from office.

Although the June general elections confirmed the PCI's increased strength, the Christian Democracy was able to maintain the lead, but the difficult internal situation appeared to favour the dialogue between the PCI and the DC and some Communist involvement in the future government. At the Puerto Rico G-7 summit, held in June, the US, France, West Germany and Britain stated, although in vague terms, that Italy would get the financial aid the country needed to face its economic problems only if the Communists would not become members of the future Italian cabinet. In July a secret quadripartite meeting was held in Paris; with a strong US and West German approval and a British lukewarm consent, the French delegate put forward the proposal for a secret political initiative by the four Western powers that, at the same time, would lead to a policy of bold internal reforms and to the exclusion of the Communists from governmental responsibilities; as far as Italy's international role was concerned, the Western initiative advocated a renewed link between Italy and the European Community. Such a move was partially doomed to failure mainly as a consequence of some leaks to the press and the negative reaction by influential sectors of the Italian public opinion and political milieus.

Moreover the Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti succeeded in forming a one-party DC Cabinet that however enjoyed the parliamentary 'neutrality' of most parties, the PCI included, but no Communist became a member of the Italian government. One of the early decisions by the Andreotti cabinet was a series of economic reforms that would pave the way to international financial support and some restoration of confidence on the part of the European Community in Italy's determination to cope with the economic crisis.[23] If open interference had almost failed and, through Andreotti's political skill, some stability had been achieved, the major Western European nations, especially West Germany, did not give up their interest in the stabilization of the Italian internal situation, as Italy's crisis would threaten the structures of the EC, although in the Italian case a more cautious attitude was needed. In such a context, the SPD was looking for some partner, that could favour such a process like in Portugal and in Spain. As Giovanni Bernardini demonstrates in his article, the German Social Democrats' attention focused on the new party secretary of the Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi, who from 1976 onwards aimed at strengthening the Western European characters of its party and at pursuing an independent policy that rejected the perspective of the "historical compromise" between the PCI and the Christian Democracy.[24]

23. A. VARSORI, *Puerto Rico (1976): le potenze occidentali e il problema comunista in Italia*, in: *Ventunesimo Secolo*, VII(June 2008), pp.89-121.
24. See G. BERNARDINI's article in the present issue.

If during the 1977 there was a decrease in Western concern about the Italian situation, the events that took place in 1978, especially the kidnapping and murder of the Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro seemed to confirm Italy's position as Europe's "sick man". If, at least as an early reaction, the West appeared to accept the creation of a government of "national unity" led by Andreotti, that enjoyed the open parliamentary support of the PCI, both most Italian moderate leaders and the Western powers hoped that such an experiment would not last for a long time. Italy's statement of its loyalty to the European integration was the turning point and the Italian adhesion to the European Monetary System in December 1978 marked the crisis of Berlinguer's strategy aiming at the recognition of the PCI as a suitable candidate to governmental responsibilities, as the Communists voted against Italy's immediate involvement in the EMS. In 1979 the Communists' decision to reject Italy's commitment to the instalment of the Euro-missiles led to the PCI definitively leaving the parliamentary majority. Italy's faithfulness to both the European Community and NATO had been the major factors in the country's stabilization.[25]

Between the late 1970s and the early 1980s the crisis in Southern Europe had been overcome: Greece, Spain and Portugal were steadily progressing towards stable Western democratic systems. As a reward Greece became in 1981 a full member of the Community and both Spain and Portugal became suitable candidates involved in accession negotiations. As far as Italy was concerned, it was going to recover a leading role in both the European Community and NATO. Only Turkey was left out of this process, although its bonds with the West were maintained through its membership in NATO and the close relationship with the US, while a closer partnership with the Community was always in the background. Europe's Southern flank was ready to face a "new" cold war.[26]

As this thematic issue demonstrates, the process of stabilization of Southern Europe had mainly been the outcome of a series of initiatives of a political and economic character developed by the major Western European powers, especially West Germany and France. Although perhaps there was no long-term coherent and common strategy, the policies pursued by Bonn and Paris, and to a minor extent by London, had both "Western" and "European" characters and implications. They aimed at stabilizing Southern Europe and at maintaining the link between those countries and the Western system in a period in which the US were weaker and appeared ready to delegate such a role to their European partners, which made use of "soft power" rather than threats or "covert operations".

In such a context the European integration was a fundamental instrument, as in the case of Portugal, Greece and Spain the full membership became the final goal of their democratic apprenticeship and the recognition of their being sound

25. On such developments see E. DI NOLFO (ed.), *La politica estera italiana negli anni Ottanta*, Lacaita, Manduria, 2003; S. COLARIZI, P. CRAVERI, S. PONS, G. QUAGLIARIELLO (eds.), *Gli anni Ottanta come storia,* Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2004.
26. A. COSTA PINTO, N. SEVERIANO TEIXEIRA (eds.), op.cit., passim.

Western democracies. In the case of Italy the defence of its traditional ties with the Community was the major task of both Italian moderate leaders and the major Western European powers; actually through the demonstration of its loyalty to the European ideals Italy could recover its full role in the Western system. In spite of future difficulties and shortcomings the process of stabilization in Southern Europe demonstrated – and confirmed -, especially to Paris and Bonn, that the integration process had important international political meanings and that the European Community could be an effective instrument and a useful goal of their foreign policies.

A European Solution for a European Crisis. The International implications of Portugal's Revolution

Mario DEL PERO

This article deals with the European dimension of the Portuguese crisis of 1974-75. The outcome of the crisis was impossible to predict and the risks of either an extreme radicalization of the post-revolutionary transition or of a neo-authoritarian reaction to it could not be discounted. The United States and its main European allies reacted differently to the Portuguese revolution of April 1974 and to what ensued. The latter dreaded a possible replica of the Chilean coup in Portugal and actively worked to prevent it; Washington instead feared a shift to the Left that could induce Portugal to abandon the Atlantic alliance and move closer to the Soviet bloc, and did not rule out the possibility of supporting an authoritarian response. Many Western European countries, and the socialist parties and governments overall, viewed the Portuguese crisis as a crucial text of Europe's ability to offer an inclusive model of democracy and modernization. The main argument of the article is that such model was very popular in the least developed areas of Europe, as the electorate of Portugal made abundantly clear, and could offer a stabilizing alternative to the now discredited logics and partitions of the Cold War.

The article is divided into three parts. In the first I examine Portugal's peculiar position in the early Seventies and the dilemmas the United States and Western Europe faced in dealing with the Portuguese regime. In the second I discuss the international impact of the Portuguese revolution and the different responses to it given by the United States and its European allies. The third and last part is dedicated to how domestic and international factors interacted in determining the outcome of the crisis.

Portugal and Détente

In the early 1970s the United States and some of its most important European allies diverged radically on how to deal with the authoritarian Portuguese regime. For the Europeans, a rapid economic integration of Portugal represented the essential precondition for facilitating its gradual transition to a more liberal and possibly democratic system. The previous decade had been characterized by significant changes in Portugal's economy and trade patterns. The importance of the African colonies for Portuguese trade had considerably diminished; Europe had become the main commercial partner of Lisbon; participation in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) had had a relevant impact on Portugal's economy, which grew at accelerated rate (ca. 6 % per year) and became more efficient and productive. In

the same years, emigration to Europe increased dramatically, as did foreign investments in Portugal. The trade agreement signed with the EEC in June 1972 represented a watershed and stimulated a further rise in the commercial exchanges between Portugal and the EEC countries: in the early 1970s, almost fifty percent of Portuguese imports and exports were with members of the European Community. The agreement accelerated the inclusion of Portugal and its economy in Europe. Such gradual inclusion revealed the irreconcilable antagonism between the preservation of the African colonies and any further, and much needed, 'Europeanization' of Portugal. "From that moment on", political scientist Nuno Severiano Teixeira has convincingly argued,

> "it became evident that Portugal's accession to the EEC was not only dependent upon the existence of certain economic conditions, but also on the need for democratization and decolonization".[1]

This economic integration and partial 'Europeanization' of Portugal combined with the propensity of many Western European countries to adopt a more critical posture towards the Portuguese authoritarian regime. During the 1960s, some European countries – Norway and Sweden in particular – had bitterly censured Portugal's colonialism and the lack of political freedom in Portugal. Atlantic allegiance, Cold War logics and geopolitical considerations had however concurred to contain these voices and prevent an absolute isolation of Portugal.[2]

In the late Sixties/early Seventies, Portugal became nonetheless more isolated and its presence – within Atlantic and European institutions – was considered a source of embarrassment by many Western European governments. Socialist and Social Democratic parties stepped up their efforts to support democratic forces in Portugal. Denunciations of Portuguese colonialism grew louder, particularly at the United Nations. Some countries, Sweden again, provided greater economic and

1. N. SEVERIANO TEIXEIRA, *From Africa to Europe. Portugal and European Integration*, in: A. COSTA PINTO, N. SEVERIANO TEIXEIRA (eds.), *Southern Europe and the Making of the European Union*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, p.24; D. CORKILL, *Portugal's Changing Integration into the European and Global Economy*, in: S. SYRETT (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal. Dimensions of Economic and Political Change*, Ashgate, Burlington, 2002, pp.83-103; L. AMARAL, *How a Country Catches Up: Economic Growth in Portugal in the Post-War Period (1950s-1973)*, PhD dissertation, European University Institute, Florence, 2002.
2. L.N. RODRIGUES, *Salazar-Kennedy: a crise de uma aliança. Relações luso-americanas entre 1961 e 1963*, Notícias Editorial, Lisboa, 2002; Id., *About Face: the United States and Portuguese Colonialism in 1961*, in: *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 2(2004) (http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue3/pdf/lnrodrigues.pdf).

material support to anti-colonial groups operating in the African colonies of Portugal.[3]

Portugal's position vis-à-vis the rest of Western Europe was a paradoxical mix, which combined the desire (and necessity) to become part of it and the growing consciousness that only drastic political changes would permit to achieve this goal. While differing significantly among themselves, Western European countries knew that tolerating the Portuguese regime was politically unpopular and that gestures of explicit ostracism were often necessary. They also knew that a democratic evolution of Portugal would be a crucial test for Western Europe and for its alleged capacity to offer a specific model, of modernization and democracy.

The United States adopted instead a different approach. After 8 years of tensions and occasional clashes with Portugal, the Nixon administration abandoned the stances of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, which had oscillated between confrontation and neglect. Richard Nixon promoted an intense effort aimed at improving the relationship with the Portuguese regime. He called the previous US attitude towards Portugal "unjust". National Security adviser Henry Kissinger would later describe António Salazar's and Marcelo José Caetano's Portugal as an inefficient, but benign regime, the United States could do business with.[4]

There were several motivations behind the efforts of Nixon and Kissinger to promote a new engagement with Portugal. The new Republican administration was generally less concerned with (and disturbed by) violent repression of political dissidents, in Portugal and the colonies. Furthermore, while auspicating a gradual loosening of Portugal's control over its African colonies and some degree of autonomy for them, Nixon and Kissinger looked with scepticism at the possibility of a rapid decolonization, and were hostile to some of the most important independentist groups, including those, such as Holden Roberto's FRELIMO, which the US had supported in the past. Fears that the Soviets might exploit the wars in Africa to increase their presence and influence in the region added a further rationale for improving the relationship with Lisbon. Caetano's appeals to the "civilizing mission" of the West in Africa and his virulent anti-Communism did

3. On the hostility of the Scandinavian Social Democrats toward the Portuguese regime and its participation in NATO, see the considerations in Nixon Presidential Materials (hereinafter NPM), National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereinafter NARA), National Security Council Files – Country Files: Europe (hereinafter NSC-CFE), Box 701, Rogers to Nixon, 06.04.1971. See also the monumental research of T. SELLSTRÖM, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, vol.II: *Solidarity and Assistance, 1970-1994*, Nordiska Afrikainstituet, Uppsala, 2002; P.A. OLIVEIRA, *A Política Externa*, in: F. ROSAS, P.A. OLIVEIRA (eds.), *A Transição Falhada. O Marcelismo e o Fim do Estado Novo (1968-1974)*, Editorial Notícias, Lisboa, 2004, pp.303-337.
4. Gerald R. Ford Library, Ann Arbor Michigan (hereinafter GRFL), National Security Adviser (hereinafter NSA), Memoranda of Conversations, 1973-77 (hereinafter MOC), Memorandum of Conversation Kissinger/Ford/Reza Pahlavi, 15.05.1975; W.W. SCHNEIDMAN, *Engaging Africa: Washington and the Fall of Portugal's Colonial Empire*, University Press of America, Lanham, 2004, p.112.

not arouse much sympathy in Washington. His frequent references to the worldwide geopolitical struggle with the Soviet Union and the consequent necessity of widening the area covered by the Atlantic alliance and the scope of NATO's mission did instead strike a chord in the US. Kissinger, in particular, shared the conviction that Portugal's territories in Africa constituted NATO's southern frontier, to the extent of defining Portugal "a NATO ally defending the West on its African flank".[5]

This strategic rationale was compounded by the importance of the US military base in the Azores at Lajes. Kissinger and several members of the administration emphasized the value of Lajes with regard to the more general geopolitical concerns of the United States in Southern Europe. Domestic political turmoil and instability, the loosening of Cold War discipline – particularly in Italy – Middle East tensions and Soviet activism in the Mediterranean rendered Southern Europe more central and important for Washington. This renewed centrality was stressed in the 1970 National Security Study Memoranda dedicated to the area. According to Kissinger's advisers — Robert Osgood, Harold Saunders, and Helmut Sonnenfeldt — "the USSR ha[d] broken out of 'containment' and the Mediterranean itself ha[d] become the arena of contest […] and not 'the route to somewhere important' anymore". Lajes had always been a crucial variable in the overall equation defining US attitudes towards Portugal, as well as the main diplomatic asset at Lisbon's disposal in its relationship with the United States. All the more so at this specific historical juncture, considering that the old treaty had expired and the US military was using the military installation on a *de facto* basis.[6]

Finally, Portugal seemed to represent a reliable ally for Washington in a period characterized by a reduction of Atlantic and Cold War discipline and by the attempt of many lesser allies of the United States to promote a partially independent foreign policy. For Kissinger and Nixon détente served also to contain and reverse various centrifugal processes then developing within the Western bloc. Differently from other European partners of the US, Portugal fit perfectly in

5. NPM, NARA, NSC-CFE, Box 701, Memorandum of conversation Nixon-Caetano-Kissinger, 01.04.1969. On Caetano's emphasis on the civilization struggle of the West in Africa see also NPM, NARA, NSC-CFE, Box 701, Memorandum of conversation Caetano-Rogers-Patricio (Portugal's Foreign minister), 30.05.1970; Memorandum of Conversation Kissinger/Ford/Reza Pahlavi, 15.05.1975, GRFL, NSA, Memoranda of Conversations, 1973-77 (hereinafter MOC); Kissinger quoted in W.W. SCHNEIDMAN, op.cit., p.120. On the Cold War and the Portuguese colonies, see also N. Mac QUEEN, *The decolonization of Portuguese Africa: metropolitan revolution and the dissolution of empire*, Longman, London, 1997.

6. NPM, NARA, National Security Council Files – President's Trip Files (hereinafter NSC-PTF), Box 351, f. 'Mediterranean Policy', Meeting on the NSSM on the Mediterreanean and United States security (participants: Robert E. Osgood, Harold Saunders and Helmut Sonneneldt), 26-27.02.1970; L.N. RODRIGUES, *As negociações que nunca acabaram: a renovação do acordo das Lajes em 1962*, in: *Penelope*, 22(2000), pp.53-70; Á. de VASCONCELOS, *A Dupla Ilusão*, in: J.C. de MAGALHÃES, Á. de VASCONCELOS, J.R. SILVA (eds.) *Portugal. Paradoxo Atlântico. Diagnóstico das relações Luso-Americanas*, Fim De Século, Lisbona, 1993, pp.59-98; M. CESA, *Defining Security: the Case of Southern Europe and the Superpowers in the Mediterranean*, ETS, Pisa, 1989.

Kissinger's vision of a unified, monolithic, and US-led Western bloc. Unlike other Western European countries, there was no risk that Portugal could undertake an autonomous *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. Furthermore, its Atlantic allegiance did not seem threatened by domestic political turmoil and the potential advent of anti-Atlantic, neutralist, or even (Euro)communist forces.[7]

This renewed dialogue and cooperation between the United States and Portugal produced several results. In 1971 the two countries finally agreed on a renewal of the lease of the US base in the Azores. Washington modified its approach in regard to the wars in Portugal's colonies, actively supported Lisbon at the United Nations and weakened the embargo on the sale of arms as well as the controls on the private transfer to Portugal of non military items that could be used in its African wars. As emphasized by Witney Schneidman in a recent work, "by the end of the first Nixon administration, American ties with Portugal were stronger than at any time since the Eisenhower administration".[8]

There were, however, clear limits on what the American and Western European governments could do, and their approach to Portuguese matters were often erratic and incoherent. While the latter could not act as a unitary actor and often preferred a cautious step-by-step approach, the former had to face domestic opponents who were harshly critical of the new Portuguese policy of the Nixon administration. Liberal members of Congress and the recently formed Black Congressional Caucus challenged Nixon and Kissinger. In 1973 the Senate succeeded in passing laws that made permanent the embargo on the transfer of arms that Portugal could use in Africa and attached clauses that rendered more difficult for the administration to fulfil its obligations under the terms of the 1971 agreement over Lajes. The mainstream media provided additional ammunition to Portugal's critics in the US. In late 1973 the "New York Times" argued that Portugal was destined to "remain something of an embarrassment to its allies so long as it practice[d] repression at home and outdated colonialism in Africa".[9]

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7. I have argued this in M. DEL PERO, *I limiti della distensione. Gli Stati Uniti e l'implosione del regime portoghese*, in: *Contemporanea*, 4(October 2005), pp.621-650; Idem., *The Eccentric Realist. Henry Kissinger and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, Cornell, 2009.
8. W.W. SCHNEIDMAN, op.cit., p.128; M. DEL PERO, *I Limiti* …, op.cit.; P.A. OLIVEIRA, op.cit.
9. *Charade in Portugal*, in: *The New York Times*, 27.10.1973; M. DEL PERO, *The Limits of Détente. The United States and the Crisis of the Portuguese Regime*, in: W. LOTH, G.-H. SOUTOU (eds.), *The Making of Détente. Eastern and Western Europe in the Cold War, 1965-1975*, Routledge, London, 2008, pp.221-240.

Misperceptions and misunderstandings

The new war in the Middle East of October 1973 represented a crucial turning point also for Portugal. The attack of Syria and Egypt came unexpected and Israel found itself in grave danger. For diplomatic and political reasons, Kissinger initially decided to delay the re-supply of the Israeli ally. The US, however, had to rely on an unwilling Portugal in order to carry out the airlift. Without the use of the Lajes base, which Lisbon grudgingly granted, the military re-supply of Israel would have been much more difficult and the course of the war probably different.[10]

For Kissinger and Nixon the episode proved, once again, Portugal's trustworthiness. Portugal's loyalty was compared to the behaviour of the other European allies. "The Europeans behaved like jackals", Kissinger said during a discussion with his staff. "Whatever we may think of its African policy", he continued,

> "Portugal has been the only European ally that has made this policy possible […]. I mean if we are going to be tough on those who don't cooperate, we have to be helpful to those who do […]. I do want the Portuguese to be rewarded for having been the only European country to help us in the Middle East".[11]

In the following months, Kissinger (who had also been appointed secretary of State) and his staff discussed various schemes for rewarding Portugal, which was suffering from OPEC's oil embargo as a consequence of its role in the war. These discussions took place without noticing Portugal's grave crisis nor foreseeing the ineluctable implosion of the Portuguese regime and its crumbling empire. Despite warnings of domestic political unrest, growing tensions within the army, and the publication in March 1974 of general Antonío de Spinola's book, *Portugal e o futuro*, which called for a change of policy in Africa, the United States was completely unprepared for the dramatic events of April 1974. European observers, however, were also surprised by the sudden collapse of the regime, whose consequences they were ill-equipped to face. Even after the publication of Spínola's book, most of them believed that the crucial struggle in Portugal was between the liberal and conservative wings of the armed forces, and completely

10. J.F. ANTUNES, *Portugal na Guerra do Petróleo. Os Açores e as Vitórias de Israel 1973*, Edeline, Lisboa, 2000. See also W. QUANDT, *Peace Process: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, University of California Press, Berkely, 1984, pp.162-163. The most important documents in the US archives are: NPM, NARA, NSC-CFE, Box 701, Post (US embassy in Lisbon) to Kissinger, "Lajes Flights", 12.10.1973; Kissinger to US embassy in Lisbon, 12.10.1973; NARA, NPM, Henry Kissinger Telephone Conversations Transcripts (hereinafter HKTCT), Chronological File (hereinafter CF), Box 23 (October 12, 1973 to November 19, 1973), conversation Kissinger-Schlesinger (secretary of Defense). The harsh message sent by Nixon to Caetano, in which the US president asked for the use of Lajes base, can be found in NPM, NARA, NSC-CFE, Box 701, Kissinger to US embassy in Lisbon, "Lajes Flights", 13.10.1973; the clash between the two governments is also discussed during a telephone conversation between Kissinger and Schlesinger on the afternoon of the same day, NARA, NPM, HKTCT, CF, Box 23.
11. NARA, RG 59, Lot File 78D443, Box 1, Meeting of secretary of State's Staff, 18.10, 23.10 and 26.11.1973.

underestimated the importance of the radical young officers who will promote and lead the revolutionary process. While discussing the political implications of the publication of *Portugal e o futuro*, John Ure, the British chargé d'affaires in Lisbon, foresaw the possibility of "a further period of national debate in which the ideas he has propounded might slowly achieve more general support". "The worse that could happen", Ure maintained "is that the Right wing may feel that they have demonstrated who is the master".[12]

Despite their common surprise and unpreparedness, the US and its European allies reacted however differently to the events in Lisbon. This difference would only intensify in the ensuing months, adding a further divisive factor in what was already a very strained Transatlantic relationship. The Nixon administration, and Kissinger in particular, distrusted the new government, which comprised all the anti-Salazarist parties including the Communists, and were sceptical about its ability to grant the colonies a gradual autonomy within a Portuguese-speaking federation, as hoped by the new president, general Spínola. Furthermore, the president and his secretary of State had little clue of what was happening in Portugal and tended to read events through a very ideological Cold War prism. "My prediction" – Kissinger said –

> "has always been there are only two ways it can go. Either the military will take over, or the left wing will take over […] it will begin to polarize between the extreme Left and the military. Then the military will move against the extreme Left, or the extreme Left will pre-empt it".[13]

Western European leaders, instead, greeted with enthusiasm the revolution, foresaw the possibility of a rapid transition to a democratic system and found inevitable, and not particularly troublesome, the inclusion in the government of the pro-Soviet Portuguese Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Português*, PCP). In early May, the new Portuguese Foreign minister, the Socialist Mario Soares, met with three socialist members of the ECC (Altiero Spinelli, Henri Simonet, and George Thompson) and discussed the possibility of greater collaboration. A few days later, EFTA's members expressed their support for Portugal's transition to democracy and their willingness to provide economic aid. Western European leftist

12. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew Garden, London (hereinafter NAUK), Foreign & Commonwealth Office (hereinafter FCO) 9/2046, Ure to Foreign and Commonwealth Office (hereinafter FCO), 26.03.1974; K. MAXWELL, *The Making of the Portuguese Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York, 1995, pp.65-67. On the importance of the book by A. de SPÍNOLA, *Portugal e o futuro: análise da conjuntura nacional*, Arcadia, Lisboa, 1974), see M.I. REZOLA, *As forças armadas, os capitães e a crises final do regime*, in: F. ROSAS, P.A. OLIVEIRA (eds.), *A Transição Falhada …*, op.cit., pp.339-372; M. ANTUNES, *O Sonhador Pragmático. Entrevista de Maria Manuela Cruzeiro*, Notícias Editorial, Lisboa, 2004, pp.83-86.
13. NARA, RG 59, Lot File 78D443, Box 4, Meetings of secretary of State's Staff, 26.04 and 10.07.1974.

parties and trade unions channelled funds and people to support their Portuguese counterparts and provide the necessary 'democratic know-how'.[14]

There was a certain degree of benevolent paternalism in the attitude of many Western Europeans, well on display in the considerations of British ambassador to Lisbon, Nigel Trench who, commenting on the first difficulties of the post-revolutionary government explained them by claiming that "the Portuguese" were "by and large a docile people, not unduly addicted to intellectual activity"; "a paternalistic regime, such as that of Salazar in his early years", Trench maintained, was "not by its nature unwelcome to many of them". Democracy, the ambassador argued, was therefore "compounded by the customs of the country and the national character".[15]

It was, however, in the name of democracy and rapid decolonization that many Western European countries and the EEC embraced the Portuguese revolution. Mario Soares and the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista*, PS) were conscious of this and played immediately the role of the most pro-European force in the country, promising rapid decolonization, urging economic help and asserting the necessity for Portugal to accelerate its integration in Europe and to embrace a model of modernization and economic development resembling the one dominant in Europe at the time. European socialists provided support and international legitimacy for the new Foreign minister. Writing to Kissinger, British Foreign minister James Callaghan declared to "have known Mario Soares for many years" and to "have considerable confidence in him". It was therefore necessary to offer "the Portuguese socialist party organizational and technical help in the belief that a government with their participation" was the one which offered "the best prospects for the West". To strengthen his image as the perfect interlocutor of the West and the only man capable of preserving stability in the country, Soares did not hesitate to arouse Cold War concerns, declaring the PS "the only force in the country capable of resisting the Communists" who had "the full backing of the Soviet Union" and likening the government of Portugal to "the immediate post-war governments in Italy and France". Soares would stick to this script for most of the post-revolutionary crisis, simultaneously presenting himself and his party as the most reliable bulwarks against communism, the best hope for a rapid 'Europeanization' of Portugal, and, also, as the only political force capable of preventing any possible, Chile-like, neo-authoritarian reaction.[16]

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14. *Portuguese Socialist Seeks Aid From Common Market Leaders*, in: *New York Times*, 04.05.1974; M. ACOCA, *Close Lisbon Ties to West Seen*, in: *Washington Post*, 08.05.1974; *Portugal is Backed by Trading Group*, in: *New York Times*, 10.05.1974. EFTA would later create a *Portugal Fund* to support the modernization and democratization of the country.
15. NAUK, FCO, folder: 'FCO 9/2046', Trench to Wiggin, 05.06.1974.
16. NAUK, FCO, folder: 'FCO 9/2045', Callaghan to UK embassy in Washington, 03.05.1974; folder: 'FCO 9/2046', Report of Meeting between Soares and Canadian secretary of State for External Affairs, 17.06.1974; NARA, RG 59, Lot File 78D443, Box 3, Meeting of secretary of State's staff, 10.06.1974; Record of conversation between Harold Wilson and Mario Soares, 02.05.1974 in: *Documents on British Policy Overseas* (hereinafter DBPO), series III, vol.V: *The Southern Flank in Crisis, 1973-1976*, Routledge, London, 2006, pp.357-360.

Kissinger was not impressed. He mistrusted Soares and considered him weak, naïve and indecisive: a "Portuguese Kerensky" in a brutal and typically Kissingeresque definition, which soon became public. The US secretary of State feared that hasty decolonization would advantage radical groups, such as the MPLA in Angola, and facilitate further Soviet penetration in Africa. More important, Kissinger viewed Portuguese events in light of broader geopolitical considerations. The presence of Communist ministers in the government of a NATO ally established a dangerous precedent, that could be replicated elsewhere, particularly in Italy, where the possibility of a historical compromise between Communists and Christian Democrats was discussed at the time. Symbolic considerations played a paramount role. What happened in Portugal could signal to the rest of Europe that despite its words America now tolerated a loosening of Atlantic discipline and a new season of 'popular frontism'. "When you imagine what communist Governments will do inside NATO", Kissinger would later ponder,

> "it doesn't make any difference whether they're controlled by Moscow or not. It will unravel NATO and the European community into a neutralist instrument. And that is the essence of it. Whether or not these parties are controlled from Moscow – that's a subsidiary issue […] we keep saying that there's no conclusive evidence that they are not under the control of Moscow, implying that if we could show they were not under the control of Moscow, we could find them acceptable […]. A Western Europe with the participation of communist parties is going to change the basis of NATO […] to bring the communist into power in Western Europe […] would totally reorient the map of postwar Europe".[17]

This sort of considerations and fears informed US behaviour throughout the post-revolutionary period. Initially, the US backed Spinola without hesitation, hoping he could be the Portuguese De Gaulle, capable of controlling radical forces at home and effectively managing decolonization in Africa. Nixon met the Portuguese president and vaguely promised economic aid and political support. The situation, however, deteriorated during the Summer of 1974. The collaboration between Spínola and the heterogeneous group of radical junior officers that had promoted the revolution and formed the so-called "Armed Forces Movement" (*Movimento das Forças Armadas*, MFA) proved impossible. A first set-back for the general was represented by the governmental crisis of July 1974, which led to the formation of a new government and the appointment of colonel Vasco Gonçalves as Prime minister. Gonçalves was much more sympathetic to the radical left, the PCP remained in the government and Mario Soares continued to be Foreign minister. It was the first of a series of shifts to the Left that troubled the US and its European allies alike.

The reactions were however different. From Lisbon Trench urged not to cry wolf and re-affirmed his trust in Soares and the Socialists: "in a country where, until two months ago, anyone who held views to the left of the British conservative

17. NARA, RG59, Lot File 78D443, Box 6 and Box 10, Meeting secretary of State's Staff, 12.01.1975 and 01.07.1976.

party was liable to be denounced as a Communist", the British ambassador claimed, it was very complicated "to ascertain what a man's real political affiliations" were. The US adopted instead a more rigid stance. Kissinger and his advisers had scant faith in the capacity of Soares to prevent the Communists from dominating the government and the armed forces. Washington urged the NATO's secretary general to stop the distribution of top secret documents to the Portuguese representative and to suspend Portugal's participation in NATO's Nuclear Planning Group. The British representative was against this decision and deemed it as an "unnecessary humiliation" of Portugal, which "openly treat[ed] the Portuguese as untrustworthy second-class citizens" and "strengthen[ed] the anti-NATO sentiment in the Portuguese government and Armed Forces Movement". Denmark and the Netherlands concurred, and criticized the lack of consultation on such critical decision. They were however unable to convince the American government. The participation of Portugal in the activities of the NPG was thus suspended in October 1974.[18]

The tensions between the United States and its allies over Portugal increased in the Fall, after Spínola's downfall and another radicalization of the post-revolutionary process. In late September, Spínola called for a demonstration of the alleged "silent" (and conservative) majority to prove his political strength vis-à-vis the MFA and the parties. This decision backfired: the reaction of the latter led to the cancellation of the event. Spìnola resigned and was replaced by general Costa Gomes, who was much closer to the MFA leadership. The power of the MFA increased. The country appeared to be moving decidedly to the Left.[19]

For Kissinger it was the demonstration that without immediate action Portugal could soon be lost for the West. He criticized the moderation of both the positions of Washington's allies and the estimates of the US embassy in Lisbon, which seemed not to understand that the country was "moving inexorably in a leftist direction". His pessimism was shared however only by the Italian ambassador to Lisbon who, during a meeting of the EEC heads of mission in Portugal, proclaimed that "recent events were evidence of a Soviet plot to install a communist government". Fearing the possibility of a "popular front regime", European social-democrats stepped up their efforts in Portugal. European "reverend statesmen", such as Olof Palme and Willy Brandt, visited Portugal, as did Edmund P. Wellenstein, the director-general of External relations of the EEC, who met the Portuguese minister for Economy, Emílio Rui da Veiga Peixoto Vilar. Such visits, Ure argued, were also meant to "quieten those who were prophesizing the instant collapse of democratic practices". A crucial role was played by Costa Gomes

18. NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2046', Trench to Wiggin, 17.07.1974. NPM, NARA, NSC-CFE, Box 701, Scott to Kissinger, 16.07.1974; NARA, Lot file 77D112 (Policy Planning Staff, Policy Planning Group, Director's Files) (Winston Lord), 1969-1977, Box 349, Briefing Paper on Portugal, 12.08.1974; NAUK, FCO 9/2066, Beaumont to Tickell, 07.08.1974; Peck to MacLaren, 05.09.1974; Thomas to Tickell, 24.10.1974. K. MAXWELL, *The Making* ..., op.cit., p.91; *Portugal Arranges 5-year, $ 150 Million Standby Credit*, in: *The Wall Street Journal*, 20.08.1974.
19. M. ANTUNES, op.cit., pp.24-126; K. MAXWELL, *The Making* ..., op.cit., pp.102-103.

himself, who was able to placate these fears by re-pledging Portugal's loyalty to NATO and gently accepting Portugal's exclusion from the NPG.[20]

Conscious of the risk of greater external interference and aware there was no way to contest Europe's Cold War division, all the major Portuguese political parties confirmed the Atlantic allegiance of the country and the impossibility to abandon unilaterally the Atlantic alliance. The PCP's leader himself, Alvaro Cunhal, reaffirmed this on several occasions and, in an interview with "The Wall Street Journal", maintained that while Portuguese Communists were "not in favour of such a military alliance, still […] this [wasn't] the time to consider the question" which should instead "be settled within the larger framework of European security".[21]

Domestic and international divisions

In the fluid Portuguese situation, several different visions and goals were however expressed, within the armed forces and among the parties. Simplifying, we can identify three general positions: 1) the pro-European and moderately pro-Western one of Soares, the Socialists but also, in different ways, of other political forces (such as the right of center Popular Democratic Party, *Partido Popular Democrático*, PPD, later renamed *Partido Social Democrata*, PSD) and of some leading members of the MFA, who will play a crucial role in the Summer of 1975; 2) the orthodox pro-Soviet approach of the Communist party and of some of its supporters in the armed forces; 3) the populist third-worldism and in some instances Guevarism of part of the military, which found in brigadier Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, chief of Portuguese Military Security for most of the transition period, its most renowned figure.

A fourth actor or, better, a 'shadow' must nevertheless be considered when discussing the interaction between domestic and international factors during the Portuguese transition to democracy: the possibility of a neo-authoritarian reaction, similar to the one that had led to the downfall of Salvador Allende in Chile. The symbolic power, and therefore the political influence, of this 'Chilean shadow' cannot be underestimated. It shaped the perception of events of all the major actors involved – Portuguese, Western European and American – and conditioned their choices, actions and words. For many Europeans preventing a 'Chileanization' of Portugal became the paramount priority, which justified greater activism and

20. GFL, NSA, Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974-1977, Box 10, Kissinger to Ford, 30.09.1974 and Hyland to Kissinger, 30.09.1974. T. SZULC, *Lisbon and Washington: behind the Portuguese Revolution*, in: *Foreign Policy*, 3-62(Winter 1975-76); NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2059', Trench to Morgan, 09.10.1974 and Ure to Thomas, 23.10.1974.
21. R. VICKER, *Comrade Cunhal. Communist Leader in Portugal's Cabinet Preaches Moderation*, in: *The Wall Street Journal*, 20.02.1975.

involvement. For most democratic Portuguese forces, the Chile precedent was an ominous reminder of the limits that structural factors and Cold War dynamics posed to the sovereignty of the country. For those looking back nostalgically to Salazar and Caetano it was the last and only hope to reverse the course of history. For Kissinger it was a threat that could be brandished against any further radicalization of the crisis: "they've learned from Chile that if they move too slowly we will do something", the US secretary of State argued in October 1974 while planning a joint covert operation in Portugal with Spanish Foreign minister Pedro Cortina Mauri.[22]

In the eyes of the Europeans, the Chilean shadow provided an additional justification for escalating their efforts in Portugal and preventing a further radicalization of the Portuguese political scene. As Swedish Prime minister Palme would argue during a meeting with Kissinger, Lisbon could "be a Prague" (the reference was to the 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia), but "it will be a short Prague, because the Russians won't be prepared to pay them the economic price. The question then arises whether it will be a jump from a Prague to a Chile […] the road from Prague to Santiago", Palme said, could indeed be a "short one".[23]

For most of 1975 this radicalization did indeed take place. Kissinger's decision to replace US ambassador to Lisbon, Stuart Nash Scott, with former undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Frank Carlucci aroused suspicions in Portugal and elsewhere. Scott had been harshly criticized by Kissinger for his alleged passivity and the moderately liberal estimates produced by the embassy, which suggested prudence and cautioned against open meddling in Portuguese politics. At the time Carlucci was regarded as a staunch anti-Communist, willing to intrude more aggressively in Portuguese political life. Trench, for instance, expressed his "apprehensions about the results of a new go-go American ambassador, who might be over-anxious to demonstrate activity and to rationalize what" was "still a largely irrational scene". Carlucci was soon accused by the radical Portuguese press of being a CIA operative, intent on promoting covert operations aimed at reversing the course undertaken with the revolution.[24]

Fears deriving from outside pressures were compounded by greater political tensions within Portugal and among Portuguese political forces. The fragile post-revolutionary political equilibrium began to vanish. Competition between Socialists and Communists became more intense and bitter. In early 1975, the PCP and the PS clashed over the new labour legislation, with the latter trying to resist a

22. NARA, RG 59, RHK, Box 5, Memorandum of Conversation Kenry Kissinger-Pedro Cortina Mauri, 09.10.1974.
23. NARA, RG 59, RHK, Box 11, Meeting Palme-Kissinger, 30.06.1975.
24. NAUK, FCO 9/2068, Trench to Morgan, 12.11.1974; Callaghan to UK embassy in Washington, 13.11.1974; *Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereinafter FAOC-LOC), Interview with Frank Carlucci, 30.12.1996; Clift to Scowcroft, 28.02.1975; GFL, NSA, Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974-1977, Box 10, Scowcroft to Carlucci, undated (ca. February/ March 1975).

new bill that would facilitate the formation of a single union controlled by the communists. The most radical wing of the military appeared to have the upper hand within the MFA. Tensions between the military and the parties exacerbated the situation. Both seemed to be divided along a classic line: "those in favour of a broad-based participatory democracy and democratic route to socialism on the one hand, and those who espoused the role of a revolutionary vanguard on the other".[25]

Rumors of possible coups, from the Right and the Left, spread uncontrolled. The US Department of State and the Lisbon embassy received various intelligence reports of plots organized by right wing groups. And a coup, theatrical as much as ineffective, did indeed take place. On March 11 Spínola and his supporters staged a military uprising. The attempt failed, but provided the justification for a further shift to the Left. The MFA assumed firm control of the situation. The power of the military was institutionalized through a series of measures that created a sort of military parallel government (The Council of Revolution, *Conselho da Revolução*), soon to become "the supreme authority in the country", and a 240-men assembly, where executive and legislative prerogatives were confusedly mixed. A Fourth provisional government was formed; while de facto deprived of many of its powers, it had a markedly leftist character. More ominously for the West, for the first time since the revolution Mario Soares lost his post as Foreign minister, although he was replaced by Melo Antunes, a moderate figure who will play a crucial role in the months to come. The political consequences were immediate. Radical economic recipes were tested and implemented. Banks and insurance companies were nationalized. As a consequence, most communications media – controlled by the banks or indebted with them – fell under state control. A very progressive land reform was discussed. Accused of collusion with Spínola, several members of old oligarchies were arrested and imprisoned. Political parties were forced to accept an agreement with the MFA, which recognized military supremacy for the next three years, placing the government and the future national assembly in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the Council of Revolution and the MFA assembly. Anti-US propaganda spread unchecked. Carlucci and Kissinger were accused of being behind what the daily "Diário de Notícias" defined a "childish and badly planned coup".[26]

The US and Western Europe observed with perplexity if not outright indignation the course of events in Portugal. American liberal newspapers, which had supported Portugal's revolution and criticized Kissinger's rigidity, denounced the curtailment of political freedoms in Portugal. According to the "Washington

25. K. MAXWELL, *The Making* ..., op.cit., p.109.
26. *Golpe Infantil e Muito Mal Preparado*, in: *Diário de Notícias*, 12.03.1974; *Incerteza nas relaçoes luso-americanas apos o malogro da intentona reaccionaria*, in: ibid., 14.03.1974; *O governo provisorio deixara ha muito de corresponder ao avanço do processo revolutionario*, in: ibid., 17.03.1974; *Coincidencias com o golpe chileno*, in *Diário de Lisboa*, 11.03.1974; *U.S. Says Lisbon Retracts Charge of CIA Coup Role*, in: *The Washington Post*, 15.03.1974; M. ACOCA, *U.S. Ambassador to Portugal Protests Article Citing CIA Ties*, in: *The Washington Post*, 29.03.1975; K. MAXWELL, *The Making* ..., op.cit., pp.110-113.

Post" "the darkest fears of those who wondered how Portugal could safely navigate from dictatorship to democracy" appeared "to be coming true". "Together with renewed Communist action in Cambodia and Vietnam, and stepped-up Soviet arms shipments and other pressures in the Middle East", "The New York Times" argued "a Communist take-over in Portugal could not fail to bring into serious question what remains of a shaky détente".[27]

Similar concerns were expressed in Europe. NATO's secretary general, Joseph Luns, called a private meeting of the representatives of Belgium, France, Italy, West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. The German representative cited "reliable sources […] which suggested that Portugal was about to be taken over as Czechoslovakia had been after the war". There was a general agreement on the opportunity to promote bilateral approaches to the Soviet Union and to warn it "of the effect on détente of a [communist] takeover" in Portugal. Germany's chancellor Helmut Schmidt made a demarche to the Soviet Union and vainly urged the EEC Nine to "act together" and promote a common demarche to Moscow. Single demarches were undertaken by the UK, the US, Italy, Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands. Even Western European Communist parties were baffled by PCP's actions. The secretary of the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano,* PCI), Enrico Berlinguer, who was pursuing a strategy of dialogue and compromise with the centrist Christian Democratic party (*Democrazia Cristiana,* DC), expressed "perplexities and reservations" on the course of events in Portugal: "we ourselves", he claimed,

> "consider it necessary to assure the full exercise of political faculties to all forces of the left, center and right […]. there is something in recent Portuguese events that does not persuade us".

Cunhal presented such remarks as a form of interference in Portugal's domestic affairs that could "only profit the forces of reaction". According to Trench, the Italian and the Spanish Communist parties seemed "to be by no means pleased by the turn which events have taken in Portugal" and it was even "believed that the Soviet Union" had "advised a less impetuous advance, for fear of spoiling their game in a wider field".[28]

These preoccupations were somehow tempered by the necessity to avoid explicit pressures on Portugal, which could backfire and accelerate the shift to the Left everyone intended to prevent. The French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who had opposed the common EEC demarche solicited by Bonn, maintained

27. *Portugal Lurches Left*, in *The Washington Post*, 18.03.1975; *Lisbon's Real Coup*, in: *The New York Times*, 15.03.1975.
28. NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2269', Logan to FCO, 22.03.1975 and Henderson to FCO, 27.03.1975; NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2270', Trench to FCO, 09.04.1975; J. RANDAL, *European Liberals Uneasy About Direction Portugal Taking*, in: *Washington Post*, 26.03.1975; C. STERLING, *Italian Communists: a Portuguese Connection*, in: *Washington Post*, 28.03.1975; A. RUBBI, *Il mondo di Berlinguer*, Napoleone, Roma, 1994, pp.73-75 and S. PONS, *Berlinguer e la fine del comunismo*, Einaudi, Torino, 2006, pp.60-66.

that "the nature of the Portuguese regime was a Portuguese affair" and that he was "against diplomatic intervention with the Portuguese government". Such intervention would have been justified only if "the actions of the Portuguese regime" had "upset or threatened to upset the international strategic balance, for instance by granting bases to the Russians". Quite surprisingly, Frank Carlucci concurred. The US ambassador believed that a strategy of "rebuilding the moderates" was the wisest one and that it was necessary to wait for the forthcoming national elections before considering Portugal lost for good.[29]

The common concern for the fate of Portugal did not stimulate a renewed Transatlantic cohesion, and even catalyzed a rift within the US State Department, with the embassy in Lisbon adopting a posture that secretary of State Henry Kissinger found wrong and naïve. Kissinger scorned Carlucci for his over-optimistic reports and unwise suggestions, which were reminiscent of those of former and much criticized ambassador Scott. Moreover, Kissinger continued not to trust Soares, the Socialists and the other non-Communist democratic forces, and did not believe they could offer an alternative. In light of the situation, the secretary of State claimed, it was better an extreme outcome of the crisis: a solidly pro-NATO, even if undemocratic, regime or a pro-Soviet Portugal, which would at least "vaccinate" Europe from leftist, neutralist and third-force viruses. Kissinger explained this theory, soon to become famous as the "inoculation theory", in a back-channel reply to chancellor Schmidt: "a Communist takeover in Portugal would be a disastrous blow to the Alliance and would play into the hands of various political forces in Europe on both the left and the right. At the same time", Kissinger maintained, "such blatant development would at least confront us with a straightforward issue, around which I would expect the Alliance to rally".[30]

These two different views determined a very different reaction to the national elections for the Constitutional Assembly, which took place regularly on April 25, 1975, the first anniversary of the revolution. Despite dire warnings, the Communists and their allies fared poorly at the polls, receiving little more than 16 % of the votes. The turnout was extraordinary (almost 92 %) and showed how democracy had rapidly taken hold in Portugal. The clear winners of the election were the most pro-European parties. The Socialist Party of Mario Soares took approximately 38 % of the votes. Sá Carneiro's Popular Democrats received instead 26.5 %. The strength of the PS was emphasized by its success in the more developed and urban areas in the country (in Lisbon the Socialists won more than 46 % of the votes). The elections aroused enthusiasm in Europe and the United States. "Portugal for Freedom", titled the editorial of "The New York Times". ambassador Trench presented the elections as a "signal opportunity" for the British government, "and the West in general, to underpin the Portuguese forces working

29. NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2269', Tomkins to FCO, 26.03.1975; Carlucci to secretary of State, 22 March 1975; GFL, NSA, Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974-1977, Box 11, FAOC-LOC, Interview with Frank Carlucci; Kissinger to Carlucci, 03.04.1975.
30. NARA, RG 59, RHK, Box 2, Kissinger to Schmidt, 12.04.1975.

for representative democracy both by appropriate expressions of support as well as tangible gestures of assistance".[31]

Again, Kissinger disagreed offering an interpretation which the British Foreign Office dismissed as "apocalyptic". According to the US secretary of State, the elections had been a "popularity contest with no significance […] a public opinion poll […] not translatable into political action". The real problem was "the impact on NATO of a revolutionary government, in which the Communists" were "in the key role of pursuing essentially neutralist policies […]. And that" had not "in any remote way been affected" by the elections. "A Soviet-allied dictatorship", the US secretary of State claimed, was a "better outcome for the United States".[32]

Again, Kissinger's position and his inflexible hostility to Soares and the Socialists became public. From the pages of the "New York Times", one of the most astute commentators of Portuguese politics, Princeton scholar Kenneth Maxwell, reminded readers that Kissinger had been "hostile to the democratic revolution in Portugal from the beginning", and considered all "socialists and neutralists" as "crypto-communists". "The great majority of the Portuguese people and Army think of themselves as socialists and neutralists", Maxwell correctly pointed out. It was therefore

> "worth remembering before the search begins for some 'moderate' to 'turn the tide' that in such circumstances 'moderates' often turn out to be a general Augusto Pinochet. […] And that is an old path trodden too often. Indeed, trodden so often that if it is America that the Portuguese now fear, as they do, there lies the reason".[33]

The weeks following the elections were characterized by four clashes.

The first one was within the Portuguese Left, with the Socialists trying to exploit the results of the election and reaffirm their primacy in Portuguese politics, and the Communist dismissing the importance of the vote and seeking to consolidate the power they had gained in the previous months. Intoxicated with such power, orthodoxically Leninist in their view of politics, and dismissive of the broader repercussions of the Portuguese situation on Western European communism and the left in general, Cunhal and his followers believed that the situation could be exploited to give a further, and definitive, push to the revolutionary process. In a famous interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, Cunhal claimed that the PCP had "no use for a popular front with the socialists, a pact like the one formulated" in Italy "by Nenni and Togliatti in 1948". "The revolution doesn't respect old laws; it makes new ones", Cunhal affirmed. Democracy meant "getting rid of capitalism, of trusts […] not what you pluralists

31. *Portugal for Freedom*, *The New York Times*, 27.04.1975; NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2270', Trench to FCO, 06.05.1975.
32. GFL, NSA, MC, Box 11, Memorandum of conversation Ford/Kissinger/Scowcroft, 01.05.1975; NARA, R5 59, Lot File 78D443, Box 7, Meeting of secretary of State's staff, 25 and 28.04, 01.05.1974; NAUK, FCO 9/2291, Ramsbotham to Foreign Office, 09.05.1975; DBPO, series III, vol.V, 439, Trench to Foreign Office, 06.05.1975.
33. K. MAXWELL, *Portugal's Uphill Path*, in: *The New York Times*, 12.05.1975.

mean […]. In Portugal, henceforth, there" existed "no possibility for a democracy such as the" Western European "kind". "Your Western democracy", Cunhal said

> "is not enough for us […]. We don't even want socialism, or, rather, a dream of socialism, like yours […]. Portugal will never be a country of democratic freedoms and monopolies. It won't be a fellow traveller of your bourgeois democracies. […] We shall certainly not have a social democratic Portugal".

Cunhal had spent so many years in prison and in Moscow, Italian communist Gianfranco Pajetta sarcastically observed, that "he was completely out of the mainstream of modern European political thinking".[34]

The second clash was within the Armed Forces Movement, where moderate leftists such as Melo Antunes, pro-Communist as Gonçalves, radical (and naïve) third-worldist as Carvalho, and moderate and centrist figures as Ramalho Eanes cohabited more and more uneasily. The shift to the Left, which continued unabated throughout the Spring and 'Hot Summer' of 1975, induced the moderates to counter-mobilize and form a heterogeneous anti-Communist coalition. Antunes and his allies created a group, the so-called "group of Nine", which soon became one of the favourite interlocutors of the West, progressively replacing in this role Soares and the PS.

The third clash was that between the US and its main European partners. To the latter, the electoral results and the fluid situation within the MFA proved that the evolution towards a democratic and pro-Atlantic Portugal was feasible and likely. Kissinger, instead, was more pessimistic and seemed to reject even an option – that of a Socialist Portugal that continued to be a member of NATO – which Western Europeans considered possible and indeed desirable. "We feel" – Kissinger said –

> "that helping radicals does not help moderates. Portugal could develop into a combination of Yugoslavia and Algeria. If it were to stay in NATO in that form it could have a bad impact on Italy, leading to historical compromise which we do not want".

The "inoculation theory" was not abandoned, the possibility to replace Portugal with Spain in NATO was discussed and the secretary of State even flirted with the idea of supporting the staunchly conservative separatist movement of the Azores, which his right arm, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, urged to take "seriously" since in case of necessity the islands could be transformed into a "sort of Atlantic Taiwan".[35]

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34. O. FALLACI, *I Care Nothing for Elections, ha, ha!*, interview with Alvaro Cunhal, in: *New York Times Magazine*, 13.07.1975. Cunhal made similar considerations during a meeting of the Council of Revolution (*Conselho da Revolução*). See Mario Soares Papers (hereinafter MSP), Fundação Mario Soares, Lisbon (hereinafter FMS), Após 25 de abril 1974,_Pasta 02975.013, Meeting Conselho da Revolução, 23.05.1975. Pajetta quoted in T. SZULC, op.cit., p.48. On the tense meeting between Pajetta and Cunhal, which took place the 15th of July 1975, see the reconstruction by A. RUBBI, op.cit., pp.73-76.
35. GFL, NSA, MC, Box 12, Memorandum of Conversation Kissinger/Ford/Pope Paul VI, 03.06.1975; Temporary Parallel File (hereinafter HK&BS, TPF), Box A1, Henry Kissinger and Brent Scowcroft: Files, (1972) 1974-1977, Ingersoll to Scowcroft, 05.06.1975; DBPO, Series III, Volume V, 450, Killick to Goodison, 09.06.1975.

The fourth and last clash was the one between Carlucci and Kissinger. Despite his fame, the American ambassador worked more and more closely with Soares, Antunes and the Western European representatives in Lisbon. Carlucci dismissed out of hand the opportunity to support the Azorean "separatists" ("ultra-right splinter groups", he claimed, could "only harm" US interests), and endorsed what we could define as the 'Euro-socialist' way out of the crisis, recognizing the lack of alternatives and the strong risk of a neo-authoritarian regression which Kissinger seemed instead to prefer.[36]

These clashes took place in the midst of an economic situation in Portugal which was becoming every day more critical. Foreign capitals were leaving the country at accelerated speed; inflation was rampant; once abundant gold reserves diminished drastically; paralyzed by strikes and political conflict, industrial activity and productivity dropped significantly; alternative sources of income, as remittances from emigrants, virtually disappeared. On top of it, the surge of returnees from Africa placed an additional burden on what was already a very strained economy.[37]

A European solution

During the Summer of 1975 political conflicts within Portugal intensified and sometimes turned violent; in the conservative regions of the North several offices of the PCP were attacked and burned. The Socialists and the Popular Democrats decided to exit the government that had been formed after the March 11 coup. In early August Gonçalves formed a fifth provisional government, without the PS and the PPD. In a famous interview to the French magazine "Nouvel Observateur" Antunes criticized the Prime minister, the PCP and their allies in the MFA who were trying to impose "bureaucratic collectivism" on the unwilling Portuguese population: "this process", Antunes claimed "is leading us straight into a totalitarianism […] moreover the Communist strategy is also failing in Portugal: it is only clearing the way for a fascist reaction".[38]

36. B. GOMES, T. MOREIRA de SÁ, *Carlucci vs. Kissinger. Os EUA e a Revolução Portuguesa*, Dom Quixote, Lisbon, 2008. GFL, NSA, Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974-1977, Box 1 and 20, Carlucci to Kissinger, 21.04.1975; Colby to Kissinger, 31.05.1975; Heckler to Ford, 25.07.1975.
37. A.M. WILLIAMS, *Tourism in Portugal: From Polarization to New Forms of Economic Integration?* and D. CORKILL, *Portugal's Changing Integration into the European and Global Economy*, in: S. SYRETT (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal*, op.cit., pp.25-45 and 83-103; P. LAINS, *The Portuguese Economy in the Twentieth Century; Growth and Structural Change*, in: A.C. PINTO (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal. Politics, Society and Culture*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2003, pp.119-138.
38. NAUK, FCO 9/2272, Trench to Foreign Office, 11.08.1975; M. ANTUNES, op.cit., pp.152-157 and 234-243.

It was exactly what European socialist and social-democrats had most feared since the fall of the regime: a radicalization of the revolutionary process that would justify and legitimate an authoritarian (i.e: "Chilean") response. Answering Antunes's calls for "strong interventions from the Western Europeans" and the United States, various NATO countries made demarches to president Costa Gomes. Carlucci deemed Antunes as the best hope for reversing the course of events. The European Council held an emergency debate where closer economic and financial cooperation between the EEC and Portugal were explicitly linked to the development of a "pluralist democracy" in Portugal. West European socialists established a "Committee of Friendship and Solidarity with Democracy and Socialism in Portugal", and denounced vigorously Soviet interference in Portuguese affairs (which Kissinger instead minimized). British Prime minister Harold Wilson accused Moscow of pouring $ 100 million a year into the PCP. Speaking with Mario Soares, Willy Brandt, who chaired the committee, made clear that "as soon as Portugal got a democratic government, all the countries represented in the Group would be ready to start serious discussions about economic cooperation".[39]

Again, European criticism of Portugal's drift to the Left combined with renewed concerns over the possibility that this could cause a rightist reaction. Right-wing groups operated with Spanish backing in the North. From Paris, Spínola was trying to establish contacts with the anti-Communist forces. During the hot Summer, and in late August in particular, Portugal appeared to be on the verge of a civil war. Under heavy domestic and international pressure, the fifth provisional government had a very short life. After tense discussions, a sixth provisional government was installed in mid September. It was chaired by admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo; Melo Antunes was Foreign minister; the PS and the moderate wing of the MFA dominated the new executive. "The new government and revolutionary Council", Trench maintained,

> "probably have a better assembly of talent, and a composition more representative of the various constructive power groups in the country, than any previous authorities constituted since the revolution. They stand a reasonable chance of putting Portugal back on a sound constitutional and economic course and once they have demonstrated their capacities it may be appropriate, for us and our allies in Europe and the US, to give them material evidence of our encouragement".

Material evidence was indeed forthcoming. The Ford administration amended the budget proposal to fiscal year 1976 to include extraordinary assistance to Portugal. US aid was finally matched by a conspicuous EEC program of economic assistance

39. The countries represented in the Committee were France, Sweden, West Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. NAUK, FCO 9/2285, Callaghan to Trench, 22.07.1975; NAUK, FCO 9/2286, Working Paper Committee on Portugal, 27.08.1975; NAUK, FCO 9/2272, Ramsbotham to Foreign Office, 28.08.1975; Carlucci to Kissinger, 22.08 and 27.08.1975; GFL, NSA, Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974-1977, Box 11; DBPO, series III, vol.V, 482-483, Callaghan to Trench, 26.08.1975; Bernard D. Nossiter, Socialists Plan Portugal Aid, 06.09.1975.

for Portugal. The program included a 175 million loan from the European Investment Bank and a declaration of support for Portuguese requests to the IMF for balance of payments assistance. It was just the beginning of a trend that would accelerate in the following years. The revolution came to a final end in late November, when radical paratroopers staged a last leftist uprising, whose failure was "the definitive coup de grâce to the dreams of Socialist revolution so avidly espoused a few months before by Alvaro Cunhal and his allies".[40]

Political mistakes by the PCP and its allies in the MFA help to explain why these dreams did not come true. Furthermore, the Portuguese people spoke out strongly against such dreams, as shown by the results (and the turnout) of the April 1975 elections. Despite Cunhal's dismissive remarks on its effective importance, the vote demonstrated that a large majority of Portuguese preferred a pluralist (and very West European) democratic model. Finally, structural factors, geopolitical as well as economic, played a crucial role, progressively curtailing the options available during the transitional period. Cold War partitions as well as economic interdependence limited Portugal's sovereignty, as all the Portuguese actors soon discovered.

At the end it was simply unrealistic for Portugal to opt for a Socialist outcome of the transition, in whatever variant (Soviet/Eastern European; Peruvian/Third-Worldist) this solution was declined. Antunes and other members of the MFA rapidly understood it. But they were also aware of the risks Portugal was facing. An authoritarian response was indeed possible. Cold War logics and geopolitical considerations could justify it, as Kissinger made abundantly clear. The "Chilean shadow" (or, for that matter, the Greek precedent) were there to remind everyone that the definitive end of authoritarian rule in Portugal could not be taken for granted. Indeed, the recent history of Portugal itself offered a powerful reminder: in spite of everything, pre-1974 Portugal had been a reliable member of the Atlantic alliance and had developed deeper economic ties with democratic Western Europe, whether through participation to EFTA or cooperation with the EEC. At the end, however, Europe and European democratic socialism offered a crucial safety net, which helped Portugal to prevent a return to the pre-1974 status. The early/mid 1970s were in many ways the heyday of Western European democratic socialism. Popular as it was, the hope that this form of socialism could offer a model of modernization and development for the least developed European countries, such as Portugal, and the Third World soon proved to be illusory. The importance played by 'Euro-socialist' forces in helping and facilitating the transition to democracy in Portugal cannot however be denied or underestimated.

40. K. MAXWELL, *The Making* …, op.cit., p.157.; NAUK, FCO, 'FCO 9/2272', Trench to FCO, 20.09.1975; Memorandum of conversation Callaghan/Sauvagnargues/Genscher/Kissinger, 24 September 1975; NAUK, FCO 9//2272, Trench to Callaghan, 17, 18 and 20.09.1975; NAUK, FCO 9//2272, Briefing Memorandum Meeting Kissinger/Ford/Antunes, 10.10.1975.

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Portuguese Transition to Democracy (1974-1976)

Ana Monica FONSECA

The Portuguese transition to democracy was the first in the third wave of democratization, which would reach not only Greece and Spain (in 1974 and 1975), but also Latin America (in the mid-1980s) and Eastern Europe (at the beginning of the 1990s).[1] Because of its unexpectedness, the Portuguese democratization caught the attention of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Bonn's foreign policy in this period was focused on détente, as a way of achieving the unification of the country. The main concern regarding the Western bloc was the stability, reinforcement and future enlargement of the European Economic Community (EEC). The expected scenario for the Iberian Peninsula was the future democratization of Spain (as general Franco was ill), which was expected to "contaminate" the Portuguese dictatorship. However, the Portuguese revolution inverted this prediction.

As the Portuguese transition went towards the empowerment of Communist forces, the Federal Republic developed a wide strategy of engagement in order to keep the country within the Western alliance. This policy was pursued at different levels, both on the formal and informal stages.[2] At the government level, the formal arena, the main strategy was to pressure Portuguese authorities towards the establishment of a pluralist democracy; at the same time, both the United States and the Soviet Union were pressured to avoid the escalation of Cold War competition in Portugal. The informal level consisted of the action of the political parties and the foundations associated to them. At the party level, the Federal Republic developed a tactic in which the German political parties should establish strong contacts with the Portuguese political organizations. The most active was the German Social-democratic Party (SPD), which established a close relation with the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS) and used the influence of its leader, Willy Brandt, to congregate the support of the European government and party leaders through the Socialist International. Finally, on the ground, the political foundations, in particular the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (associated with the SPD), organized the party structures and the trade unions. Although these three levels of action were combined, in this article we will present a general overview of the West German attitude focusing mainly on the government and party level.

1. S. HUNTINGTON, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
2. This way of acting was a particularity of the German political system. See F. PFETSCH, *West Germany: Internal structures and external relations. Foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany*, Praeger, New York, 1988; M.P. DUSCHINSKY, *The rise of 'political aid'*, in: L. DIAMOND, (ed.), *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies. Themes and Perspectives*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1997.

West Germany's Foreign Policy in the Brandt chancellorship

In October 1969, the political situation in the Federal Republic changed considerably. For the first time since the Republic of Weimar, the Social-democrats elected a chancellor, Willy Brandt, and formed government in a coalition with the Liberals (Freie Demokratische Partei – FDP). The SPD-FDP government brought high expectations to the German society, pursuing changes in all areas of government, in particular in foreign policy.[3] Quoting Walter Scheel, the minister of Foreign affairs between 1969 and 1974, the objective of the new international posture of the Federal Republic was "altering the *status quo* by recognizing that same *status quo*".[4] This meant a totally new approach to the German question. During the Christian-democrat governments of Adenauer and Erhard, Bonn's foreign policy could be characterized by the refusal to recognize the existence of the "other" German state and by the belief that the Federal Republic of Germany was the sole representative of the German people.[5] The government of the Great Coalition, between the CDU/CSU and the SPD, had already begun to change its posture towards the Eastern bloc, with a slow approach to the establishment of contacts. However, the differences of opinion between the two coalition parties made it difficult to the new Ostpolitik to go further. Only after the Fall of 1969, with the constitution of the social-liberal government could the Ostpolitik be definitively embraced. Encouraged by the American steps towards détente, Willy Brandt decided to establish contacts not only with the German Democratic Republic, but also with the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In three years, through different agreements signed with these countries, Brandt obtained the recognition of the territorial status quo in Europe and solved the problem of Germany's Eastern border.[6]

These treaties represented the "first demonstration of West German autonomy in international affairs",[7] although they fit organically in the changes occurring in

3. U. LAPPENKÜPER, *Die Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Oldenburg Verlag, Munich, 2008, p.28; C. HACKE, *Die Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Von Konrad Adenauer bis Gerhard Schröder*, Ullstein Verlag, Dusseldorf, 2003.
4. E. BAHR, *Willy Brandts europäische Aussenpolitik*, Schriftenreihe der Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung – vol.3, Berlin, 1999, p.7.
5. H.-P. SCHWARZ, *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, vol.3: *Die Ära Adenauer*, Deutsche-Verlags Anstallt, Stuttgart, 1983.
6. K.-D. BRACHER, T. ESCHENBURG, J. FEST, E. JÄCKEL (ed.), *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Republik im Wandel*, vol.1: *Die Ära Brandt*, Brockhaus, Mannheim, 1986.
7. C. GASPAR, *International Dimensions of the Portuguese Transition*, paper presented at the conference «The transition to democracy in Spain, Portugal and Greece: Thirty years after», Konstantinos G. Karamanlis Foundation, Greece, 22 May 2005, http://www.ipri.pt/investigadores/artigo.php?idi=3&ida=130.

Europe during this period.[8] Indeed, aware of the significance of its initiative, Bonn sought to assure the Western Allies that its compromise was with them. In this sense, parallel to the *Ostpolitik,* we assist, in the beginning of the 1970s, to the reinforcement of a German *Westpolitik*, namely by the strengthening of the European construction (reflected in the admission of Great-Britain and Denmark in 1973 and the institutionalization of the European Economic Community) and by keeping the Allies, especially the US, Great-Britain and France, constantly informed of the initiatives towards the Eastern Bloc.[9] Behind this attitude there was also the intention of bringing the European countries into the process of détente and the goal of providing the EEC with a political unity that could transform it into an economic and political model, attractive to the Eastern European countries. Using the words of Willy Brandt, the politics towards Eastern and Western Europe of the Federal Republic formed "a whole: they both strive for European pacification and unity".[10]

Inserted in the German *Westpolitik* was also the support for the democratization of the Iberian countries, ruled by right-wing authoritarian regimes since the 1930s.[11] Bonn's relations with the Portuguese *Estado Novo* had been mostly military and they faded when the SPD arrived in power.[12] In 1968, Oliveira Salazar, the Portuguese Prime minister since 1932, was replaced by Marcelo Caetano, someone who the German diplomats had always seen as a reformist.[13] The first years of Caetano's government were a period of relative liberalization, leading Bonn to believe that the regime would reform from the inside towards democracy, in particular when Spain initiated its democratization after Franco's death. In this sense, it seemed premature to establish contacts with the Portuguese opposition. But when this period of liberalization ended, the German Social-Democrats understood that the *Estado Novo* would not reform itself and they began to act in Portugal in the same way they had been acting in Spain since the end of

8. Since the end of the 1960s, both the United States and the Western European countries initiated a strategy of rapprochement towards the Eastern bloc and the Soviet Union, namely taking advantage of the receptivity of the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, who argued for a "peaceful coexistence". See O. BANGE (ed.), *Helsinki 1975 and the Transformation of Europe*, Berghan Books, New York, 2008.
9. U. LAPPENKÜPER, op.cit., p.28; C. HACKE, op.cit., pp.192-194.
10. Quoted in J. LODGE, *The European policy of the SPD*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, 1976, p. 68.
11. For the relations between Spain and the Federal Republic see, B. ASCHMANN, "*Treue Freunde...*"*? Westdeutschland und Spanien, 1945-1963*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 1999; C. SANZ DIAS, *España y la República Federal de Alemania (1949-1966). Política, economía y emigración, entre la guerra fría y la distensión*, PhD. Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005; A.M. SANCHÉZ, *Aportacion al estudio de la influencia de los factores internacionales en la transición democratica española*, in: *Memorana*, 3(1998), pp.55-67.
12. A.M. FONSECA, *Dez Anos de Relações Luso-alemãs 1958-1968*, in: *Relações Internacionais*, 11, September 2006, pp.47-60.
13. For the impressions of the German embassy in Lisbon on Marcelo Caetano, see A.M. FONSECA, *A Força das Armas: o apoio da República Federal da Alemanha ao Estado Novo (1958-1968)*, Instituto Diplomático, Lisbon, 2007.

the 1960s: contacting and supporting the democratic opposition, namely the one that was ideologically closer to the SPD, that is, the Socialist group headed by Mario Soares.[14]

The Portuguese Socialist Action (*Acção Socialista Portuguesa* – ASP) had also believed in the liberalization promised by Marcelo Caetano. Indeed, they even participated in the legislative elections of 1969, hoping to be part of the internal transformation of the regime. However, confronted with the unfeasibility of such a reform, the ASP returned to a strategy of "full confrontation" with *Estado Novo*.[15] The leaders of the ASP, including Mario Soares, went back to exile in France, where they sought to obtain the support of the West European fraternal parties, in particular with those which were in government, in order to fight the Portuguese dictatorship. One of the most influential social-democratic parties in Europe was precisely the SPD. In this sense, from 1969 onwards, some contacts were established through the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and in 1972 the ASP was admitted to the Socialist International (SI). From this moment on, the Portuguese Socialists began to receive some organizational and financial support from the Socialist and Social-democratic parties of the SI and, one year latter, the ASP was transformed into the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS), at a meeting held at the Academy of the Ebert Foundation in Bad Münstereifel.[16]

Because of its contacts with Mario Soares, the German SPD had already been informed of the likelihood of a coup d'État in Lisbon. During conversations held with Soares between March and April 1974, representatives of the SPD were told that there was a group inside the Armed Forces, led by general António de Spínola, ready to overthrow the regime and with who Soares had been in touch "for over a year". Their plan was to constitute a democratic regime in Portugal, where the priority was to end the colonial wars. The formation of parties and the realization of free elections would only come at a later stage.[17] Despite the contacts of Mario Soares with the *Movimento dos Capitães*, not even he could guess what was going to happen in the morning of 25 April 1974. On this day he was in Bonn, precisely to meet personally, for the first time, the German chancellor Willy Brandt. However, due to the coup, the first encounter between the two men would take place a week later, under very different circumstances.

14. A.M. SANCHÉZ, *La social-democracia alemana y el Estado Novo (1961-1974*, in: *Portuguese Studies Review*, 13(2005), pp.477-503.
15. A.M. SANCHÉZ, Aportacion …, op.cit., pp.55-67.
16. There were already some contacts since mid-1960s, but they were never very strong or frequent because of the lack of organizational capacity of the Portuguese socialists. See P. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Die internationale Arbeit der Friedrich-Ebert-Stifung. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts*, Dietz Verlag, Bonn, 2007, pp.201 f.
17. Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (AdsD), Willy Brandt Archiv (WBA), A 8, 29, Letter from Hans Eberhard Dingels to the office of the chancellor (Dieter Schilling), 09.04.1974.

The Carnation coup in Portugal: the reaction of FRG

Despite these contacts, the FRG's embassy in Lisbon was caught by surprise by the events of 25 April 1974. The first in-depth report on the Portuguese situation was sent to Bonn on 28 April, three days after the revolution. The "unexpectedness" of the coup might have been, according to the German ambassador in Lisbon, the reason for its success, which revealed "how disintegrating and without support" among the population the Estado Novo was. The ambassador considered the leaders of the Junta de Salvação National (JSN), generals António de Spínola and Francisco da Costa Gomes, as "trustworthy". The Junta ruled the country, exercising both the legislative and executive powers, until the government and the president of the Republic were nominated. Spínola was described as someone who had earned respect more for his "charismatic personality" than by the important offices he had held. Costa Gomes, on the other hand, was someone who would not "steal the stage" from Spínola, but he would be important to moderate him, as a "backstage" character. Regarding the JSN program for the "new Portugal", the ambassador thought it should be supported by the Federal Republic, although it could also be considered "ambitious". Its major goals were: the decolonization, which included the immediate end of the colonial wars and the beginning of negotiations for the future self-determination of the colonies; the democratization, namely through elections that should be held in 1975 for a Constituent Assembly, which then had twelve months to prepare a new constitution; and the establishment of relations with all the countries of the world, at the same time that it defended the maintenance of the traditional alliances of Portugal with NATO and the Western bloc.[18]

In order to tranquilize the Western allies and to gain their support of the new regime, general Spínola chose Mario Soares to travel to the main European capitals as the representative of the new Portuguese authorities. Its main objective was to express the commitment of the new regime to democratic principles and the maintenance of the Portuguese international agreements. The German chancellor, Willy Brandt, received Mario Soares in Bonn on 3 May 1974.[19] Besides travelling as an envoy of general Spínola, Soares was seen mainly as the leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party. In the conversations he had with Brandt and with members of the Foreign affairs ministry, Soares explained how his party saw the situation in Portugal. The PS supported Spínola, but recognized that there were some divergences regarding decolonization. The Socialists wanted an immediate independence of the colonies, whereas the general considered that the future evolution of the colonies was to be decided through a referendum by the population

18. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amt (PAAA), 101436, Report from the German embassy in Lisbon to the German Foreign ministry, 28.04.1974.
19. W. BRANDT, *People and Politics. The Years 1960-1975*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1978, p. 488. Brandt resigned from the chancellery because of a spy-scandal in its personal staff. Günther Guillaume, one of his closest assistants, was a spy for the German Democratic Republic. Helmut Schmidt, his successor, took office on 16 May 1974.

of these territories. Nevertheless, these differences "were minimal and would eventually disappear as the revolutionary process would progress".

Soares was obviously interested in explaining the Portuguese reality to the German leaders, but always having in mind the possibility of gaining support for his own party. In this sense, he carefully explained to the German leader the real weight of the Communists in Portugal. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was the eldest opposition party in Portugal. Orthodox and strongly connected to Moscow, its leader, Alvaro Cunhal, became one of the leading figures of the Portuguese revolution. The Socialists and Communists would become two opposite forces in Portugal. We can say that both represented the different sides of the Cold War, the PS representing the West, defending the establishment of a pluralist democracy, and the PCP representing the East, leaning towards the Soviet Union. However, Soares made it clear to Brandt that he believed the Communists ought to be in the provisional government in order to "share the responsibility for its successes and failures", thus avoiding its constitution as an opposition force. The Socialists were presented to the German chancellor as the "best positioned party" to lead the country towards a democratic regime. The chancellor replied that the Federal Republic was "very interested in and very worried about" the developments in Portugal, especially with the economic difficulties the country would feel in the near future. In this sense, Brandt suggested the creation of a bilateral experts' commission to define the future cooperation at the economic and financial level between Portugal and the FRG. Finally, he also talked with Soares on the possibilities of cooperation between the PS and the other West European social-democratic parties, in particular the SPD.[20] The conditions were thus created for a closer cooperation between the two countries and the two parties.

The German overview of the Portuguese political situation, either through the contacts at the party level – there were almost constant contacts between the PS and the SPD and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation – or through the reports of the embassy, allowed it to have a very accurate understanding of the real distribution of power within the new Portuguese regime. According to the German Foreign ministry, four different groups were struggling for the political power in Portugal. The *Military Junta* – whose leader was the president, general Spínola – had high popularity and was strongly supported by the Armed Forces; it had the conditions to cooperate with all the political forces, from the left as well as from the right. If necessary, it could also "play" these forces "against each other". The *Armed Forces Movement* (MFA) was characterized by the lack of organization and political identity, both nationally and internationally. It was still an "anonymous" movement. The *Left parties* (which included the Socialists, the Social-Democrats, the Communists and the Left-socialists) seemed to be united about the colonial issue – the only disparity being the deadline of independence. Regarding the internal policy, their rivalry was profound, but they were the only political forces

20. PAAA, 101437, Report from the Federal chancellery on the chancellor's meeting with Mario Soares, 03.05.1974.

that were organized and identified as such by the population. The *right* was controlling the economy from "behind the scenes" but its political influence was almost "zero". Having this in mind, Bonn's Foreign ministry saw the developments in Portugal with "sympathy". The major concern for the German government was that Portugal respected the right to self-determination in the overseas territories, as long as associated with a peaceful evolution and the beginning of negotiations towards independence. As a member of the Atlantic Alliance and as part of the European family of states, the Federal government would "support Portugal", as long as it respected the above stated principles.[21]

The West German government decided to outline a strategy of support to the Portuguese democratization. This support had to be discrete, as any "clear interference" on the Portuguese political development could be "dangerous and should be avoided". Publicly, the West German cabinet had already shown "sympathy" to the Portuguese leaders for the political developments in Portugal and, when the German Foreign minister was acting as president of the EEC, he exerted some pressure for the EEC's declaration "complimenting and supporting the democratization and resolution of the colonial question" by the Portuguese government. The future strategy of the German government towards Portugal involved the "maintenance and strengthening" of the support to the democratic forces in Portugal through the West German "unofficial authorities (Parties and Foundations)" and the expansion of the existing contacts. The use of the political parties and their foundations meant that the West German government had a variety of instruments to deal with the Portuguese situation: the chancellor and the ministers, through which it could exert political and economic pressure, both in Portugal and internationally, and the German parties and foundations, through which it could cooperate on the construction of the bases of the future Portuguese democratic system.[22] On a European level, the relations of Portugal with the EEC constituted a major concern for Bonn. For the moment, Portugal could "only" be an associate member. However, the Portuguese government showed "no hurry" in the subject of a future accession to the Community, which worried the Federal government.[23] This strategy was immediately put into practice. The German political parties began to strengthen their presence in Lisbon and there was a constant exchange of visitors between the two countries.

Nevertheless, the evolution of the internal situation in Portugal would lead to a radicalization of the political life. At the center of this radicalization was the attempt by Spínola to increase the political power of the president of the Republic. The first step towards this was given in July, when Prime minister Palma Carlos, supported by Spínola, presented a proposal for immediately calling presidential

21. PAAA, 101435, Report on the Situation on Portugal, 17.05.1974.
22. Although not particularly analyzed in this article, the role of the political foundations (and, in particular, the role of the social-democrat Friedrich Ebert Foundation) was determinant on the financial, organizational and moral support provided to the PS, the PPD and the CDS.
23. PAAA, 101436, Report of the political department of the German Foreign ministry on the relations with Portugal, 15.06.1974.

elections. This move would suspend the democratic normalization of the new Portuguese regime, which was based on the promise of the election of a Constituent Assembly. The refusal of this project by the Council of State[24] led to the resignation of Carlos and the ministers of the PPD from the government, allowing the MFA to nominate the next Prime minister, Vasco Gonçalves. At the end of September, with the objective of defeating the MFA and the left-wing, Spínola tried to force Gonçalves to resign and the MFA to go back to the barracks. The population, with the encouragement of the PCP and other extreme-left organizations, raised barricades around Lisbon on 28 September and on 30 September 1974 Spínola announced his resignation from the presidency.

Bonn considered that the events of the end of September had definitely shown that the "progressive forces" were the "winners" in the struggle with Spínola. The nomination of general Francisco da Costa Gomes to the presidency, who immediately re-conducted Gonçalves as Prime minister, made clear that the political developments in Portugal were towards a "progressive objective". But regarding the total dimension of this objective and how far it would go "only time would say".[25]

According to the West German Foreign ministry, the crisis of September-October had as main result a "more evident distribution of the political forces" and an obvious weakening of Spínola.[26] However, the political forces in Germany were becoming somehow apprehensive with the increase of power of the Communists and Left-wing groups, and the Portuguese situation was discussed at a meeting of the parliamentary Commission on Foreign affairs. The situation in Portugal was presented as "tense", but an escalation of the conflicts was not expected, because "the winners, with the support of the PCP and its trade-unions, already controlled the streets". The balance of power favored now the left and extreme-left, both "inside the MFA and on the whole of the political system". But the Communist Party, which presented itself as a "factor of stability", had "no interest" in carrying the political fight to the extreme. The role of the new president would be to secure the stability of the government, at the same time that the Prime minister saw his powers reinforced, as he was now the head of the Coordinating Commission of the MFA, which "held the real power" in Portugal. According to the German Foreign ministry, the events in Portugal represented a "backlash for the establishment of a West European democratic regime", especially as the conservative forces were being repressed. On the other hand, despite the social unrest, it was expected that the government would now have "better conditions" to establish a "long term definition for its economic and social policies", particularly regarding the future relations with the EEC. In addition, the decolonization policy

24. The Council of State consisted of the seven members of the JSN, seven members of the Coordinating commission of the MFA and seven other personalities nominated by the president Spínola.
25. PAAA, 101434, Telegram 244 from the embassy of the FRG in Lisbon, 30.09.1974.
26. PAAA, 101435, Information on the situation in Portugal to the secretary of State of the German Foreign ministry, 30.09.1974.

was, with the resignation of Spínola, more defined on what was called in Bonn the "Soares line", that is, the delivery of power to the nationalist movements.[27] As we can see, the reaction of the German government to Spínola's dismissal was very cautious, and led to a somehow negative evaluation of the situation in Portugal.

The debate in the Bundestag's Commission for Foreign affairs was heated. On the one hand, the social-democrat representatives argued that this was a much more pessimist description than the reality in Portugal. They considered "expectable" that after forty years of dictatorship the population expressed its opinion freely, which would "obviously" lead to "some confrontation and radicalization" of the political situation. However, referring to their contacts with Mario Soares, the Social-democrats declared that the situation in Portugal was "under control". On the other hand, the representatives of the CDU/CSU were not convinced of the possibility of a successful democratization in Portugal and insisted on the need for the emergence of a more conservative party, to create a "real democratic system" in Portugal. Once again, the general strategy of Bonn regarding the Portuguese situation was reinforced, at the highest level, by the secretary of State for Parliamentary affairs of the Foreign ministry, Karl Moersch. Moersch, who represented the government at this meeting, argued that in Portugal there was "the strongest possibility of the establishment of a democracy". In order to achieve the Portuguese democratization, the political parties in West Germany "must find partners" in the existing Portuguese democratic organizations and "lead them to the desired level of development". In this sense, the situation in Portugal was not a negative one; it "had only changed in its appearance".[28]

As part of this strategy to support the Portuguese democratic forces, the leader of the SPD and former chancellor Brandt visited Portugal at the end of October, 1974. Brandt went to Portugal after an invitation from the secretary general of the Socialist Party (and minister of Foreign affairs), Mario Soares, to participate in a PS meeting in Porto and to contact leading figures of Portuguese political life. This visit, within the framework of the Portugal-policy of the federal government, was considered by the Foreign ministry as "a very important contribution" to the consolidation of the democratic forces in Portugal. This was even more important having in mind the "growing weight" of the Communist Party, which was "much better organized and financially supported" than the PS.[29]

In order to take even more advantage of such a visit, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the minister of Foreign affairs, contacted Brandt to explain him the government's objectives towards the Portuguese process of democratization. One of the minister's main concerns was to show the democratic forces in Portugal that the Federal government was "willing to support in their fight against the extremists,

27. PAAA, 101435, Report on the situation in Portugal for the discussion on the Bundestag's commission of Foreign affairs, 08.10.1974.
28. Parlamentsarchiv (PA)-Deutsche Bundestag (DBT) 3104 A7/3 – Prot. 34, Protocol of the 34th meeting of the commission of the Foreign affairs of the Bundestag, 09.10.1974.
29. PAAA, 101437, Note to the minister of Foreign affairs, 14.10.1974.

either from the left or the right". The minister requested Brandt to inform the Portuguese authorities that Germany was "willing to support the determination of Portugal" in maintaining its ties to the Atlantic Alliance and in coming closer to the European Community. The final suggestion of the minister was that Brandt should "insist on the importance of the elections", expected to take place in the spring of 1975. The declarations of Mario Soares to the German television at the beginning of October regarding the importance of the establishment of a pluralistic regime in Portugal had been very helpful in calling the attention of the West German civil society to the importance of the democratization of Portugal. The realization of the elections would be a sign that Portugal was "on the right path" towards a Western Europe-style democracy.[30]

The German SPD shared the objectives of the federal government regarding Portugal. The direction of the Party suggested that, during his talks with the leaders of the Portuguese government, Brandt should emphasize the importance of the development of a "free and democratic society" in Portugal and the "vital interest" of both the German government and the SPD the development of such a democratic process. The maintenance of Portugal in NATO was also a "vital issue", not only for collective security, but "essentially on what regarded the process of détente in Europe".[31] On the other hand, Willy Brandt should focus on party issues during his talks with the Portuguese socialists. The main concern of the Social-democrat leadership was the political definition of the PS, both at the internal party level and at the national level. Brandt should make a "friendly pressure" so that the Socialists clarify their differences with the Communists, in order to achieve better results in the upcoming elections.[32]

The contacts established during Brandt's visit allowed a deeper understanding of the Portuguese internal situation. The MFA was seen as the "decisive factor of power" in the country and, after the dismissal of general Spínola, the tension between the MFA and the other political authorities was diminishing. In that sense, the personality of president Costa Gomes was very important. He was seen as the "integrating element", accepted by all trends in the Armed Forces, including the conservatives. Politically, the MFA could be described as "mostly socialist or social-democrat". However, despite their relatively small size, there were a significant number of Communists and extreme-left sympathizers among the Movimento. The future of the MFA after the elections to the Constitutional Assembly was uncertain: they would probably want to continue as a political force and they saw themselves as the "guardians of democracy in Portugal". The PCP was still the best-organized party, particularly in Lisbon, but giving it the power to decide on the destiny of the country would be "overrating its influence". On the

30. PAAA, 101437, Letter from the German minister of Foreign affairs to Willy Brandt, 16.10.1974.
31. AdsD, SPD-PV (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands – Parteivorstand), 11484, Recommendations for the conversation with president Costa Gomes and Prime-minister Vasco Gonçalves, 18.10.1974.
32. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11484, Recommendations for the conversation with the Foreign minister Mario Soares and the direction of the PS, 18.10.1974.

other hand, the PS was fighting with organizational difficulties, but its popularity was growing swiftly. Its leader, Foreign minister Soares, was considered to be partly responsible for this increase of popularity.[33]

The Hot Summer of 1975 and the international concern about Portugal

The next months, however, were somehow more complicated than expected. The political situation in Portugal became dominated by the Communists after the attempt of a coup by a right wing group, led by Spínola, on 11 March 1975. This failed coup had as a major consequence the reaction and empowerment of the left wing groups, led by the Communist Party. Immediately on 12 March, an "impressive" demonstration of the PCP filled the streets of Lisbon, showing an "organizational strength" that only this party possessed.[34] The formation of the fourth Provisional government, headed by Vasco Gonçalves (who was becoming visibly closer to the Communists), represented a clear turn to the left. The Communists and the extreme-left had a total of four ministries, including the Internal affairs, and the Socialists had lost the Foreign affairs ministry. The Council of State and the JSN were abolished and replaced by the Revolutionary Council, which now "held the real political power in Portugal". The MFA was institutionalized, through the creation of the MFA's assembly. In the days immediately after the failed coup, the banks and the insurance companies were nationalized and some extreme-left and extreme-right parties were outlawed. Further demonstrations by the PCP and the *Intersindical* filled the streets of Lisbon. The parties, in order to be able to participate in the elections, had to sign a Pact with the MFA, on 11 April 1975, whereby they agreed that the results of the upcoming elections for the Constitutional Assembly would not lead to any change in the government, where the MFA was recognized as the "motor" of the revolution and that the future Constitution would be an expression of the program of the MFA. This pact signed between the parties and the MFA was a way of diminishing the importance of the upcoming elections, in order to keep the revolutionary legitimacy of the MFA, instead of recognizing the electoral legitimacy of such elections. The pact was signed by democratic parties (PS, PPD and CDS), as well as the PCP and the other extreme-left parties.[35]

Polarization of the political situation in Portugal was now evident and it was escalating. West Germany's initial reaction was to pressure, in a concerted action

33. AdsD, Helmut Schmidt Archiv (HSA), 1/HSAA009396, Memorandum from Hans Eberhard Dingels to chancellor Helmut Schmidt, 22.10.1974.
34. PAAA, 110241, Report by Dr. Günter Grunwald, director of the International department of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, on the situation in Portugal, 13.03.1975.
35. M.I. REZOLA, *Os Militares na Revolução de Abril. O Conselho da Revolução e a Transição para a Democracia em Portugal (1974-1976)*, Campo da Comunicação, Lisbon, 2006.

with its allies, the Portuguese president Gomes.[36] In his meeting with the president, the German ambassador began by reinforcing "the sympathy and hope" that the events of 25 April 1974 had brought to the Federal Republic, as they represented an opportunity for an "honest integration" of Portugal into Europe and the "liberation" of the Portuguese people. Despite the recent developments, Bonn was somehow "reassured" by the safeguarding of the Portuguese membership to the Atlantic Alliance and by the establishment of a free pluralist democracy in Portugal. What worried the Federal government was the "threat" that, because of the "extremist agitation", the elections would be no longer "free and their results respected". In order to avoid any resentment from the Portuguese ally, the ambassador underlined that this was not an intromission into the Portuguese internal affairs. The "sympathy and concern" of the German government were only an evidence of its "solidarity and willingness" to help Portugal in establishing a "democratic society based on human dignity". The answer of the Portuguese president was clear: the Portuguese authorities would do "everything to assure the transparency of the elections", set for 25 April 1975.[37]

The elections were held in an environment of relative peace and their result was clear: the Portuguese population had chosen the democratic forces, namely the PS (with 38 %) and the PPD (with 27 %). Combined, the PCP and the MDP (which was in fact controlled by the Communists) had only 20 % of the votes. However, because of the pact signed between the Parties and the MFA, these results had little practical reflection. Nonetheless, the "moral impact" of the elections was enormous and showed the "compromise of the Portuguese society with the democratic forces". These parties, in particular the Socialists and PPD, had thus gained "electoral legitimacy", opposed to the revolutionary legitimacy of the MFA. Moreover, the elections of 25 April 1975 showed that the Communists and their allies were "far from being the strongest political force in Portugal", and consequently, the German authorities believed that there was "an unquestionable opportunity for the establishment of a free, pluralist democracy in Portugal".[38]

The events at the beginning of March and the electoral results forced the Federal Republic to intensify its policy towards Portugal, in order to take better advantage of this opportunity. The danger that Portugal would fall to the Communist side was a "menace for the security" of the Western block and would give a "wrong signal to Spain". Consequently, the situation posed an "enormous challenge" to the West and Bonn saw as a matter of its own "vital interest" the

36. In the last week of March the president met with the ambassadors of FRG, Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain and the United States. See L.N. RODRIGUES, *Marechal Costa Gomes. No Centro da Tempestade*, Esfera dos Livros, Lisbon, 2008, pp.232-235.
37. *Akten der Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (AABRD), vol.I, 1975, doc.60, Letter of the German Foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the American secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, 27.03.1975, pp.300-302.
38. PAAA, 110241, Memo on the situation in Portugal, 30.04.1975.

integration of Portugal into the free Western democracies.[39] The intensification of the German policy towards Portugal had several levels. The first was the exchange of visits, seen as one of the most important ways to bring the Portuguese closer to the Federal Republic, and therefore, closer to the Western block. The federal government would establish a "policy of cooperation instead of confrontation". In order to avoid that the MFA would "fall into the Communists' hands", all the support of the German parties to their Portuguese counterparts should abstain from deepening the existing tension between the parties and the MFA.[40] In this sense, there were several invitations to Portuguese ministers and officials to visit the Federal Republic, including the Foreign affairs minister, Melo Antunes, who was in Bonn from 19 to 21 May 1975, or admiral Rosa Coutinho, member of the Council of Revolution, in June.

The international circumstances in the summer of 1975 created an atmosphere favorable to a stronger intervention of the West European leaders, including chancellor Helmut Schmidt, in the Portuguese case. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), taking place at the beginning of August in Helsinki, had been one of the strongest stakes of the Soviet Union towards détente, seeing it as a way of keeping its authority within Eastern Europe. CSCE represented the culmination of détente, bringing together, for the first time, the majority of East and West European countries, plus the two superpowers. However, the dialogue between the two blocks was being menaced by the Portuguese case. The PCP, with the support of Moscow, was trying to take control over the country, both politically and economically. It seemed possible that a part of the Western Alliance could fall to the Communist side, thus unbalancing the forces in the Cold War. Because of the geographical position of Portugal, the Soviet Union would not militarily intervene in Portugal, but its financial support to the Moscow-loyal PCP could endanger the whole détente process in Europe. In order to avoid this, a series of initiatives were taken, both at the government and party levels, to pressure not only the Portuguese authorities but also the Soviet Union and the American leadership, so that a pluralist democracy could finally be established in Portugal. The danger that a Soviet interference on the events in Portugal represented is obvious. However, the United States had also shown some difficulties in adjusting themselves to the Portuguese revolution and its aftermath. The reaction of the Ford/Kissinger administration was to apply to Portugal the "Vaccine theory", where a Communist Portugal would serve as an example (a vaccine) to the other European countries that had very active Communist Parties,

39. PAAA, 110242, Draft of a plan for immediate support to Portugal, Federal Foreign ministry, 07.04.1975.
40. PAAA, 110242, Report on the visit to Portugal (22 to 24 April 1975) of a representative of the Federal Foreign ministry (VLR Laub), 28.04.1975.

such as France or Italy. The European allies, especially the Federal Republic, tried and eventually succeeded in changing this position.[41]

During the summit in Helsinki for the signature of the Final Act of the CSCE, the European leaders used the bilateral meetings to push the Portuguese president Gomes to moderate the political situation in Portugal and dismiss Prime minister Gonçalves, seen as a destabilizing element. All the European leaders insisted on the need for the establishment of a true pluralist democracy, with a government that reflected the electoral results of April 1975 and the freedom of press.[42] Most of the talks Gomes held during the Helsinki summit were very hard, not only with the Western leaders but also with some of the representatives of the Eastern block.[43] The whole détente process was endangered by the Portuguese political polarization between the Socialists and the Communists, and the Eastern leaders did not want to lose the opportunity that was presented to them in Helsinki.

The German chancellor was very clear while speaking to the Portuguese president. There had been "great sympathy for the initial impetus" of the Portuguese revolution, but since the events of 11 March, the "acceleration of the revolutionary pace" made it hard "not to be worried". The German government, as the French or the Dutch, was "ready to support, economically and in any other way, a democratic Portugal". Not only bilaterally but also in the framework of NATO and the European Community. The chancellor had some knowledge of economics, and he knew that Portugal had no economic or financial conditions to survive without foreign assistance. However, "no one" was willing to give such a support to the development of a "Southern American-style military dictatorship in Portugal" and he asked for a guarantee that such a regime would not exist in Portugal. Democracy "only worked" when the people could choose among several political parties, in free elections, when those parties formed a parliament, which then nominated the government. The chancellor warned that for the establishment of a new society, either "democratic or socialist", it was "necessary to give the people food and work", something that seemed to be missing to the Portuguese society. Schmidt ended the conversation with Gomes reinforcing the willingness of

41. For a description of the US position towards the Portuguese revolution, see T. MOREIRA DE SÁ, *Carlucci vs. Kissinger. Os EUA e a Revolução Portuguesa*, Dom Quixote, Lisbon, 2008.
42. During this «Hot Summer» in Portugal, the newspaper *República*, close to the Socialist party, had been closed by the Worker's Commission, that dismissed its direction. The case developed and transformed in the symbol for the struggle between the Communists and Socialists. Later, because of the *República-Affair*, the PS and the PPD left the government in July 1975, at a time the country lived almost in a civil war situation. For more details, see M.I. REZOLA, *Os Militares ...*, op.cit.
43. The Yugoslavian president, Joseph Tito, said to Costa Gomes that it was "wiser to first consolidate the achievements made so far", instead of "accelerating excessively" the revolutionary process. AHD-MNE, PEA, 1/75, Transcript of the bilateral conversations of president Costa Gomes in Helsinki, 06.08.1975.

the Federal Republic to support the democracy in Portugal: "help us to help your country".[44]

But the international activity of the SPD and, in particular of Brandt, was also very significant in this period. The Social-Democrat leader used his influence as former German chancellor to exert some pressure on the superpowers, regarding their position towards Portugal. In his own words, during a meeting with the US president, Gerald Ford, and with the secretary of State, Henry Kissinger at the end of March 1975, he showed his worries and "asked for a helpful openness" from the Americans. At the end of July, only a few days before the Helsinki summit, Brandt went to Moscow to meet Leonid Brejnev, to whom he delivered a letter from Mario Soares. In this letter, Soares said to the Soviet leader that the PS would refuse any kind of populist democracy, that, so it seemed, the PCP wished to impose in Portugal, being willing to denounce such an action internationally. At the same time, the former chancellor told the Soviets that the USSR leadership in the East-West relations "would be really undermined if Moscow believed that Soviet Union could gain ground in the Iberian Peninsula".[45] The reaction of the Soviet leader was of denying "any kind of direct influence or guidance over their political counterparts" in Portugal.[46]

Another action, very significant for the international pressure on the Portuguese authorities, but also on the Soviet leaders, was the creation of the "Committee of Support and Solidarity with Democracy and Socialism in Portugal". Created immediately after the Helsinki Summit during a meeting of the Social-Democratic leaders and heads of government of the Socialist International, in Stockholm, the Committee was a concrete realization of Brandt's idea.[47] The European leaders believed that the situation in Portugal required "concerted action" by the Socialists Parties of Western Europe to "prevent the country from being taken over by the Communists".[48] The other members of the Committee were the Austrian chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, the Dutch Prime minister, Joop den Uyl, the British Prime minister, Harold Wilson, the Swedish Prime minister, Olof Palme and the general secretary of the French Socialist Party, François Mitterrand. The Committee believed that the wave of "sympathy and good-will" that the events of 25 April 1974 created towards Portugal should not be dissipated by the "absolute disrespect to the will of the majority of the Portuguese people", reflected in the elections of April 1975. The main objectives of the Committee were to support the

44. AdsD, HAS, 1/HSA006605, Memo of conversation between the chancellor and the Portuguese president, Costa Gomes, 01.08.1975. The Portuguese transcript of the bilateral conversations Costa Gomes held in Helsinki is available in AHD-MNE, PEA, 1/75.
45. W. BRANDT, *Erinnerungen*, Ullstein Verlag, Cologne, 2003, p.349.
46. AdsD, WBA, A11.15, 18, Letter of Willy Brandt to Mario Soares, 25.07.1975.
47. AdsD, HSA, 1/HSAA006657, Report on the meeting of the Social-Democratic leaders and heads of government, Hans-Eberhard Dingels, 15.08.1975.
48. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington – http://aad.archives.gov/aad/series-description.jsp?s=4073&cat=all&bc=sl, Telegram 15265 from the US embassy in Bonn to Washington, 17.09.1975.

establishment of a democratic regime, the pursuit of a free press, the construction of a free and democratic trade-union's association and the fight against the international isolation of Portugal.[49] These principles would be put into practice through some initiatives that were already taking place, such as the support to the organization of the Portuguese Socialist Party, but also by the implementation of new areas of action. The visitors' exchange, for example, should be enhanced with a focus on the Portuguese armed forces. At the same time, the public opinion in Portugal as well as in Western Europe should be better and constantly informed on the situation in Portugal. This was particularly important regarding the West European public opinion, where "much misunderstanding still existed".[50]

All these initiatives in the summer of 1975, both from the Federal government and the SPD, which conducted the other European social-democrats to a full support of the moderates in Portugal, had positive results. According to Willy Brandt, the pressure exerted on the Soviet Union by the Western powers had succeeded well. Brezhnev gave orders to the East German government to stop supporting the PCP, saying it was "important to give up any political activity in Portugal that could put at risk the Conference of the European States".[51] After the Helsinki summit, Moscow regretted publicly that the PCP under Cunhal "had pushed too hard and too fast" the situation in Portugal.[52]

Consequently, the Portuguese internal situation also reflected this moderation from Moscow. At the beginning of September, Prime minister Gonçalves was dismissed and the Assembly of the MFA denied his nomination as supreme commander of the Armed Forces, thus withdrawing its political support. A new group of moderates appeared inside the MFA, congregated around the Foreign minister, Melo Antunes, who obtained the support of PS and PPD. The Communists' influence in the Armed Forces Movement seemed now to be diminishing. The composition of the VI Provisional government[53] was an expression of the new course of the Portuguese revolution. Reflecting for the first time the electoral results of April 1975, the PS had four portfolios, including the Finances and Foreign trade. The PPD had two portfolios and the PCP was only in charge of the Environment ministry. Regarding the military, the moderates had the majority of the portfolios, including the very important Foreign affairs ministry, under Antunes, and the Internal affairs. The Prime minister was vice-admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo, close to the moderates. This government seemed to be finally

49. AdsD, WBA, A 11.4, 127, Press Communication, 08.09.1975.
50. NARA, http://aad.archives.gov/aad/series-description.jsp?s=4073&cat=all&bc=sl, Telegram 15265 from the US embassy in Bonn to Washington, 17.09.1975.
51. Report of Erich Honecker (18.06.1975), quoted by T. WAGNER, *Portugal and the German Democratic Republic during the Carnation Revolution*, in: *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 1(2008), p.43.
52. NARA, http://aad.archives.gov/aad/series-description.jsp?s=4073&cat=all&bc=sl, Telegram 255055 from the US secretary of State to the US embassy in Lisbon, 20.09.1975.
53. The previous one, still with Vasco Gonçalves as Prime-minister, had a clear communist and leftist majority of ministers. It lasted little more than a month (from 8 August to 19 September 1975).

able to lead the country towards the implementation of the desired pluralist democracy. To testify their trust in the new cabinet, the European and American leaders announced at the beginning of October the concession of financial aid – promised since the first months after the coup in 1974.

From the 25 November to the elections of 25 April 1976: the end of the "Portuguese Revolutionary Process"

Nonetheless, the divergences between the moderates and the leftists (not only the PCP but also some revolutionary movements of the extreme-left) became unsurpassable, both politically and militarily, and the conflict happened in the last week of November 1975. This was the closest Portugal was to experience a civil war and Gomes was forced to declare the state of emergency in Lisbon. The country was divided and so were the military.[54] The conflict was settled by president Gomes and the moderate officials, namely Antunes and Ramalho Eanes (this one with the operational responsibility), and by 28 November the situation was already under control.[55]

To the West German Foreign ministry, the events of 25 November showed that, "for the first time in several months", the Portuguese government had "the possibility of standing up to chaos and anarchy". The government seemed to be willing to restructure the military organization, taking advantage of the "favorable hour", designating moderate officers to leading positions in the Armed Forces. The dissolution of certain organizations inside the military, such as the Copcon,[56] represented the loss of power of the extreme left. Having this in mind, the Azevedo government could now begin "realistic work", especially because the "eternal procrastinator", president Gomes, had finally decided to take a side, clearly supporting the moderates. His promise to realize legislative elections was a positive indication to the democratic parties, which should now support the government to the stabilization of Portugal.[57]

The Federal Republic did not understand the role of the PCP during the confrontation of 25 November. The Communists were mobilized to go out into the

54. In the case of the institution of a «*commune*» of Lisbon, the leaders of the democratic parties and the deputies to the Constitutional assembly were to escape to Porto, in northern Portugal.
55. For a more detailed version, see M.I. REZOLA, *25 de Abril. Mitos de uma Revolução*, Esfera dos Livros, Lisbon, 2007, pp.221-270.
56. The Operational Command of the Continent (Comando Operacional do Continente) was created in July 1974. Its territorial delimitation corresponded to the Military Command of Lisbon, and its forces were under the authority of the supreme chief of the Armed Forces. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, its leader, was one of the leading figures of the Coup of 25 April 1974 but became one of the most radical characters of the «Hot Summer» of 1975. The Copcon was disintegrated in the aftermath of 25 November and Otelo S. Carvalho was arrested.
57. PAAA, 110241, Report on the situation in Portugal, 28.11.2975.

streets, in a big demonstration that combined the party, the trade union (Intersindical) and the other leftist organizations controlled by the PCP. However, this demonstration was called off at the last minute and the people were demobilized. The insistence on the maintenance of the Communists in the government immediately after the crisis, in particular acknowledged by Antunes and Soares, was something Bonn had some difficulties accepting. Most of all, West Germans did not understand how a party that had brought so much "chaos and instability" to the economic and political life of Portugal could be seen as "necessary" to this new phase of the Portuguese transition to democracy. Furthermore, the perpetuation of the Communist presence in the government represented to the Western countries, in particular within NATO, a motive of "uncertainty and distrust". This could reflect badly on the concession of economic aid to Portugal, both bilaterally and at the European level.[58] However, the main justification for the Communists' presence in the government was still the same that had been given in May 1974: it was necessary to keep the Communists responsible for the actions of the government and avoid excluding them from the democratic process. An excessive anti-communism could lead to the strengthening of the extreme-right and to more violence. This was personally explained by Soares to Genscher and to the SPD leader in mid-December.[59]

1976 represents the end of the "Portuguese Revolutionary Process" (PREC) and the beginning of the stabilization of the Portuguese political situation, including the relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. The first semester of this year brought the II Pact MFA-Parties, which had as major innovations the election of the president through direct vote of the population (instead of the nomination through an electoral college composed mainly of military officers) and the end of the political influence of the Revolutionary Council – it was now transformed into a consulting body to the president. At the beginning of April, the Constitution was approved. It was a major breakthrough for the country and it showed that Portugal was now ready for the consolidation of its young democracy.

Regarding the West German support to Portugal, the most important indication that the political situation was finally beginning to normalize was the visit of minister Genscher to Lisbon. Planned since December 1974, this visit had been constantly postponed because of the political instability in Portugal. During this visit, in February 1976, the minister met with the members of the cabinet and with the leaders of the main political parties, PS and PPD.

Being the first minister of Foreign affairs of a Western country to visit Portugal since the revolution, one of Genscher's objectives was "to prove to the Portuguese" that all the promises of help and support from Bonn were true. One of the

58. PAAA, 110243, Recommendations for the meeting of the ministers of Foreign affairs of Portugal and FRG, 05.12.1975.
59. PAAA, 110244, Memo of conversation between the Foreign minister and the secretary general of the PS, 19.12.1975. For the details of the talks between Soares and the SPD leader, Willy Brandt, see AdsD, WBA, A 11.4, 127, Report by Veronika Isenbergm, 17.12.1975.

Germans's main concerns was the situation of the economy. The Federal Republic had already given some financial aid (around 70 million *Deutsche Mark*), and the minister was able to announce in Lisbon the concession of the equivalent of 600 millions DM as a loan from the *Bundesbank* to the Bank of Portugal.[60]

The Federal Republic believed that the "economic stability" was the most important element for the consolidation of democracy in Portugal. That is why the economic issues occupied the major part of the conversations the minister held in Lisbon, not only with the government members, in particular with the Portuguese minister of Foreign affairs, Melo Antunes, but also with the party leaders. In general, the visit was a success, seen as "an indication of the West German conviction of the positive political development" of Portugal and recognized as such by those Portuguese whom the minister was talking to. They all showed appreciation for the German support to Portugal, not only on the "economic level, but also on the positive attitude the federal government had always taken in the European Community and in NATO".[61]

After the clarification of the political life in Portugal, which happened after the events of 25 November 1975, Portugal's main objective was to rehabilitate its economic and financial situation. With the escalation of inflation, the rising of unemployment and the returning of thousands of Portuguese citizens from the former colonies (mainly from Angola and Mozambique), who needed housing, work, clothes, etc., the situation in Portugal was very delicate. Lisbon's strategy was to come closer to the European Community, not only because of the economic support it could – and would – give, but especially because the EEC represented a new future for Portugal, after decolonization.

Since the first days after the coup of 25 April 1974 the Socialists, in particular their leader, Soares, had sought to obtain the support of the European countries. Using the network of the Socialist parties, mainly through the Socialist International, the PS was the Portuguese party that had best taken advantage of the international visibility it had gained. The climax of this international recognition was the meeting of the "Committee of Support and Solidarity with Democracy and Socialism in Portugal" of the SI in Porto on 14 March 1976. All the members of the Committee and some other important European leaders were present, making this an extraordinary occasion for the diffusion of a favorable image of Portugal and the PS, both internally and internationally.

Under the title "Europe with Us [the Portuguese Socialists]", this meeting focused mainly on economic issues and on the support to the PS. According to Soares, "several European leaders had asked" him to host a meeting of the SI in Portugal. But because of the political instability, only now could such a reunion take place. The "favorable evolution of the political situation" allowed this type of

60. PAAA, 110243, Preparatory documents for the visit of the Federal minister for Foreign affairs to Lisbon, 29.01.1976.
61. PAAA, 110243, Note on the visit to Lisbon of the Federal minister for Foreign affairs (04-05.02.1976), 18.02.1976.

events – in the same way it would allow a meeting of the European Union of Christian-democrats, or of the Liberal International, for example.[62] This was a clear answer to the criticism Soares was suffering from the other parties, either the CDS, the PPD or the PCP, which were accusing the PS of trying to obtain support for the electoral campaign (which would only begin in a couple of weeks) and the European leaders of interfering with the Portuguese internal affairs. Mario Soares defended himself by saying that this meeting was most of all important for the country. On his speech, Soares focused mostly on the future relations of Portugal with Europe. After promising that they were willing to help Portugal, it was now time for the "European friends" to carry out that promise and contribute for the consolidation of the Portuguese democracy.[63] The answer of the European leaders, on the words of Brandt, the president of the Committee, was very positive: "the Committee plans acts of solidarity in different levels of the European institutions (EEC, Council of Europe, and EFTA) and also bilaterally, from government to government, from party to party". The ending words of the final declaration of the meeting were clear: "Portugal belongs to Europe – Europe must recognize its responsibilities towards Portugal".[64]

And the Portuguese people showed they had chosen Europe as well. In the first free elections for the formation of a democratic parliament, in 25 April 1976, the PS was the choice of the Portuguese people to rule the country. Despite not having the majority of the deputies, Soares decided to form a government without coalitions. Two years after the coup of 25 April 1974, democracy had finally arrived in Portugal.

Conclusion

When Willy Brandt won the elections in December 1969, he began a new phase of West German foreign policy. *Ostpolitik*, allowed by the American-Soviet détente, was a new approach to the "German question". Brandt expected to overcome the division of Germany by the recognition of and normalization of the relations with the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union. Hoping that the economic penetration on the Socialist states would lead to the fall of those regimes, the Federal Republic tried simultaneously to strengthen the European Economic Community, not only through its enlargement to Great-Britain and Denmark but also by its political reinforcement, translated into the creation of the European Political Cooperation (EPC). One cannot separate *Ostpolitik* from this *Westpolitik*.

62. Declarations of Mario Soares to the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso*, 13.03.1976, p.4.
63. Speech of the secretary general of the PS, Mario Soares, to the meeting of the «Committee of Support and Solidarity with Democracy and Socialism in Portugal» of the SI, 14.03.1976, in: M. SOARES, *Europa Connosco!*, Perspectivas e Realidades, Lisbon, 1976.
64. AdsD, HSA, 1/HSAA006219, Press Communiqué of the meeting of the «Committee of Support and Solidarity with Democracy and Socialism in Portugal» of the SI, 14.03.1976.

It is within the *Westpolitik* that we understand Brandt's policy towards Portugal. The major concern of Bonn regarding the right wing regimes in Europe was the political stability they assured, in particular when there wasn't any better alternative. The only organized opposition to Salazar (and after him, to Marcelo Caetano) was the Communist Party, and that, within the bipolar reality, was not as good as a stable, pro-Western, conservative and anti-communist right wing dictatorship.

However, at the beginning of the 1970s, the German Social-democrats began to establish some contacts with the Socialist opposition, whose leader was Mario Soares. Connected through the Socialist International to the Socialist and Social-democrat parties of Western Europe, Soares and his socialist fellows were able to call the attention of the SPD to the growing discontent in Portugal about the Estado Novo. By this time, the SPD had already understood that the political liberalization promised by Marcelo Caetano would never be consistent and that the regime would never reform from within. The contacts with the Socialist Party were becoming more intense when the coup of the 25 April 1974 happened.

The first reaction to the coup was of surprise, not only in Bonn but in all the capitals of the Western Alliance. But the declarations of the new leaders, mainly the respect for the international agreements (in particular those connected to the integration of Portugal in the Western block: NATO or the Azores agreement with the USA), the intention of calling free and universal elections and the beginning of decolonization reassured the German government. This confidence was reinforced by the appointment of Mario Soares to the Foreign ministry of the first provisional government, despite this government also having Communist ministers, including the leader of the PCP, Alvaro Cunhal. The presence of Communists in the provisional governments was never well accepted by any of the Western countries, and Bonn was no exception. But, because the SPD had a very close contact with the PS and Soares, the Federal Republic understood better the need to keep the Communist Party responsible for the government of the country, not giving it any excuses to move to the opposition.

The Federal Republic always reflected sympathy and enthusiasm towards the Portuguese revolution, even when it showed the first signs of radicalization. The German strategy was to keep Portugal "under control" through the establishment of constant contacts, both at government and party level. Indeed, the main innovation of the German policy towards Portugal was the use of a wide range of instruments to achieve the major purpose of its policy: the establishment of a pluralist, Western-like democracy in Portugal. These instruments were not only the traditional channels of foreign policy, like diplomacy, but also an informal network of contacts between the German parties and their associated foundations and the Portuguese political organizations. This was particularly visible in the case of the SPD, mostly because it was also the party in government and had one of the most charismatic Western German politicians, Willy Brandt, as its leader. Although not focused on in this article, the other German political parties – CDU and FDP –

were also active in Portugal, supporting mainly the CDS and the PPD. This was part of the broader strategy of the Federal Republic to create the conditions for the establishment of democracy in Portugal. Another dimension of this strategy was the recovery of the Portuguese economy. Besides the international economic crisis, Lisbon was facing huge economic problems resulting from the course of the revolution (social unrest, constant strikes, nationalization of the banks and insurance companies, etc.). The Federal Republic believed that economic stability and modernization were conditions *sine qua non* for democratization. It was the same principle that guided the economic approach to Eastern Europe. That was why the economic issues and the future of the Portuguese relations with the EEC were always an important part of the conversations between German and Portuguese representatives.

The last element of the FRG's strategy towards the Portuguese democratization was the pressure on the two superpowers so that they would help Portugal's stabilization. Both the German chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the leader of the SPD Brandt took advantage of their international visibility to defend the West German – and West European – position. In Washington, they insisted on the need to support the moderates, in particular Soares. Despite the initial intention of the secretary of State Henry Kissinger to isolate Portugal, including the possible expulsion from NATO, the Americans eventually understood that there was a possibility of democratization in Portugal. To the Soviet Union, the German leaders clearly played the "CSCE-card", assuring that a Soviet interference in Portugal would seriously endanger the realization of the Helsinki Summit.

The Portuguese elections to the first constitutional parliament, on 25 April 1976 acclaimed the Socialist Party and its leader, Soares. In a way, the socialist victory was also the recognition of the success of the Federal Republic's strategy. There is no doubt that the strength of the Socialists came mainly from the international support they received, which was not only financial but also organizational. And the leaders of that international wave of support to the PS were the West Germans, not only through the pressure that the government exerted (either on the US and USSR, or on the Portuguese authorities), but also through the action of the Social-democratic Party and its leader Brandt. In fact, it can be said that the major consequence of the West German position during the Portuguese transition to democracy was the consolidation of the Socialist Party as a party seen by the people as a stabilizing element of the political and economic situation. Nevertheless, the final result could have been very different if the Federal Republic of Germany hadn't had the strategy of engagement we have just described.

A special relationship under strain: Turkey and the EEC, 1963–1976

Elena CALANDRI

A testing ground

Greece and Turkey, remarked the British Foreign Office in the early 1970s, enjoyed a privileged and unique position in the external relations of the Community because their association agreements were negotiated in the early 1960s, when the Six were desperate for an international success after the failure of the European free trade area negotiations and were oblivious to GATT rules. In order to comply with article 24, the Six subscribed to the progressive establishment of a customs union intended to lead to full membership for both countries. In doing so they overlooked economic realities and created a permanent headache in EEC external relations that grew intractable as integration developed.[1]

As a member of the Western security community through the OECE and NATO, in 1963 Turkey became the second country to establish a political link with the EEC. This article argues that the Foreign Office analysis of the genesis of the EEC-Turkey relationship was incorrect. It confirms however that, as the EEC prepared itself for the first enlargement, doubts about the viability of the association were widespread in Community circles. Despite Turkey's extraordinary growth during the 1960s (between 11 % and 12 % in 1968), its economy was not in a position to deal with European competition. The economy alone, though, neither explained nor determined EEC attitudes, and during the following decade politics and the economy intersected and clashed as nationalist and Islamic movements grew in Turkey, the role of the military was enhanced, and economic development faltered. The weakening of the EEC-Turkey relationship was not only a crucial turning point that has a bearing on a currently burning issue, but was also a testing ground for the EEC's international role and self-definition.

Archival evidences show that the acceleration in the enlargement and deepening of the EEC impacted on the development of the association. Both challenged Turkey's position as a privileged partner: Britain's membership, political cooperation, institutional developments, the Mediterranean policy and a new dynamism in external relations confronted Turkey with many difficulties. Under the effect of the international recession and of domestic economic and social problems, the Nine were unwilling to extend economic privileges to the country. But they also resisted using the new political machinery. Turkey's problems were

1. United Kingdom National Archives (hereafter UKNA), FCO 30/2684, Department of Trade and Industry to Cabinet Office, The outlook for Turkey, 07.06.1972.

seen more and more as an "external relations" question, while identity emerged as a discriminating concept.

The 1963 Association Agreement

Turkey's request to negotiate an association agreement was presented in July 1959, six weeks after the Greek application. In the doctrinally confused and politically euphoric early years of the EEC, association requests were defined as "applications to join" the Community and some went so far as to define association as "an attenuated form of adhesion". Indeed the Turkish Democrat government that made the application stressed the political goals and significance of its association request, presented as an expression of a 'European' and Western sense of belonging to an identity it was determined to fulfil in spite of the economic difficulties that would have to be overcome. Ankara explicitly referred to the need to keep pace with Greece for economic and political reasons and asked that both applications be treated in parallel. Although the first round of exploratory talks made it clear that Greece was ready to accept tighter commitments, the Six accepted the principle of parallelism.

While the Greek negotiations moved slowly towards the Athens Treaty, the Turkish ones were interrupted by a military coup in May 1960. The ensuing stalemate lasted until the end of 1961, during which time the Democrat leaders were sentenced to death, a new constitution was adopted, a five-year economic plan was drawn up under the authority of the newly established State Planning Organisation (SPO), which embodied a shift toward *dirigisme* and *étatisme* and soon became a stronghold of opposition to the EEC.[2]

When negotiations reopened, the Community's positive attitude had weakened. This was not a consequence of Turkish domestic events, though the return of Ismet Inönü – the comrade of Kemal Atatürk, who had kept Turkey neutral during the Second World War – evoked nationalism and mean self-interest. The new caution in EEC circles was more the result of the experience of the Greek negotiations, of the cascade of requests from Mediterranean and European countries, and of the general atmosphere in the EEC. The Greek negotiations had opened a Pandora's box of political, institutional, and economic problems; the Athens Treaty was regarded in the EEC capitals as having been too generous in the economic and institutional privileges it sanctioned, and the Six had hastened to rule out that it might be taken as a precedent. The constant pressure exerted by the Mediterranean potential candidates (Spain, Israel, Tunisia, Morocco) was a further source of alarm, especially for Italy, which, fearing the competition of their cheaper agricultural products, refused the case-by-case approach and pressed for a restrictive association doctrine. The negotiations for Britain's adhesion had

2. F. AHMAD, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Routledge, London, 1993, p.130.

prompted applications from neutral OECD countries and were expected to alter the whole framework of external relations. The Six also feared that America's dislike of preferential agreements might lead to US opposition to an EEC-Turkey treaty in GATT. Indeed, Washington regretted having voiced, albeit reluctantly, its support for Greece's association, and evaded Turkey's request for it to put pressure on the EEC to adopt a more forthcoming attitude. The US maintained that the Greek model was the bottom line compatible with its interpretation of GATT rules, but tried to avoid making any clear statements on the matter. Lastly mistrust between the Commission and member states resulted in watchful control on Commission initiatives.

Under these unfavourable auspices, the Six and the Commission debated for months about the negotiation mandate. The Dutch, and less openly the French and the Italians, argued that the only thing Turkey really needed, a constant flow of financial aid, should not be channelled through an association agreement. The majority acknowledged the political need to give Turkey association, to maintain a balance with Greece, and to counter neutralist temptations. But France and Italy resisted commercial concessions on agricultural products and only Germany was ready to give generous financial help and the promise of full membership. Turkey, however, would accept nothing less, at least on paper. This new impasse was only overcome after the Cuba crises: Paris accepted to give a sign of solidarity, America's opposition faltered and in spring 1963 the Franco-German "synchronisation agreement" paved the way for a compromise.[3] The Ankara Treaty signed in September 1963 envisaged a preparatory period of five years that could be lengthened as required. During this period Turkey had no obligations to open her markets and was granted preferential access for four agricultural products (out of the ten it asked for) in exchange of a vague commitment to prepare its economy for integration into the EEC. A Franco-German compromise made provision for $175 million of financial aid for five years. And from December 1968, the Association Council could consider whether Turkey's economic state made it possible to move on to the second, 'transitional' phase designed to lead to a customs union and eventual full membership.

3. See relevant documents in RG 59, Bureau of European Affairs OECD, EC and Atlantic Political-Economic Affairs (EUR/RPE) Records relating to European Integration 1962-1966, Lot File 67D33, 5303 box 10, NARA. As for the "rather sudden change of attitude", it resulted "from a combination of factors. First, we tend to agree with the Six that for political reasons the Turkish desire for some tie with the EEC should be satisfied. The Turks have an increasingly uncomfortable feeling of isolation, which was emphasized by the special way in which they became involved in the Cuban crisis. Second, the Turkish government has apparently gone way out on a limb at home in promising association, and its domestic stabilization program could be seriously hurt if association were refused. Third, our special bilateral arrangements with Turkey could also be hurt if, as appeared possible if we stuck to our previous position, the Turks ended up with the feeling that we were the one responsible for a refusal. Last, if an EEC-Turkey arrangement is inevitable, a more positive attitude on our part during the negotiating period will give us a better chance to see that the arrangement does a minimum of harm to our interests, both commercial and political". See: Joel W. Biller (RPE) to C. Hoyt Price (US mission Bruxelles), 21.12.1962 Confidential, Official-Informal. The Turkish Desk has long supported Turkish reasons.

The modest commercial provisions of the Ankara agreement depended on the Six as well as on Turkey, and each blamed the other. The 'Second Republic' had espoused an import substitution strategy and protectionism for infant industries and maintained Ottoman mistrust toward foreign capitals and resentment of foreign control. The contradiction between this inward-looking attitude and mutual liberalisation was evident, but import substitution was popular at the time and Turkish products were not considered competitive enough to fuel an export-led development strategy. The lukewarm commitment of the Six was evident, as the meagre commercial concessions were aimed at maintaining existent flows, but did not promote an increase and diversification in exports, mainly owing to Italian foot-dragging. Financial aid and institutional bonds were the key elements of the relationship, but the Six did not give Turkey a say in future agreements with third countries, as it had with Greece. The choice of association was, then, political: the Turks wanted to be a part of the EEC and the Six were sensitive to this and feared the resentment a refusal would create. They had also seen how volatile Turkish commitments were to healthy finance: in the 1950s the Democrats had been major beneficiaries of US and Western European aid, but they had ignored all allied reproaches about profligacy. In Western circles many hoped that multilateral aid administered by technical agencies would be less exposed to political considerations and blackmail.

The agreement entered into force in 1964, when the Cyprus crisis was going through one of its peaks.[4] Archbishop Makarios's attempt to alter the 1960 Constitution prompted violence, and a Turkish invasion of the island was probably only averted when president Lyndon Johnson warned Ismet Inönü that Turkey could not count on NATO's help if its initiative provoked Soviet intervention. The "Johnson letter" of June 1964 and the feeling that Turkey had been treated as a bargaining chip in the Cuba crisis led the Turks to reappraise their foreign policy doctrine, the aim being to end the exclusive bond with the West and re-evaluate relations with the Arabs, the Islamic countries, the Eastern bloc and the non-aligned countries. Europe's position in this reappraisal was ambiguous: the article explaining how Turkey would redirect its foreign policy in closer adherence to its national interests admitted that

> "due to its social structure Turkey cannot be regarded as a Western country in the real sense of the term […] Turkey was admitted into the European community because of its geopolitical and strategic situation. It is the only Muslim member of that community. In the past, it was affiliated with another culture. […] its position in the European community cannot be regarded as strong".[5]

4. B. O'MALLEY, I. CRAIG, *The Cyprus Conspiracy. America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York, 1999.
5. H. BATU, *Turkey's Foreign Policy*, in: *T.C.Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, n.6, quoted in: M.B. AYKAN, *Turkey's Role in the Organisation of the Islamic Conference: 1960-1992. The Nature of Deviation from the Kemalist Heritage*, Vantage Press, New York, 1994, p.61.

To some extent the Europeans were regarded as sharing the US sin of not supporting Turkey in its willingness and obligation to protect the Turkish Cypriots, but they were also a possible alternative to an exclusive tie with the United States.

The policy of "diversification" won Turkey no real friends in the Cyprus question and the American bond remained crucial. However, chauvinism was encouraged and anti-Western feelings took root across the political spectrum, from the left to the nationalists and the new Islamists. Official pro-Western ideology was not really shaken, but ultra-nationalist leader Alparslan Türkeş and Islamist leader Necmettin Erbakan broadened their support base, and became necessary partners for coalition governments.

Moving towards association

Despite the bleak outlook, the deteriorating political situation found little space in EEC papers. In October 1967, one year before the deadline set in the Ankara Treaty, the Turks requested the immediate start of preparatory work in view of the end of the first stage. In the *Rapport préliminaire* sent to the Council in April 1968, the Commission concluded that, although the economic conditions suggested a need to lengthen the preparatory phase, for political and psychological reasons it was better to move to the second stage of the association, as postponement might encourage further delays in economic reforms.[6] Once again, the economy and politics diverged, with the latter prevailing, although it was not really spelt out what this meant in concrete terms. Turkey probably benefited from remaining a faithful, democratic member of NATO at a time when Greece was under a military junta, France was no longer part of NATO, and Makarios was gambling between the East, West, and non-aligned countries, and harassing the Turkish Cypriots.

The November 1970 Supplementary Protocol, which would only enter into force in January 1973 owing to a long ratification process, confirmed that the EEC and Turkey were heading towards customs union. It was an *accord cadre*, defining the rules for the dismantlement of mutual barriers in a period between 12 and 22 years. Article 36 stated that free movement of workers would be implemented progressively between 1976 and 1986 and article 39 committed the Six to take measures to extend to Turkish workers social rights enjoyed by EEC workers. As will become clear, both provisions would become bones of contention after 1973. A financial protocol established that Turkey could accede through the EBI to 195 million units of account of financial aid that would be made available by member

6. Historical Archives of the European Union (hereafter HAEU), Fond Edoardo Martino, EM-000092, SEC(68)1386 final, Rapport préliminaire de la Commission au Conseil au sujet du passage de la phase préparatoire à la phase transitoire de l'accord d'association avec la Turquie, 29.04.1968.

states.[7] Serious doubts existed about Turkey's ability to withstand the opening of its frontiers, and opposition in Turkey had been strong, from private industrialists, the SPO, and nationalists. However, the international environment was cooperative: while in 1965 the US and UK had criticised the Ankara Treaty in GATT and no agreement had been reached regarding its compatibility with article 24, in 1972 the US delegate only presented five remarks for the record and the Commonwealth and other European countries did not object either.[8]

With the new decade, however, the Turkish political situation had entered a difficult phase, while the economy bore the full brunt of international recession. With the March 1971 "coup by memorandum" the military did not assume direct power, but imposed technical governments of their choice, urging the repression of leftist intellectuals and political and trade union activists, and a restructuring of the party system. Only in October 1973 did elections mark the restoration of democracy. This long emergency regime came as the EEC was making crucial progress and as détente flourished in Europe. "Enlargement" brought three new members and associated status for the other EFTA members. "Deepening" led to new monetary and foreign policy initiatives, and EEC policies toward the Mediterranean, the developing countries, and the Arabs made Turkey's "special relationship" appear modest and obsolete, while the rocky international economy upset the balance of the 1970 Protocol. The December 1973 Copenhagen Declaration maybe did not answer but certainly posed the question of a "European Identity".

Catching up with "widening and deepening"

In spite of the political power vacuum, Turkey reacted by attempting to strengthen its ties with the Community and by taking part in Political Cooperation. Three new adhesions to the Community made it necessary to negotiate new commercial agreements with all the Mediterranean countries.[9] In January 1972 negotiations began, to adapt the Supplementary Protocol to enlargement. Ankara saw this as an opportunity to curtail the obligations agreed upon in 1970, regarded as being too onerous, especially in the deteriorating economic situation; in April a

7. Belgium and the Netherlands, 14,3 million c.u.; Germany and France 65,2 million c.u.; Italy 37,7 million c.u.; Luxembourg, 0,3 million c.u. The EBI itself refused to make her resources available to Turkey. In 1969 the EBI had assumed the management of the consortium for the building of the Bosphorus Bridge, financed by Britain, Germany, Italy and France and built by an Anglo-German firm, with Italian subcontractors. In ten years, the EEC would concede soft loans for 400 Million $ to Turkey, 300 were spent in infrastructures, 100 in industrial investments.
8. UKNA, FCO 30/1310, Tel. Geneva to FCO, Gatt. Working Party on EEC-Turkey Association Agreement, 11.09.1972, n.117. On US policy see: *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976,* vol.XXX.
9. HAEU, Fond Franco Maria Malfatti 12, P-48, Le relazioni tra la Comunità e i paesi del bacino mediterraneo, October 1972.

memorandum pressed for a radical reappraisal of Turkish obligations, including a clause that would permit Turkey to impose import restrictions without consultation in the most important industrial sectors for the next ten years. President in charge Gaston Thorn and the Commission's secretary Emile Noël reacted strongly, expressing doubts about Turkish interest to keep the association going. A difficult period of negotiations followed, until the solemn signing of a Complementary Protocol in June 1973. There were problems regarding the export of cotton textiles to Ireland and Britain and the quantification of British financial aid; the Commission asked for the same amount paid out by France and Germany, but Britain refused, lest a precedent be set for "Yaoundé III"[10] or the Mediterranean countries, and proposed to contribute on the basis of its share of the Community's GNP. Once again, then, the fear of a "precedent" proved detrimental to Turkey. In the end, the enlargement brought Turkey an increase in financial aid of $47 million.

While the Nine pressed for tough conditions, in Britain both the Foreign Office and the ministry for Trade shared concerns for the future: in the enlarged Community, it appeared impossible that Turkish industry would develop quickly enough to withstand European competition within the timescale envisaged by the association agreements. Therefore, Turkey's admission into the EEC appeared "almost inconceivable in the foreseeable future"; at the same time 'Turkey's association agreement with the EEC [made] little economic sense if full membership of the Community ceases to be the ultimate objective at the end of the provisional period".[11]

> "In short, the trade provisions of the association agreement are inappropriate for an economy as backward as that of Turkey. It is arguable that Turkey's economic development would be better served by full participation as a beneficiary in an improved Generalised Preferences Scheme. In these circumstances Association with the Community could still continue of course, but with fewer direct commercial obligations and with other objectives to the fore. The encouragement of Turkey's economic development through aid, technical cooperation and the free movement of workers is already an important objective of the Association; but the extent to which this aspect can be developed depends upon the Community's overall priorities in the aid field. Equally the political motives for Association – the strategic position of Turkey on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea – has its limitations. The Association Council has not been used in any significant way to increase the political co-operation – as its task has been mainly confined to trade matters, and it appears more of an instrument for keeping Turkey at arm's length than for bringing her into the political counsels of the Community".[12]

This fresh perspective on EEC-Turkish relations pointed out the contradictory nature of a relationship that used economic means to political ends, but whose political foundations were sterile and whose political aims remained unfulfilled,

10. UKNA, FCO 30/2664, Cullimore to Hall, 03.02.1972, confidential.
11. UKNA, FCO 30/2684, Department of Trade and Industry to Cabinet Office, 07.06.1972, The outlook for Turkey.
12. Ibid.

while the economic stranglehold became tighter and tighter. The British therefore began to sponsor an enhanced approach to Turkey, the aim being to try to improve EEC-Turkish political cooperation and to reshuffle the goals and means of the association so they were more coherent.

Indeed, efforts to secure a place in the EPC had become a *leitmotif* of Turkish diplomatic action in EEC capitals. As the British recollected, "throughout 1972, the Turkish government pressed hard for closer involvement – ideally some institutional link or even actual participation – in the political consultations". In May 1972 the Six had given a first response: the presidency would give Turkey information about the political deliberations which were of particular interest to her through the political director. In June, Ankara asked to be given information at a ministerial level, in the margin of the Association Council and in the presence of all Foreign ministries.[13] Then in September the Turks circulated a paper setting out suggestions for closer cooperation, and submitted papers on political subjects. They proposed:

– that the agenda of the forthcoming meeting of the Political Committee should be given to them and they would submit Turkish papers on the subject to be discussed by the Committee;
– that the president of the Council of ministers should have an exchange of views and information with the Turkish minister of Foreign affairs when Council of Association meetings were held;
– that from 1973 the Turkish political director should take part as an observer at the deliberations of the Political Committee.[14]

The Nine took up the second of these proposals ("the first suggestion effectively gives the Turks full knowledge of the scope of the political consultation and indeed an indirect voice in the discussions. The third suggestion actually puts the Turks at the table"):

> "It was clear that some gesture had to be made towards Turkey if she was not to be seriously offended but at the same time the Turks were only one of several third countries with close geographical and some sort of treaty relationship with the Community; there was a risk of opening a Pandora's box by accepting either suggestion. The political directors were agreed that full political consultations were for full members only".

The British government acknowledged the need to improve the political dimension of EEC-Turkish relations, to strengthen bilateral relations, and to keep Turkey aligned with pro-Western positions. The Foreign Office was convinced that the economic nonsense of the association regime was only worthwhile if it was balanced by fulfilment of the political aims that were behind it. It also foresaw that

13. HAEU, Fond Emile Noël EN-000655, S/72.25.704, Note [d'Emile Noël] à l'attention de Monsieur Sigrist, Association de la Turquie aux travaux des Dix sur la coopération politique, 28.06.1972.
14. UKNA, FCO 9/1840, G.S. Wright, EEC Political Cooperation: Turkey, 26.01.1973.

Turkey was bound to be left behind as the EEC moved forward in political and defence cooperation and feared that Washington's declining commitment to European security would leave Turkey isolated. Pro-Western Turks warned that opposition to the EEC and to pro-Western policies was mounting, claimed that the EEC ought to acknowledge that Turkey's economic underdevelopment did not hamper its political maturity, and that they needed to demonstrate to their people that Turkey was accepted as an equal member of the EEC. The defence of Europe, they argued, would be threatened by an un-cooperative Turkey, so an effort should be made to lock Turkey into European cooperation.[15]

In November 1972 the EEC ministerial meeting agreed that

> "the current president […] should inform the Turkish minister of Foreign affairs on a personal basis of the political consultations in the margin of the meetings of the Council of Association […]. This decision would not affect the procedure for passing information followed by the president of the Political Committee".

In the meantime, the Nine had ignored Turkey's request to participate in the October Paris summit. As Britain had been shut out of the political consultations until its accession to the EEC had become more than certain and the United States would only obtain a consultation procedure in 1974, Turkey's being the only non-member country with a formal arrangement for regular information about EPC consultations was not a bad result. However, Ankara continued to press for involvement in the implementation of "common policies". In January 1973, at the CSCE meeting, some Turkish diplomatic noises were interpreted in Western capitals as a signal of problems to come if Turkey was not informed of European strategy and aims. Notwithstanding this, the Nine turned down demands for participation in their consultations. Turkey based its case on its "special position" in EEC external relations, but the Nine feared the "precedent". Furthermore, its argument for claiming participation – to represent the Mediterranean countries excluded from CSCE negotiations – was counterproductive, as the great majority of European governments did not want to discuss Mediterranean issues in the CSCE. A second occasion came in 1974, as European-Arab dialogue got under way. The political director of the Turkish Foreign ministry asked for Turkey to participate in meetings between representatives of the Nine and of the oil-producing countries, and on several occasions Prime minister Bülent Ecevit renewed Turkey's offer to act as a bridge between European and Middle Eastern countries, and put forward plans for cooperation (e.g. concerning Turkish labour and water supplies).[16]

The Nine's reaction was embarrassed and tainted with the usual preoccupation about the psychological impact of rejection and the possible damage to bilateral relations: "If our answer is to be, as I imagine, unenthusiastic, I hope that we can

15. See for example UKNA, FCO 30/1311, R. Sarell (Ankara) to A. Douglas-Home, 28.11.1972.
16. HAEU, EN-001641, Directeur général [Dg.] des Relations extérieures, Note à l'attention de M. Noël. Voyage du président Ortoli en Turquie, 24.04.1974.

hide behind the French",[17] commented G.S. Wright of the Foreign Office concerning the Euro-Arab dialogue. The French willingly played the *vilains*. It was not a new role for them: during the 1962–63 negotiations Turkish support for the Algerian FLN and the limited significance of bilateral trade had prompted France to make things difficult for a renowned US client. Italy, which was Turkey's second commercial partner, had profited from French stubbornness. After 1972, while the French remained aloof – and the Turks suspected Emile Noël of sharing this attitude – and Germany was losing enthusiasm, Britain became Turkey's best friend in the Community. Germany, Italy, and Britain were all keen to retain Turkish goodwill for political and/or commercial reasons, but Britain was in the most favourable position, being able to shelter behind other countries whose worries about specific problems were stronger than its own. For instance, although Britain was concerned about the prospect of the free movement of Turkish workers, Germany was so alarmed that it was prepared to offend Ankara. Moreover, Britain did not want EEC customs to become wide open to Turkish agricultural products, and could count on Italy digging in its heels on concessions. As regards political cooperation, France could be expected to set tight limits and leave Britain to play the nice guy.[18]

Turkish requests were repeated in the EEC-Turkish Joint Parliamentarian Committee. The Nine did seriously discuss it, in the context of the general question about information to third countries, and in the light of the agreed procedure to inform Mediterranean countries with whom the Community was signing association agreements. It was agreed that there could be consultation with allied or friendly countries on an *ad hoc*, case-by-case basis, and each of the Nine remained free to consult bilaterally, but Ankara did not obtain a special arrangement. Clearly what mattered to Ankara was not so much actual consultations and/or information – after all, NATO and bilateral relations gave plenty of opportunities for that – as it was the formal acknowledgement of its belonging to the core of Europe. Its ambition was both justified and difficult to attain. As the British also admitted,

> "the institutionalisation of the political cooperation machinery had not progressed very far and we do not wish to dilute it by formalising links with third parties, however worthy".[19]

The Cyprus crisis

The Foreign ministers of the Nine and the commissioner for External relations Christopher Soames had travelled to Ankara at the end of June 1973 to sign the

17. UKNA, FCO 30/2172, Ankara embassy to G.S. Wright, 11.06.1974, confidential.
18. See for ex. in UKNA, FCO 30/1312, the visit of L. Amery to Ankara in June 1973 and his meeting with Foreign minister Bayülken.
19. UKNA, FCO 30/2172, A.C. Goodison to H. Phillips (Ankara), 28.06.1974.

Complementary Protocol.[20] Negotiations for opening a Bureau of Information of the Commission in Ankara were under way.[21] However, new problems appeared on the horizon when Ecevit stated in the government program of January 1974 that "the protocols to the Association will be revised". This caused reflection in the Commission, where papers trying to explain this lack of mutual enthusiasm circulated. The nature of the agreement was acknowledged to be part of the problem:

> "The EEC may feel that it is the wrong kind of agreement at least with a country so different from the Community members as Turkey. And the Turkish attitude to the question of becoming European is ambiguous".[22]

Bilateral problems therefore began to be conceptualized in terms of identity.[23] The difficulties seemed to stem from the "development provisions" – consultations for co-ordination of economic and commercial policies, and provisions for gradual free access of Turkish workers:

> "We do not want to see our freedom of action in trade policy limited by having to take into account the interests of others; we certainly do not like to let anybody have a say in our formulation and carrying out of policies; and Turkey is not the first country of our choice today to whom such a particular role would be given".

Turkey's record on the ten years of association was negative:

> "Turkey has not changed fundamentally since the present agreement was concluded. Except for isolated areas of industrialization, Turkey is basically much the same, politically and economically as 10 years ago".

However, demoralising remarks about the past, the present, and the future of the relationship did not lead to any concrete proposals as to how to revive or revise the relationship. "I frankly do not know, and remain convinced […] that Turkey will remain a not at all easy partner, whatever we do, for a good many years to come", admitted Inge Nielsen from the External relations directorate. A paper prepared prior to president François Xavier Ortoli's visit to Turkey in April 1974 to answer the question "si l'association a atteint son but économique principal, c'est-à-dire si elle a contribué à aider la Turquie à sortir de son sous-développement"[24] also stressed the lukewarm attitude of both parties.

Ecevit did not ask Ortoli for any revision, but complained heavily about Turkey being "left aside" by the EPC and about delays in the implementation of the social provisions for Turkish workers agreed in the Supplementary Protocol.[25] In August

20. It would enter into force only in 1986, but an *accord intérimaire* made the commercial provisions effective as of 01.01.1974.
21. HAEU, EN-1995, Aide-mémoire. Création d'un bureau de presse et d'information de la Commission des Communautés européennes en Turquie, 19.06.1973.
22. HAEU, EN-1641, Inge Nielsen, Some thoughts on the EEC-Turkey Association, 09.04.1974.
23. See also UKNA FCO 30/1311, R. Sarell (Ankara) to A. Douglas-Home, 28.11.1972.
24. Note à l'attention de M.Noël, 24.04.1974, op.cit.
25. HAEU, EN-001103, Entretien avec M.Ecevit.

he secretly ordered the SPO and the ministry of Commerce to prepare a review of EEC-Turkish relations.

After 1973, major problems and contrasts did indeed come from articles 36 and 39 (concerning the free movement of workers and social rights) of the Supplementary Protocol. During the 1960s, remittances from Turkish workers in the EEC had risen to 1 billion dollars, covering one third of the balance of payments deficit. But after the oil shock, article 36 became a nightmare for Germany, which, at the end of 1973, imposed a ban on recruitment of guest workers. Studies estimated there might be as many as 10 million Turkish workers in Germany by 1990 if free movement was implemented and in the summer of 1974 Bonn considered how to face the problem, suggesting, in a memorandum, "assisted free movement", i.e. a system of controls.[26] Britain and Germany more or less agreed to make common cause in holding up implementation of free movement by failing to reach unanimity on the regulations in the Council of Association, only disagreeing on who would take the lead.[27] As for article 39, discussions in the Association bodies run into serious difficulties, as the Europeans baulked at the prospect of having to pay high social welfare benefits for Turkish workers. Problems also arose in the agricultural negotiations. The Global Mediterranean Policy eroded Turkish privileges, Spain and Israel in particular had obtained important concessions, and Commission members grew impatient at Turkish complaints and requests. On the other hand, the Europeans condemned Turkish legislation against foreign investments and in general discrimination and hostile rules that penalised foreign economic activities in Turkey; this would be insistently criticised as neo-liberal positions developed towards the end of the decade.[28]

However, Turkish worries in the summer of 1974 were nothing compared to its fears and disappointment following the Cyprus invasion, the fall of the colonels, and the Greek announcement of its intention to apply for full membership as soon as possible. The principle of parallelism was once again vigorously argued by Ankara in EEC circles:

> "[La Turquie] ne pouvait concevoir une adhésion de la Grèce à la Communauté sans adhésion de la Turquie, sinon simultanée du moins proche. Cette politique de parité dans les rapports avec l'Europe avait toujours été celle du Gouvernement turc et avait été reconnue du coté de la Communauté, comme en témoignent les similitudes des traités d'association de la Communauté avec la Grèce et avec la Turquie".[29]

26. UKNA, FCO 30/2172, B.L. Crowe (Bonn) to R.Q. Braithwaite (EID), 19.07.1974.
27. Ibid.
28. See for ex. the report on a seminar on the EEC-Turkey relations, held in Antalya in October 1976: HAEU, EN-000826. In general on the period, see *Documents on British Policy Overseas*, series III, vol.V, *The Southern Flank in Crisis, 1973-1976*, Routledge, London, 2006.
29. HAEU, EN-001104, P.689/74, E. Noël, Note à l'attention de M. Ortoli, Entretien avec l'ambassadeur Saraçoglu, 10.09.1974.

European reactions to the Cyprus imbroglio were embarrassed and unimpressive. Initial understanding of Turkey's motives gave way to condemnation as Turkish forces held more than one third of the island and thousands of Greek Cypriots were displaced and harassed. The EPC as such kept a low profile and also the UK excluded that economic carrots could be given to Turkey to encourage it to withdraw its forces. The question was almost absent in the Association Council held in September 1974. The situation worsened as Turkey fell into political chaos: in spite of the huge popularity the Cyprus invasion gave the Prime minister, Ecevit's government did not survive and his resignation opened a long crisis. An above-party cabinet stayed on until, at the end of March 1975, Süleyman Demirel formed the so-called Nationalist Front, with Necmettin Erbakan and Alparslan Turkeş as the main partners. In the meantime, the Turkish-Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş, with the backing of the Turkish nationalists and military, took measures to consolidate partition in Cyprus, thereby driving Turkey up a blind alley: at best, the Turkish leadership was suspected of not doing enough to stop Denktaş and to push him to compromise, at worst to be behind the move. On 5 February 1975 the US Senate, in an act of defiance towards Henry Kissinger, had imposed a ban on arms supplies to Turkey. Kissinger was unable to obtain withdrawal of the ban, and the crisis rumbled on for months, involving NATO – after the French and Greek withdrawal it was not inconceivable that Turkey might follow them – and placing the Europeans in a dilemma when Turkey asked for political solidarity and military supplies.[30]

Fears about a Turkish withdrawal from the alliance were soon allayed: the Turkish government declared it to be "out of the question" and only reduced co-operation on American military and intelligence installations, and abstained from participating in NATO's September exercises in the Mediterranean. However, Ankara took the question of the arms embargo to NATO and asked the European members of the alliance to make up the shortfall in supplies resulting from the American ban. Generally speaking, the Europeans considered the US ban to be a major error, in so far that it radicalised both the Turks and the Greeks and made compromise more difficult. On 13 February the EPC issued a good-will declaration, but with no conspicuous result. On the other hand, by cultivating in a more or less coordinated way each of its bilateral relations with the parties in the crisis, the Nine managed to maintain a balanced approach. France's *penchant* for Greece was confirmed and its return to democracy obviously favoured Athens. Later, however, Greece's withdrawal from the military organisation of NATO put Turkey in a positive light as the Eastern pillar of the alliance. The British cabinet decided to consider the Turkish arms shopping list sympathetically and to allow the sale, on commercial terms (aid was excluded), of such military equipment as was relevant to Turkey's ability to discharge her obligations towards NATO defence, warning that the situation would be reviewed if new fighting involved Turkish troops in Cyprus. London also approached members of the US Senate to try to

30. B. O'MALLEY, I. CRAIG, op.cit., pp.225-227.

speed up the end of the ban. Britain remained committed to keep the relationship going. But economic bilateral issues soured the atmosphere. A mini-trade war had erupted over cotton yarn, when the British introduced import licensing at the end of 1974 after Turkish exports had increased almost tenfold in the previous two years, cotton products being the only commodity to benefit enormously, and unexpectedly, from the association provisions. The Turks had retaliated by restricting imports of polyethylene, synthetic rubber, excavating machinery, and fork-lift trucks. The British passed the question to the Commission and this defused the bilateral tension, but virtually put Turkey into a corner. When in June the Turks became incensed by the participation of Makarios at the EEC-Cyprus Association Council meeting, London suggested that Denktaş ask for a meeting with the Commission, but it did not accept the Turkish request for it to oppose the Makarios meeting.

For its own part, in March 1975 the FRG resumed arms sales to both Turkey and Greece,[31] and in June Foreign minister Hans Dietrich Genscher travelled to Turkey. Bonn was to the fore in trying to defuse the Turkish-American crisis over arms supplies and American use of Turkish military facilities.[32] In 1976 the minister for Armaments, Georg Leber, and chancellor Helmut Schmidt also visited Ankara in an effort to keep political relations on a normal footing.[33]

A fragmented outlook

However, time worked against Turkey in the Cyprus crisis. Its position steadily deteriorated into resentful isolation and during 1975 EEC-Turkish relations grew more and more tense. Within the Commission, a lively debate took place in spring-summer 1975. The Turkish Desk of the Foreign relations directorate, Caporale, was among those growing impatient, describing the Turks as "unorthodox and utterly frustrating", unable to discuss "in a civilized manner" questions such as the EEC's Mediterranean Policy or free movement.[34] Not everybody was so negative: in April 1975, commissioner Carlo Scarascia Mugnozza visited Turkey and reported the alarmed views of Western diplomats and EEC functionaries, urged the Commission to look seriously at the whole state of EEC-Turkish relations and to work on breaking an impasse that was not only Turkey's fault. Scarascia wrote an impassioned *plaidoyer* for a relaunching of the association: the domestic situation was so unpredictable, the pro-Western circles so weak and besieged, the regional environment so unstable, and Turkey's international ties so relaxed that anything

31. *Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (hereafter AAP) 1975, docs.32 and 57.
32. See the Genscher-Demirel conversations in AAP 1975, doc.170.
33. AAP 1976, doc.30 and pp.724-736.
34. UKNA, FCO 30/2684, R. James, Meeting with M. Caporale, Friday 20th June, 23.06.1975; ECO 6/32, restricted.

could happen. Moreover, Scarascia, like many others, took it almost for granted that Turkey would follow suit in the event of a Greek application for full membership, and to prevent this "nightmarish" prospect the EEC ought to move in advance and propose "un fonctionnement plus politique des institutions de l'association, avec des formes de consultation et de rapports beaucoup plus significatives".[35]

In fact, as Greece's application materialised, Turkey launched an effort to catch up. To everybody's relief, Turkey's own application was only mentioned as a remote threat, but Ankara claimed that the Greek application – made for "purely political reasons" and with the goal of "driving Turkey back into Asia" – had to be counter-balanced by giving Turkey an enhanced political association. In May 1975 a memorandum was sent to the Italian presidency in advance of the Association Council to be held on 16 September. At the meeting, president Mariano Rumor had the uncomfortable task of making it clear that the Nine would not modify the agreed procedure.[36] In the weeks before the meeting, the British had actively worked for this result, sponsoring the line of gentle firmness,[37] and in the aftermath of the meeting, when Germany suggested discussing the question again, stuck to the need to "uphold the firm statement on political cooperation made to the Turks at the Association Council by Rumor". The Turks were not to use the Political Cooperation machinery to offset eventual Greek membership.

In July the German government had also launched a wide-ranging diplomatic action to collect support for a restrictive approach to the question of the free movement of workers. Although the initiative was not aimed exclusively at Turkey, but also at other Mediterranean countries with which agreements were negotiated, Turkey was obviously affected. The Germans argued that the Community position had developed against a background of an over-optimistic assumption about the absorptive power of Community labour markets; the current difficulties were not temporary and this ought to be taken into account in negotiations. Articles 36 and 39 of the Association Agreement were a huge problem and the Germans were determined to prevent free movement becoming effective.[38]

In the Commission something was moving however. Although Scarascia's almost emotional proposals apparently did not strike the right chords in Brussels, as Soames' response was lukewarm, in December 1975, Giampaolo Papa, the Commission's representative in Ankara, came out with the proposal for a "global approach" to Turkey. This involved setting certain deadlines in the next ten years for agricultural concessions and in other fields, in order to produce a political and

35. HAEU, Fond Carlo Scarascia Mugnozza CSM 49, C.Scarascia Mugnozza to C.Soames, 10.04.1975.
36. UKNA, FCO 9/2349, Note of meeting between the president of the Council and the Turkish Foreign minister in the Political Cooperation Framework, 16th September.
37. UKNA, FCO 9/2349, EEC Council of ministers, 15-16.09.1975, Brief VII: 21st meeting of the EEC-Turkey Association Council.
38. UKNA, FCO 30/2684, Rimington to Moore, 09.07.1975. Talks with Herr Arendt.

psychological effect capable of relaunching the dialogue. The "global approach" probably had other objectives as well: to resist the Turkish demand for the most-favoured nation clause in agricultural products and to overcome the quarrels that paralysed the Nine every time measures were discussed that affected only one sector. The "global approach" was not adopted but it was agreed that the relationship needed to be restored.

How problematic this was in the difficult conditions of the late 1970s would become clear during the long months in which an internal compromise was sought. In February 1976, the preparation of the next association council was already in a situation of total impasse on agricultural issues, as the member states opposed the Commission's proposal to extend to Turkey the better conditions enjoyed by other Mediterranean countries for all products. Only products that were really important for the Turkish economy should have privileged status, they argued. "L'association", stated Jean-Marie Soutou on behalf of France, "n'est pas un accord commercial et […] il est donc pas question d'y introduire la clause de la nation la plus favorisée".[39] Thorn invited the Foreign ministers to a debate on the future of the Association on the political, economic, financial, and social plans. The Mediterranean Policy, which offered all the countries situated on the shores of the Mediterranean commercial privileges and financial aid, was a real setback for Turkey. Psychologically, it ended the "special relationship" with the EEC, while in practical terms it produced an erosion of Turkish privileges. In particular, the 1975 free trade agreement with Israel was received with dismay in Turkey. Moreover, some member states had "clients" among the new partners in whom they were much more interested than in Turkey. In 1976, it was plain in EEC circles that the 1973 Complementary Protocol had been rendered obsolete by recent and dramatic economic changes.

Although everybody accepted that association had very little benefit for Turkey, owing to the "internationalisation of the economy", the Mediterranean Policy etc., the paucity of what member states were ready to concede and their incapacity to agree what was the "minimum présentable" to Turkey resulted in stalemate. In June, the discussion of the Mediterranean Financial Protocols demonstrated that Turkey had fallen down the list of priorities. Not only was Turkey just one more country in a group that also included Greece, the Mashriq, Israel and Cyprus. France wanted to give Greece more financial aid than Turkey, reversing an established informal rule, and in the end it accepted only a 30 million unit of account surplus for Turkey, instead of the 120 requested by Britain and the Commission. Furthermore, whatever the "péripéties de la réunion avec la Turquie",

39. HAEU, EN-1107, 804e réunion du Comité des représentants permanents: 26.02.1976. Préparation du Conseil d'Association CEE-Turquie.

France wanted negotiations with Greece to solemnly open on 30 July.[40] On the other hand, the Commission ruled out any proposal for "actions concrètes dans le domaine tarifaire": "toute action impliquerait que la Communauté propose […] de revoir l'accord d'association". In view of the negotiations with Greece, this could be interpreted as a "remise en cause" of the final objective of Turkish adhesion.

In mid July 1976, a package of four *volets* was ready for Turkey, in view of the Association Council to be held on 24 July, three days before the opening of the Greek negotiations. On the questions of the free movement of workers and agrarian exports, Germany, France, and Italy considered they had gone as far as they could. The package actually contained no concessions on migrant workers, as it considered Turks on the same level as other foreigners, and little on agriculture; the third *volet*, development of the association, offered industrial and technical cooperation, and the fourth contained 310 million units of account of financial aid. Turkey refused the package and postponed the Association Council.

This dramatic step took place in a deteriorating climate. The German government was now in the forefront trying to keep the dialogue going. In May chancellor Schmidt had visited Ankara and held conversations with Süleyman Demirel and Foreign minister Ishan Sabri Caglayangil. In spite of the warm political intimacy and the flow of military and economic aid that Bonn continued to give,[41] many political and economic difficulties stood in the way.[42] In its search for support on the Cyprus issue, a few days previously Ankara had hosted the seventh meeting of the Foreign ministries of the Islamic Conference Organisation: a resolution calling for Israel's expulsion from the UN had been adopted and Turkey had declared that it would approve the Charter of the ICO and allow the opening of a PLO office in Ankara.[43] In June, Demirel received Todor Zivkov, Josip Tito, and Nicolea Ceaucescu. In the meantime, a US-Turkish arms agreement signed in March still awaited US ratification. Economic bones of contention included the stagnation of German and Western investments in Turkey, financial aid, and the opening of EEC markets to Turkish exports. However, the biggest problem by far was that of Turkish workers, over which Germany refused to comply with the EEC's commitment. German inflexibility stemmed directly from Schmidt, but was only in part a fruit of the forthcoming elections. In Schmidt's view, Germany should not allow a problem of minorities to develop, therefore no new Turkish

40. HAEU, EN-00653, Protocols financiers Méditerranée, 21.06.1976; France's closure toward Turkey was evident in the Schmidt-Giscard conversations of early July: while Giscard confirmed that Greece had to be accepted as a member, he also stated: "Frankreich werde nie eine Mitgliedschaft der Türkei, Israels, der Maghreb – oder Mashrek-Staaten akzeptieren": AAP 1976, doc.227, 13th July 1976, pp.1051-1054, here: 1052.
41. Until 1976 Germany gave capital aid as of 2986 Million DM, Turkey was second after India; since 1964 Germany gave yearly military aid to Turkey according to a NATO Council decision.
42. See AAP 1976, pp.724-736.
43. Turkey had begun to actively support the PLO and its claim for a Palestinian state in 1974, reversing its previous stand against international terrorism; in 1975 it voted in favour of a UN draft resolution describing Zionism as a form of racism. See M.B. AYKAN, op.cit., pp.76-79.

Gastarbeiter should settle in Germany.[44] But *Gastarbeiter* remittances covered one third of Turkey's balance of payment deficit, and Turkey could not easily forego such an influx. It also did not want to accept a withdrawal of a commitment assumed by the Community years before. As ambassador Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol commented:

> "Both sides have for years omitted to talk about this question, hiding their head in the sand: in Ankara, because all they could think about were the workers' remittances as a support for the balance of payments, and us, because we have not been able to agree on a decent foreign workers' policy that is fair for the country of origin on political and development policy grounds".

According to the ambassador, however, it was impossible to isolate the question from the position of Turkey in NATO, the question of Greece's accession to the EEC, and Turkey's relations with the EEC.

> "In the two critical years since the beginning of the Cyprus crisis the position of the West in Turkey has been kept in place above all through the Federal Republic. We have remained practically the only credible speaker for European and Atlantic interests. If we fall by the wayside as well, and if the Congress does not authorize the Turkish-American military agreements, in the ensuing realignment of Turkish policy, the relationship with Europe could also be questioned. Even without this, the association with the EC has more enemies here than supporters. It would be tragic if the bridge collapsed as a consequence of a domestically motivated, short-sighted attitude of the Federal Republic".[45]

But the ambassador also criticised the German government for having tried to hide behind the Community. In his view, Germany should find a solution with Turkey and then get the Community to endorse it.

A new question erupted in August: the Greek-Turkish quarrel about the Aegean continental shelf revived and Turkey found itself under pressure from both the UN Security Council and the EEC, in which the pro-Greek attitude of the president in charge, Dutch Foreign minister Max van der Stoel, was balanced by the External Relations Commissioner Soames, supported by the Germans and the Danes.[46]

After the Association Council was again postponed in October, small concessions on agriculture and financial aid were envisaged; but a compromise had to be found on the free movement of workers. Emile Noël's "second priority" formula – that Turkish workers have priority over other non-Community workers – slowly gained ground, and was able to give Turkey a psychological premium while conceding nothing substantial in the current conditions of European unemployment.[47] The Association Council held on 20 December 1976 sealed a meagre agreement.

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44. AAP 1976, doc.241, footnote 6.
45. AAP 1976, doc.261, Sonnenhol to A.A., 11.08.1976, pp.1194-1219, here: p.1196.
46. AAP 1976, doc.283, Konferenz der Außenminister der EG-Mitgliedstaaten in Beesterzwaag, 12.09.1976.
47. HAEU, EN-000826, E. Noël to J.C. Paye, 22.10.1976, personnel.

"Like any other third country"

In 1976 the famous Turkish journalist Mehmet Ali Birand, then the only Turkish journalist accredited at the EEC, reported sadly in *Milliyet* that, according to a high member of the Commission, Turkey "no longer had a special status and had to be considered like any other third country". Some Commission members had been mumbling this for years, arguing that the reasons behind the 1963 Association Agreement did not exist anymore and that the EEC's political, geographical, and economic priorities had changed. So a country that in 1959 had gone for membership of the European Community seemed, at the end of the 1970s, both unwilling and unable to keep pace with developments in the Community. But the causes went back a long way, and lay in the basic lack of coherence between economic instruments and political aims in the EEC-Turkish relationship. Economic difficulties were allowed to strain the relationship and a gap in the economic approach deepened in the late 1970s, as Europe slowly moved toward neo-liberal strategies and clashed with Turkey on its resistance to opening its market to foreign investments. Absorbed by their domestic problems, the EEC countries refused to concede Turkey even minor economic prizes. On the contrary, they hid opportunistically behind the Community and pretended that economic problems could be isolated from political relations.

At the same time the EEC countries did not consider the Community to be a political actor with a role to play in the Eastern Mediterranean. Few felt that the EPC was the right instrument to balance the loosening EEC bonds. The governments placed tight limits on it, and the British and Germans, who at different times took the lead in political dialogue, shared a reluctance to open the doors of the EPC to Ankara. Nationalism and anti-Western feelings in Turkish politics played a big role in strengthening the gap, and the Cyprus issue placed Turkey in a corner. In 1980, Turkey's third and most devastating coup d'état plunged the country back into authoritarianism, political captivity, and human rights violations, while in Western Europe the age of dictators and political violence was becoming a thing of the past. Turkey would take a long time to free itself from this bitter heritage.

Die Türkei und die Europäische Union

Türkei und Europa

Die Staatsdoktrin der Türkischen Republik, ihre Aufnahme in die EU und die kurdische Nationalfrage

Von Naif Bezwan

2008, 347 S., brosch., 59,– €,
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Der Türkischen Republik liegt eine offizielle Staatsdoktrin zugrunde, die die türkische Vorherrschaft über andere Völker der Türkei fundiert und forciert, dem Militär eine beherrschende Rolle im politischen System zuschreibt und dementsprechend den Beitritt der Türkei zur EU nur unter dem Vorbehalt des Fortbestandes eben dieser Staatsauffassung verfolgt.

Politische Konditionalität der EU – eine erfolgreiche Demokratieförderungsstrategie?

Eine Analyse am Beispiel der Türkei

Von Sabrina Giesendorf

2009, 439 S., brosch., 89,– €,
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EU-Erweiterungspolitik als Strategie der Demokratieförderung? In dieser theoretisch und empirisch fundierten sowie strukturierten Analyse wird der Einfluss der EU auf die Konsolidierung demokratischer Strukturen in der Türkei untersucht. Im Zentrum steht die Frage, inwiefern die EU mit ihrem exklusiven Instrument der politischen Konditionalität Demokratie effektiv fördert.

A European Answer to the *Spanish Question*: The SPD and the End of the Franco Dictatorship

Antonio MUÑOZ SÁNCHEZ

On the morning of 15 November 1975, while Francisco Franco lay dying in a Madrid hospital, the young leader of the Spanish socialists, Felipe González, appealed from the tribune of the SPD congress in Mannheim to all European democrats to contribute to the imminent resurgence of liberty in his country. He made this petition in a peculiar manner:

> "For many years experience has demonstrated that the attitude of being willing to accept an autocratic regime in the hope of forcing its democratisation, produces the opposite effect. Today, when great expectations [for freedom in Spain] are once again being raised, we, the socialists, warn Europeans of their historical responsibility if this mistake should be repeated. All the democratic countries of Europe and the whole world have the duty to support the democratic project of the Spanish opposition".[1]

This quotation is specially revealing because it contradicts the prevailing explanation concerning the position of Franco's Spain in European politics, and more specifically in the process of European integration. During the last three decades scholars have broadly assumed that in spite of the growing economic interrelation with the countries north of the Pyrenees, efforts of Franco's regime to overcome its pariah status in Europe were in vain, as exemplified by the poor achievements in the EEC (Preferential Agreement of 1970).[2] As the only actor able to make the Spanish society's dream of integration in the Community come true, the democratic opposition would have been, in political terms, the major beneficiary of contacts with "Europe". For Europeanism came to be identified in Spain with democracy, and turned into a powerful tool antifrancoists used in order to discredit and undermine the dictatorship, and to force it to a democratic transition after the autocrat had died.[3] Following this interpretation, European socialist parties would have worked hard to set back Madrid's interest in the EEC and to support Spanish companions in their struggle for freedom.[4]

But a recent archive-based research questions all these assumptions and sheds light on González's words, by plainly demonstrating that the Franco regime did not

1. Quoted in *Exprés Español* (monthly magazine edited in Frankfurt for Spanish *Gastarbeiter*), n.64, p.11.
2. J.C. PEREIRA CASTAÑARES, A. MORENO JUSTE, *Spain: In the centre or on the periphery of Europe?*, in: A. COSTA PINTO, N. SEVERIANO TEIXEIRA (eds.), *Southern Europe and the Making of the European Union, 1945-1980s*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, pp.62-63.
3. M.E. CAVALLARO, *El europeísmo y la oposición desde el franquismo hasta la Transición democrática*, in: R. QUIROSA-CHEYROUZE Y MUÑOZ (coord.), *Historia de la Transición en España*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid, 2007.
4. P. ORTUÑO ANAYA, *European Socialists and Spain. The Transition to Democracy, 1959-77*, Palgrave, London, 2002.

suffer any kind of pressure from the EEC to force its democratisation.[5] This revelation opens a new agenda in the historiography of the Spanish-EEC relations, that has to explain accurately both the goals and means of the policies of the Six/Nine towards the Franco regime and the influence such policies had on the process that led Spain from an autocratic to a democratic order in the 1970s. The present article wants to be a small contribution in this field. It deals with the Spanish policy of the most influential left-wing party in the EEC and argues that during the last decade of the Franco dictatorship the SPD leaders supported its participation in the process of European integration, precisely because they considered this to be the key for preparing Spain's transformation into a democracy. The first part analyses the reasons why the SPD assimilated in the mid 1960s the position of the Bonn government of seeing in the defence of Madrid's interests in the EEC the cornerstone of the West German policy toward Spain. The second part provides an overview of the implementation of this bipartisan policy during the Grand Coalition and the era Brandt. Furthermore, it points out the scarce impact the growing antifrancoism both in the German public opinion and within the party basis had on the SPD direction, unwilling to leave Spain out of the process of European détente. Finally, the third part shows how the fear that the expected self-dissolution of the regime after the death of the dictator could be disturbed by the impact of the Portuguese revolution led the government of Helmut Schmidt to introduce an element that up to then had been almost missing in the Bonn policy toward Spain: support of the democratic opposition and particularly of the party of Felipe González.

West Germany on the way to a bipartisan policy towards the Spain of Franco

The wind of détente that began to blow in German politics by mid-1963 allowed the SPD, for the first time, to look at Franco's Spain without ideologically tainted glasses. It discovered a country immersed in a frantic modernization process, with an economic policy which was exemplary for all developing countries in the world,[6] and with encouraging signs of political *aperturismo*.[7] Shortly after his election as SPD president, Willy Brandt stated to his colleagues in the executive committee that the new realities in Spain made the traditional party position aiming at isolating the Franco regime (which had inspired the rejection of Madrid's application for negociation with the EEC in February 1962) sterile, and asked for

5. F. GUIRAO, *The European Community's role in promoting democracy in Franco's Spain, 1970-1975*, in: J. VAN DER HARST (ed.), *Beyond the Customs Union: The European Community's Quest for Deepening, Widening and Completion, 1969-1975*, Nomos Verlag/Bruylant/L.G.D.J., Baden-Baden/Brussels/Paris, 2007.
6. Thus one of the few economic experts of the SPD at that time, F. BAADE, *...denn sie sollen satt werden. Strategie des Weltkampfes gegen den Hunger*, Stalling, Oldenburg, 1964.
7. *Franco-Spanien gerät in Bewegung*, in: *SPD-Pressedienst*, 04.09.1963.

its *aggiornamento*.[8] For the SPD leadership, strongly impregnated with modernization theories à la Rostow and perceiving European integration as instrumental to strengthening and promoting democracy on the continent,[9] the search for an active policy towards Spain was not to take long. Following a new demand from Madrid to open a dialogue with the EEC, in the spring of 1964 the European experts of the party recommended that the Six should offer Spain "an economic agreement aimed at boosting the process of democratisation."[10]

Following its own path, the SPD had reached similar conclusions as the Bonn government, which sought in the "Europeanization" of the Spanish economy the platform to secure West German geo-strategic interests in the Iberian Peninsula, and also a way to encourage the softening of the Franco dictatorship.[11] In line with its strategy of "constructive opposition", however, the SPD tried to introduce a distinctive element into the German policy toward Spain: the promotion of democratic Europeanism within the country. To make this possible, the party decided to break the symbolic *cordon sanitaire* the European Left had imposed on the regime after 1945 and sent vice-president Fritz Erler to Madrid in April 1965 to lecture on the Bad Godesberg programme. During his one-day stay in Spain, Erler met with the minister José Solís, with the German ambassador Helmut Allardt, and with some members of the weak socialist opposition. He also gave a press conference where he openly stated that Spain could never join the EEC until it became a democracy.[12] With federal election some months ahead, the German media unanimously applauded the shadow minister for that practical lesson in a specific Social Democratic foreign policy based on the *Wandel durch Annäherung* principle.[13]

The SPD expected that Erler's visit to Madrid would inspire other socialist parties to develop a new policy toward Spain that, starting from the pre-existing realities, would aim at strengthening civil society as the basis for the future democracy.[14] But this was a futile hope. Unlike the SPD, most of the socialist parties in the EEC had not undergone a process of total desideologisation, and the

8. Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (AdsD), Bonn, SPD Parteivorstand Protokolle, session of the SPD executive committee, 11.04.1964.
9. J. BELLERS, *Reformpolitik und EWG-Strategie der SPD. Die innen- und aussenpolitischen Faktoren der europapolitischen Integrationswilligkeit einer Oppositionspartei (1957-63)*, tuduv, München, 1979.
10. AdsD, NL Käte Strobel 66, text draft (eventually changed) of Käte Strobel, president of the socialist fraction in the European Parliament on proposals for foreign relations of the EEC, to be presented in the 6th Congress of socialist parties of the EEC to be held in Rome in September 1964, n.d. [c. May 1964].
11. B. ASCHMANN, *Treue Freunde? Westdeutschland und Spanien, 1945-1963*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1999. C. SANZ DÍAZ, *España y la República Federal de Alemania (1949-1966). Política, economía y emigración, entre la Guerra Fría y la distensión*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 2006.
12. AdsD, Helmut Schmidt Archiv 5038, report of Erler to the SPD fraction on his visit to Spain, 04.05.1965.
13. *Wahlfahrt zum Caudillo*, in: *Christ und Welt*, 05.02.1965; *Erlers Stippvisite*, in: *Die Zeit*, 09.04.1965.
14. *Spanien*, in: *Parlamentarisch-Politischer Pressedienst*, 09.04.1965.

myth of the Civil War offered a huge resistance to attitudes that could be considered by the basis or by other European companions as a concession to the regime and a betrayal to Spanish democrats. This perception was fed precisely by the Spanish member of the Socialist International (PSOE) whose leaders, living in exile since 1939, still dreamed of defeating the regime through external pressure.[15] If the European democrats did not want to be involuntary collaborators of fascism, they should avoid any contact with Spain, even with Spanish socialists, for they were tolerated and even sponsored by a regime willing to convince the Six that it was undergoing a process of political liberalization. Following this reasoning, the PSOE had denounced the EEC Council's decision in June of 1964 to start a dialogue with Madrid as a "vexatious act for the dignity of the Spanish people"[16] and criticized Erler's stay in Madrid as an intolerable reward to Franco's efforts to obtain international recognition.[17] Given the mixed reaction of silence and open criticism to Erler's visit among Spanish, European, and American colleagues, the SPD took note that it was alone in defending a pragmatic policy towards Spain, and that further public displays should be avoided so as not to smash more porcelain in the holy temple of anti-francoism.[18]

In 1966, the Spanish regime was at the peak of its *aperturismo* and social support. Dazzled by a fully coloristic, vibrating, and apparently content Spain, which had already become the destiny for over one million German tourists yearly, West German media portrayed Franco on the 30th anniversary of the Civil War largely as a modernizer and a paternalist dictator.[19] Even intellectuals close to the SPD, such as Golo Mann, contributed to this view. Mann asserted that the Spanish regime was flowing gently toward its own end, due to the smooth push of a society that was becoming more dynamic every day. In his opinion, European political forces could contribute to secure a peaceful transition after Franco's death if they withdrew from their agenda any kind of pressure on the regime and dared to establish regular contacts with all sectors of Spanish society to promote democratic thinking. Mann was extremely critical of the idealization of the Civil War among the European Left and especially of the Spanish exiles, that were incapable of

15. F. GUIRAO, *The Spanish Socialist Party*, in: R.T. GRIFFITHS (ed.), *Socialist Parties and the Question of Europe in the 1950´s*, E.J. Brill, Leiden/New York/Köln, 1993.
16. Historical Archives of the European Union, Florence, European Movement 1538, communiqué of the Spanish Federal Council of the European Movement (controlled by the PSOE), 03.06.1964. The liberal Salvador de Madariaga resigned from his post as president of this Council because he did not agree with the content of this communiqué. See L. ARRIETA ALBERDI, *Estación Europa. La política europeísta del PNV en el exilio (1945-1977)*, Tecnos, Madrid, 2007, p.314.
17. Archivo de la Fundación Largo Caballero, Madrid, 372-1, Pascual Tomás (PSOE President) to Omer Bécu (ICFTU Secretary General), 16.04.1965.
18. AdsD, NL Fritz Erler 154, report of Hans-Eberhard Dingels (SPD International department) on the visit of Rodolfo Llopis (PSOE secretary general) to Germany, 08.09.1965.
19. R. WOHLFEIL, *Der spanische Bürgerkrieg 1936-1939. Zur Deutung und Nachwirkung*, in: *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 2(1968), pp.101-119.

recognizing their own blame in the collapse of the democratic Republic in the 1930s and of working for national reconciliation.[20]

Those opinions had a deep and long-lasting effect on SPD leaders, and reinforced their conviction that a constructive European policy aiming at preparing Spain for democracy was incompatible with declamatory statements and a strong ethical pose.[21] Taking into account the expectations of a positive evolution within the regime and the unwillingness of exiles and European socialists to create a useful and realistic fusion between antifrancoism and Europeanism, the SPD assumed in 1966 the apparently contradictory central idea of the conservative German government's position towards Spain: only by contributing to the stability of the Franco dictatorship and its EEC aspirations the country would see the rise of democracy one time in the future.[22]

On 23 November 1966, the European Commission submitted to the Council its final report on the exploratory talks with Madrid that had lasted two years.[23] It presented three alternatives the EEC could offer Spain to regulate future relations, the most ambitious of them being association. A few days later, a Grand Coalition was formed in Bonn and the Madrid authorities had to face the uncertainty whether they could rely on the new German government to defend their interests in Brussels at that moment when Spain's future in the EEC was to be decided. No sooner had Willy Brandt taken office as Foreign Minister that he decided to assuage their doubts by sending his Secretary of State, Rolf Lahr, to Madrid to tell the Spanish government that the historical political change in Bonn was in no way to alter traditional friendly relations between both countries. As in the past, the FRG would fully support Spain's cause in the EEC.[24]

The policy pursued by the SPD towards Spain during the Grand Coalition and the Era Brandt

The attitude of the new German government towards Spain reflects its big expectations of an EEC enlargement, that were very soon deceived by Charles De

20. G. MANN, *Auch unter Franco wächst die Freiheit*, in: *Die Zeit*, 28.01.1966; *Korrekturen am Spanien-Klischee*, in: *Die Zeit*, 11.02.1966; *Hoffnung für Spanien*, in: *Die Zeit*, 04.03.1966.
21. As Foreign minister, Willy Brandt referred to Mann´s articles to base his own opinions about Spain. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), Berlin, B1/338, Willy Brandt to Knut Nevermann (student leader at the Free University Berlin), 20.03.1967.
22. B. ASCHMANN, *The Reliable Ally: Germany Supports Spain´s European Integration Efforts, 1957-67*, in: *Journal of European Integration History*, 1(2001), pp.37-51.
23. Brussels Archives Commission, 17/1969, Rapport de la Commission au Conseil au sujet des conversations exploratoires avec l´Espagne, 23.11.1966.
24. *Brandt unterstützt Spaniens EWG-Wünsche*, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 09.12.1966.

Gaulle.[25] Though Spain had no real chance of association because of the opposition of the Benelux countries and Italy, the German delegation in the Council defended this ideal option for Spain until Madrid decided to give it up.[26] The SPD even made it public with an article by the Euro MP Hans Apel. He argued that, given the ambiguity of the Rome Treaty on requirements to associate with or to join the EEC, the Spanish request for association needed a political answer from the Six. This answer could only be a positive one, for such an agreement would increase the intensity of the relations between Spain and Europe, which were the motor of all positive economic, social, and political changes the Iberian country had gone through in recent years. Associating Spain to the EEC was therefore not to underpin the Franco regime, but "to secure today the goals of the defeated Republicans". Apel comforted those who feared that the democratic essence of the EEC would suffer from an association with a dictatorship, by stating that the expected enlargement to the North would reinforce the progressive character of the European integration process and make the "Spanish adventure" less risky.[27] In a meeting of the SPD fraction, Willy Brandt made Apel's arguments his own and stated that the Council would at least agree to grant Spain a status "close to an association".[28] In the end, France and Germany were not able to shift the other countries from their positions and Madrid had to content herself with negotiating an agreement on the creation of a customs union.[29] Bonn considered this a really poor offer that the EEC made to Spain, but at least it was a starting point, given the fact that in order to achieve this it had been necessary to overcome "a great number of difficulties which were not only of an economic but above all of a political nature".[30]

Ironically, the same Zeitgeist that supported in the late 1960s normalization policies towards communist dictatorships, hindered those same policies to be applied to the Franco regime (and the Salazar regime). The student revolts, the democratic activism of the *Gastarbeiter*, the closer attention paid by public opinion to injustices perpetrated in those countries, and the emergence of a new and brutal right-wing regime in Greece – all these factors complicated the relations between the European democracies and the Iberian autocracies, which had almost learned to treat them as they were.[31] In Spain's case, the brake on reforms and the rebirth of repression applied to trade unionists and students after 1967 were now followed

25. H. TÜRK, *Die Europapolitik der Grossen Koalition, 1966-1969*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 93, München, 2006, chapters I-II.
26. PAAA, B20/200-1262, note of the Auswärtiges Amt on the German position in the next meeting of the European Council at 8 February 1967.
27. H. APEL, *Spanien und die EWG*, in: *Pressemitteilungen und Informationen*, 16.01.1967.
28. AdsD, SPD-Bundesfraktion, 5 WP, 50, meeting of the SPD fraction, 17.01.1967.
29. B. ASCHMANN, *The Reliable Ally* …, op.cit., pp.44-45.
30. PAAA, B20/200-1263, note of the Auswärtiges Amt on the German position in the next meeting of the European Council at 10-11 July 1967.
31. F. BONDY, *Umgang mit Diktaturen: Griechenland, Spanien, Portugal*, unknown publication, n.d. [c. April 1968], to be found in: PAAA, B1/339.

with interest by the German media, and strongly affected the quite benevolent image of the regime.

Within the SPD, the up to then marginal voices of those who did not approve of the pragmatic line their leaders took towards Spain began also to emerge. That was especially the case with Hans Matthöfer, MP and IG Metall official, personally committed to the group of socialist Spanish *Gastarbeiter*.[32] Annoyed by Apel's article, by the visit of SPD members of Parliament invited to Spain by the regime, by the declaration of Karl Schiller in favor of the Spanish association, and by the unusual number of Spanish ministers visiting Bonn lately, Matthöfer publicly denounced the German government's strategy to make Franco's Spain "presentable little by little in the eyes of German and European public opinion". Moreover, he claimed Bonn should not be the "spokesman" for Spain in the EEC, and that the SPD ministers should respect the resolutions of the European socialists and trade unions, and not allow any EEC-Spain agreement until Madrid had shown its willingness to respect civil rights.[33]

As Franco's death approached, tensions among the "families" inside the regime grew. In this fight, the *aperturistas* searched for support among friendly governments, and especially from France and Germany. Presenting themselves as crypto-democrats harassed by the strong reactionary forces of the establishment,[34] they insisted that for them the key element for being able to control the post-Franco era was the pursuit of Spain's rapprochement to Europe. The pressure of public opinion in Europe should therefore not affect the ongoing negotiations between Spain and the EEC. If the Preferential Agreement did not meet the high expectations that had arisen in terms of economic benefits for Spain, this would automatically lead to a general discredit of Europeanism within the regime and to a strengthening of the autarchy-nationalistic sectors. They would turn their back to Brussels and impose a definitive break with the political *aperturismo*. These arguments were a mantra in many private conversations, such as that between Foreign minister Fernando Castiella with chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger in Madrid during the only official visit by an elected European head of government to Franco's Spain.[35] Ambassador Helmut Allardt and his replacement after 1968, Hermann Meyer-Lindenberg, shared this point of view and permanently advised their government that an obstacle in the European aspiration of Spain would

32. The IG Metall was specially proud of its proselytism among the Spanish *Gastarbeiter*. In 1965, the affiliation rate of foreign metal workers was 21 %, whereas among the Spaniards it reached 30 % (20.284). That same year, 35 % of their German colleagues were IG Metall members. See A. MUÑOZ SÁNCHEZ, *Entre dos sindicalismos. La emigración española en la RFA, los sindicatos alemanes y la Unión General de Trabajadores, 1960-1964*, in: *Documentos de Trabajo de la Fundación 1º de Mayo*, Madrid, 2008.
33. H. MATTHÖFER, *Seltsames Zusammenspiel zwischen Bonn und Madrid*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 03.08.1967.
34. An extreme case was Foreign minister Gregorio López Bravo, who joked with Walter Scheel in the spring of 1970 that he might one day ask for political exile in West Germany and join the FDP. *Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (AAPD)*, 1970, doc.172.
35. *AAPD*, 1968, doc.355.

heavily affect the already difficult walk the country was pursuing towards a democratic future – "two steps forward, one back".[36]

Foreign minister Willy Brandt took these warnings very seriously and paid less attention to those who called on him to cool down relations with Spain. Consequently, he agreed to holding consultations with Castiella in Madrid and scheduled the visit for April 1968. Neither the Spanish socialists, nor influential sectors of the European and German Left were able to convince him to renounce to that visit.[37] What his comrades could not achieve came about because of the poor relations between Brandt and Kiesinger, for the chancellor himself decided, without consulting his minister, to visit the Iberian Peninsula that same year.[38] In the winter of 1969, a state of emergency of two months in Spain led to rallies in major German towns and to public criticism of Bonn's friendly position vis-à-vis the Franco regime, clumsily displayed during those weeks by conferring the FRG Great Cross of Civil Merit on minister Manuel Fraga.[39] Even now, Willy Brandt remained impassive. All he agreed to do was to reduce temporarily the most visible demonstrations of harmony with Madrid (the bestowal of decorations and visits by ministers) in order to avoid being considered by the Spanish opposition and by European countries, where there was a strong anti-Franco current, like in Holland and Scandinavia, "as if we were supporting the regime unconditionally".[40] Regarding negotiations between the EEC and Spain, Bonn decided to support Madrid interests,

> "in order to continue to strengthen the liberal element within Spain's present political reality. In so doing we are serving Spain's long-term interests more than by a purely negative position".[41]

A week after the formation of the social-liberal coalition in Bonn in October 1969, Franco put together a new cabinet dominated by those technocrats who were responsible for engineering the economic boom in the 1960s that had turned Spain into the 10th economic world power. This government presented the improvement of Spain's relations with the EEC as one of its main goals. The Preferential Agreement to be signed shortly, although highly beneficial to Spanish interests, should only be the first step on a path that contained further ambitious objectives. Considering the insuperable political obstacles to adhesion as long as Franco was alive, Madrid would pursue an association, and in order to achieve this, it was

36. PAAA, B26/389, Allardt to Auswärtiges Amt on Spanish politics, 10.10.1967.
37. AdsD, IMB 885, Otto Brenner (IG Metall president) to Brandt, 13.03.1968; AdsD, WBA A7/4, Claus Sönksen to Karl Wienand (MP), 25.03.1968; AdsD, WBA A11.1/1, Brandt to Brenner, 19.03.1968.
38. After knowing Kiesinger´s decision, Brandt cancelled his visit to Madrid. PAAA, B1/339, secretary of State Paul Frank (from Abidjan) to Auswärtiges Amt, 29.03.1968.
39. Hans Matthöfer took this issue to debate to the Bundestag. *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages*, fifth legislature, session of 28 February 1969, pp.11852-11854.
40. PAAA, B26/387, note of Dr. Hansen (Auswärtiges Amt) on the German reaction to the state of emergency in Spain, 26.02.1969, signed by Brandt at 01.03.1969.
41. PAAA, B20/200-1484, internal report of Auswärtiges Amt on EEC-Spain relations, 26.02.1969.

ready to take the necessary "internal political measures, which are designed to give Spain a democratic face".[42] Bonn approved this pro-European government, and decided to support the expectations it placed in the EEC, searching to offer Spain "a dynamic association, one that could be developed in the direction of a full membership, not just a static final product".[43] This was noting but a relaunch of the idea expressed by Hans Apel in 1967 by taking advantage of the – this time real – enlargement towards Northern Europe in order to allow Spain to develop its relations with the EEC up to the highest possible level as long as Franco was still alive. By doing so, the *aperturistas*, now a majority in the government, should be able to pave the way for democracy that would arise after Franco's death, something Bonn considered achievable by developing all options of the regime's "constitution".[44]

But the final years of the Franco dictatorship were to be much less quiet than anybody could have expected, also with regard to its relations with Europe, where hostility against the Mediterranean autocracies was rising. After 1970, labour conflicts and democratic activism became endemic in some industrial regions of Spain. Obsessed with public order and lacking legal instruments to channel social unrest, the regime answered with repression. This multiplied abroad the echo of the conflicts, heavily damaging the *aperturista* image of the government and making its desire for an association with the EEC vanish. The point of no return came in December 1970 when a military tribunal in Burgos sentenced three ETA members to death. Europe felt a first wave of protest against the Spanish regime, until Franco decided to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. These rallies throughout Europe were met in Spain with orchestrated demonstrations of public support for the Caudillo that reinforced the *inmovilistas* opposed to the reforms.[45]

Within the SPD, solidarity with the Spanish democratic movement became an inherent element in the revived leftist wing in the party, that was tolerated by its leaders at government level with growing annoyance.[46] Hans Matthöfer continued to be the key figure: he believed that as the sole left-majority government in the EEC, the Brandt-Scheel coalition had an important role to play in accelerating the arrival of democracy in Spain by putting pressure on a regime already in crisis.[47] In February 1970 Matthöfer gathered 159 signatures among the 237 SPD members of parliament to support a document the Spanish democrats had handed over to Franco calling for reforms. In the following months he also started some initiatives to back Spanish democrats and especially that young socialist who tried to take

42. PAAA, B20/1852, report of the German embassy on Walter Scheel's visit to Spain, 12.03.1970.
43. PAAA, B1/340, report of Auswärtiges Amt on the new Spanish government, December 1969.
44. Ibid.
45. C. MOLINERO, P. YSÀS, *La anatomía del franquismo*, Crítica, Barcelona, 2008, pp.141 f.
46. See the contrast in this respect to Dutch socialists, M. DRÖGEMÖLLER, *Zwei Schwestern in Europa. Deutsche und niederländische Sozialdemokratie 1945-1990*, Vorwärts Buch, Berlin, 2008, chapter 4.
47. H. MATTHÖFER, *Der Kampf um Demokratie in Spanien*, in: *SPD Pressedienst*, 13.02.1970.

control of the PSOE with the intention of transforming that club of old exiles into an active organization in Spain.[48]

In the face of growing antifrancoism north of the Pyrenees, the regime feared that its European journey, started with the Preferential Agreement signed in June 1970, could turn into a terrible ordeal. Considering intolerable some statements coming from the EEC Commission and Parliament following the death-penalties in December 1970, Madrid informed Bonn that it did not rule out the possibility of cancelling the Preferential Agreement if the EEC was thinking about interfering in its internal affairs in the future.[49] Although the German government did not believe the Spaniards would go as far, it took the negative consequences of an increase in external pressure during the final period of Francoism very seriously. So, former expressions of a friendly approach to Spain, like official visits, decreased, so as not to disturb the SPD basis and the German public opinion, but at the same time Bonn searched to diminish the effects of the antifrancoist activism in Europe both in bilateral and in EEC-Spain relations. During the Burgos trial, the Spanish ambassador in the FGR informed his minister, with satisfaction, that the coalition parties had managed to avoid any official declaration on the issue as well as a debate in the Bundestag, "though, as [secretary-general of the SPD] Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski told me, they were under huge pressure".[50] Furthermore, Bonn assured Madrid that the EEC Council would not yield to the claim of the socialist fraction of the European Parliament to impose political stipulations on Spain for the development of the Preferential Agreement, by arguing that the agreement had "purely an economic character".[51] At the end, the "depoliticization" of the EEC-Spanish relations came to be a golden rule for the Brandt-Scheel coalition. When in February 1974 the young anarchist Salvador Puich Antich was sentenced to death, the German presidency proposed that the Council should not ask Madrid for reprieve, as it was out of its domain "to take a position on internal political events in other countries".[52]

Despite the growing influence of the opposition to Franco, the SPD leaders didn't even take into remote consideration the possibility that it could in some way destabilize the dictatorship.[53] The advent of democracy in Spain after the Caudillo's death, whatever sort of democracy it should be, became therefore, in their mind, only possible through a slow process of evolution totally controlled by

48. P. ORTUÑO ANAYA, *European Socialists* …, op.cit., pp.158 f.
49. PAAA, B20/1854, German ambassador to the EEC Hans-Georg Sachs to Auswärtiges Amt on his conversation with Alberto Ullastres, Spanish ambassador to the EEC, 12.02.1971.
50. Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, uncatalogued records, "Política Exterior 1970", box 6, José de Erice to López Bravo, 31.12.1970.
51. PAAA, B20/1854, Sachs to Auswärtiges Amt on the meeting of the group to discuss current issues of the EEC Council, 15.02.1971.
52. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 105669, note of Auswärtiges Amt on Puich´s coming execution, 26.02.1974.
53. *Madrid: Das grosse Warten auf die Zukunft*, in: *Parlamentarisch-Politischer Pressedienst*, 02.04.1973.

the government.[54] After 1972, at the very latest, Bonn knew that Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón (who had been nominated by Franco as his successor in 1969) intended to achieve democracy as king of Spain and was also aware that the *inmovilistas* within the establishment represented the main obstacle to his plans.[55] Therefore, the Brandt government considered that it could best contribute to the future transition by conveying to those sectors that it was the regime itself and not the opposition who held the key for the entrance of Spain to the EEC, for it was enough that the country would follow the path initiated by the reforms announced in 1969. Walter Scheel expressed this idea publicly in Madrid in 1972:

> "[We] would be satisfied if the process of harmonization of the economic and political structures which is required [for Spain] to join [the EEC] made further progress. Harmony does not mean identity".[56]

These thoughts reflected the marginal role the social-liberal coalition attributed to the relations with the Spanish democratic movement. When Scheel was forced to counter the bad impression that had left behind in the German public opinion the signing of a 200 million DM loan for development aid to Spain in the spring of 1970, he included as part of the agenda of his visit to Madrid a meeting with four well-known members of the "tolerated opposition".[57] A similar meeting with representatives of the illegal opposition, such as the PSOE, was though unthinkable for the Bonn government, for the Spanish authorities would "see this as an intolerable interference in their internal affairs".[58]

The "non-ideological" policy of the Brandt-Scheel coalition toward Spain and its unconditional support of Madrid's interests in the EEC disturbed and confused many Spanish, German, and European socialists. The PSOE thanked the SPD for the support it gave to those of its members who had suffered retaliation in Spain, but at the same time lamented in silence the appeasement approach of its leader to the dictatorship.[59] However, when Foreign minister Scheel met in Madrid with the leader of the tolerated "socialists" and not with the Spanish member of the Socialist International, the PSOE considered that the SPD had gone much too far in its lack of solidarity and dared, for the first time, to publicly express its opinion about Brandt's policy toward Franco's regime:

54. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 101440, report of the FRG embassy on Spanish politics in 1973, 25.01.1974.
55. PAAA, B26/454, report on the visit of Prince Juan Carlos to Bonn, 09.10.1972.
56. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 105669, report of Ruyter (Auswärtiges Amt) to secretary of State Hans Apel on EEC-Spain relations, 23.03.1973.
57. Archiv des Deutschen Liberalismus, Gummersbach, Bestand Bundesparteitag, A12-88, speech of Walter Scheel to the FDP congress, 26.04.1970.
58. PAAA, B26/453, Meyer-Lindenberg to Auswärtiges Amt on the next Spanish visit of Scheel, 20.01.1972.
59. Archivo de la Fundación Pablo Iglesias, Alcalá de Henares, AE-595-9, Rodolfo Llopis to Rolf Reventlow (SPD journalist, in 1937 joined the PSOE and the Spanish Republican Army), 27.03.1968.

> "[The SPD finds] that only a rapprochement between the two Germanys can lead to a liberalization of the communist dictatorship of Walter Ulbricht. […] But that analysis when applied to Spain is false by the experience of more than 30 years of Franco's dictatorship. […] The half-measures result in a complicity in the oppression of the Spanish people".[60]

With reference to socialist parties of the EEC, the SPD was convinced they were much too radical, and refused to back initiatives geared to put real pressure on Franco.[61] By this attitude, the powerful SPD helped to enable Madrid to "ignore, almost with disdain, those voices which argue that the socialist parties of Europe are a barrier to Spain's bid for closer EEC ties".[62] In late 1972, when the negotiations to adapt the Preferential Agreement to the enlarged EEC were settled, German trade unions and the Spanish Left demanded in vain of the SPD that political reforms should also be considered on the negotiating table in Brussels, for this was the "principal – or only – method of external pressure which could force a change in the regime's way of thinking and lead to some measure of democratic liberalization".[63] On the other hand, Hans Matthöfer and other SPD members who strongly supported antifrancoists in the FRG were often upset by the fact that some colleagues in the government worried less about those comrades and more about the strain their activities put on bilateral relations, and especially about the risk involved to some German investments in Spain, such as, for example, the introduction of the PAL colour TV system.[64]

When the era Brandt approached its unexpected end, the social-liberal coalition drew up a positive balance of its friendly relations with Spain. Contrary to the Portuguese dictatorship, which had used economic and political links with the FRG and other European democracies only to stabilize the system and to pursue its imperial fantasy,[65] Francoism seemed to be moving, slowly but surely, down a path which would lead towards its own disappearance in the course of its assimilation within Europe. Although reforms announced in 1969 had led to nothing, the question of "political development" was already omnipresent. The debate was not whether the country should turn into a democracy but how a *democracia a la española* could be reached. Spanish leaders were surely not democrats, but they

60. *Adelante con los faroles*, in: *Le Socialiste* (PSOE official weekly newsletter), 14.05.1970.
61. On occasion of the Burgos trial, the SPD imposed to the annoyed comrades a resolution that did not condemn explicitly the Franco regime. AdsD, SPD Parteivorstand 2811, Veronika Isenberg (SPD International department) to Dingels on the session of the Bureau of Socialists parties of the EEC, 21.12.1970.
62. Thus a socialist Spanish group. AdsD, SPD Parteivorstand 11423, report of the Partido Socialista del Interior on Spain-EEC relations, 29.09.1972.
63. Idem. AdsD, WBA A11.2/15, Ludwig Rosenberg (DGB President) to Willy Brandt, 28.09.1972; and Brandt´s answer, 09.11.1972.
64. See for instance the critics of Matthöfer to the reaction of the chancellery to the detention and prosecution in Spain of Carlos Pardo, responsible in Frankfurt of the IG Metall office for Spanish members and editor of *Exprés Español*, who was accused of offences to Franco in this magazine. AdsD, SPD-Bundesfraktion VI. WP, 211, Hans Matthöfer to Egon Bahr, 07.06.1971.
65. A. MUÑOZ SÁNCHEZ, *La socialdemocracia alemana y el Estado Novo (1961-1974)*, in: *Portuguese Studies Review,* 13.1-2(2005), pp.477-503.

were very well aware that after Franco the legitimacy of the regime and the monarchy would rapidly vanish if they were not able to fulfil the "manifest destiny" of the nation: integration in the EEC. To bring about democracy without breaking the regime was exactly the goal of the new government of PM Carlos Arias Navarro, constituted in January of 1974. Although he was a strict Francoist with a sinister past, Arias presented himself as a liberal man with a surprising reform program that should permit the country to count with "political associations" as ersatz for political parties. Considering the massive depoliticisation among Spaniards, the disorganization of the *inmovilistas* after the recent killing by the ETA of their natural leader, PM Luis Carrero Blanco, and the fact that the Spanish army seemed to support reforms, the SPD considered by March 1974 "the chances for a genuine liberalization, which, of course, can only be effective over the long term" quite high.[66]

Afraid of a Portuguese infection: Helmut Schmidt and the agony of the Franco regime

The hope placed by the SPD and very especially by Willy Brandt in a *European Peace Order* where all dictatorships would gently evolve, without external pressure, towards some kind of liberal-democratic order just magnetically drawn to the EEC,[67] was disturbed by the deep instability that suddenly seized the continent, and especially its southern flank, after 1974.[68] How the FRG, as the western country less affected by economic depression and most interested in maintaining détente and the *status quo* responded to this Mediterranean crisis is a question of great interest historians have not answered yet.[69] In Spain's case, there is no doubt that the German position was influenced by the fear the transition towards the post-Franco era could be affected by the chaotic revolution in the neighbouring Portugal.

The peacefully falling down of the twin Portuguese regime in April 1974 had a huge impact in Spain.[70] *Inmovilistas* reorganized and started an aggressive campaign against reforms, while the democratic opposition flourished, leading to

66. *Madrid: Wieder einmal 'Apertura'-Hoffnungen*, in: *Parlamentarisch-Politischer Pressedienst*, 18.03.1974.
67. A. WILKENS, *Willy Brandt und die europäische Einigung*, in: M. KÖNIG, M. SCHULZ (eds.), *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die europäische Einigung, 1949-2000*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2004.
68. A. VARSORI (coord.), *Alle origini del presente. L'Europa occidentale nella crisi degli anni Settanta*, Franco Agneli, Milano, 2007.
69. West Germany's *Südpolitik* has a marginal place within the huge historical production of Willy Brandt´s foreign policy. See O. BANGE, *Ostpolitik – Etappen und Desiderate der Forschung. Zur internationalen Einordnung von Willy Brandts Aussenpolitik*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 46(2006), pp.713-736.
70. J. SÁNCHEZ CERVELLÓ, *La revolución portuguesa y su influencia en la transición española (1961-1976)*, Nerea, Madrid, 1993, chapter V.

the foundation of a *Junta Democrática* dominated by the communist party of Santiago Carrillo (PCE). Under growing pressure the Spanish government sent messages to German leaders, "who are the only ones who truly support Spain's efforts to come closer to Europe", to convince them that they should back Carlos Arias' reform program and maintain the expectations of Spain's further approach to the EEC in order to avoid a Portuguese scenario.[71] The new government of Helmut Schmidt shared this opinion and paid no attention to Spanish democrats, who claimed the EEC should refuse any kind of negotiation with a regime that tried to sell a parody of democratisation in Europe.[72] Negotiation for a new trade agreement with Spain was relaunched in November 1974, and only the unbridgeable initial positions regarding how far mutual trade concessions should go made a rapid conclusion impossible.[73] The German position in the following months was that the EEC should accept the Spanish proposal and conclude the new agreement as soon as possible, to add stability to the EEC-Spain relations in that complex period.[74]

But Bonn's confidence in PM Carlos Arias was severely damaged in the first months of 1975. In February, his project suffered a hard knock following Franco's decision not to accept the conditions posed by the most influential reformist of the regime, Manuel Fraga, for creating a "political association".[75] In the next days, the new German ambassador Georg von Lilienfeld conveyed to Bonn that, against the background of growing labour and communist activism in Spain the country was facing great tensions if the government was unable to free itself from Franco's shadow and relaunch reforms.[76] This concern turned into panic in mid-March when, in response to a failed coup by right-wing military units, Portugal became within days, "practically, a left military dictatorship".[77] That same day, when Portuguese communists, as an alarmed Mario Soares informed Helmut Schmidt, seemed to be thinking about seizing power using the same strategy as their Czech comrades in 1948,[78] a large delegation of the *Junta Democrática de España* was received in Strasbourg by members of the European Commission and Parliament as *the* democratic alternative to Franco dictatorship. Madrid reacted furiously to the

71. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 101441, Lilienfeld to Auswärtiges Amt on his meeting with Foreign minister Pedro Cortina, 31.08.1974. The quotation are the Spanish minister´s words.
72. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 105669, manifest subscribed by the leaders of PSOE (Felipe González) and trade union UGT (Nicolás Redondo), and addressed by the secretary general of the Trade Unions Confederation to the president of the EEC Council, 22.11.1974.
73. M. TROUVÉ, *L´Espagne et l´Europe. De la dictature de Franco à l´Union européenne*, Peter Lang, Bruxelles etc., 2008, pp.154-157.
74. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 105669, report of Auswärtiges Amt on EEC-Spain relations, 31.01.1975.
75. J. TUSELL, G. QUEIPO DE LLANO, *Tiempo de incertidumbre. Carlos Arias Navarro entre el franquismo y la Transición (1973-1976)*, Crítica, Barcelona, 2003, pp.153 ff.
76. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 110257, Lilienfeld to Auswärtiges Amt on Spanish politics, 06.03.1975.
77. Thus the West German ambassador to Lisbon. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 113503, Fritz Caspari to Auswärtiges Amt on the failed putch, 14.03.1975.
78. AdsD, NL Bruno Friedrich 1536, note of Bruno Friedrich (foreign policy specialist of the direction of the SPD fraction) to Helmut Schmidt on Mario Soares´ message from Lisbon, 21.03.1975.

fact that European institutions had treated Spanish communists formally as the equivalent of the Spanish state. Lilienfeld backed this opinion and interpreted the affair as a step forward in Carrillo's plan to come to power in Spain just as his comrades were trying to do in Portugal.[79]

Influenced by those events, the SPD concluded by the beginning of the spring of 1975 that Spain, due to the strength of the PCE, faced a real risk of destabilisation. To avoid this danger, the party leader realized that they had to strongly support an alternative left-wing pole as a counterbalance to the communists[80] in Spain, as they were already doing in Portugal. This could only be the PSOE, for, unlike the other socialist group the SPD was in touch with, the PSOE did not enter the *Junta Democrática* and its new leader, Felipe González, had given clear signs in the past months that he trusted Prince Juan Carlos as the pilot of the future transition and rejected a Left front with the communists, such as François Mitterrand constantly suggested him.[81] In April, González was invited for the first time to the SPD's headquarters in Bonn, to meet Willy Brandt and other party leaders, who wanted to provide the PSOE "with all possible assistance and aid".[82] The Spaniard reassured his German comrades concerning his intentions by stating that "the decisive political struggle in the transition period once Franco had passed away, will be between Socialists and Communists".[83] Standing on this common ground, a long debate followed on specific measures of political, economic and logistical support by the SPD and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation to turn the small PSOE, which had only two paid members (González being one of them), into a mass party that could achieve good results in the first democratic elections.[84]

In response to the insistent requests made by the Spanish government to "support in a friendly manner" the process of transition,[85] German authorities stressed after the spring of 1975 that the reform project based on "political associations" had already been overtaken by the events in the country, and that the Spanish government should open up a dialogue with the illegal opposition, and especially with the PSOE. This message was conveyed in diplomatic terms by Helmut Schmidt to Arias Navarro during the Helsinki summit in July,[86] and by Georg von Lilienfeld to Don Juan Carlos. While the Prime minister was very

79. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 110257, Lilienfeld to Auswärtiges Amt on the Strasbourg facts, 18.03.1975.
80. AdsD, NL Bruno Friedrich 100352, meeting of the committee for international relations of the SPD direction, 21.03.1975.
81. AdsD, SPD Parteivorstand 11423, report of Veronika Isenberg on the meeting of the Spanish Committee of the Socialist International in London at 12 January 1975, 21.01.1975.
82. AdsD, SPD Parteivorstand 11491, Dingels to Brandt on the visit of González the following day, 17.04.1975.
83. AdsD, SPD Parteivorstand 11491, report of Dingels on the meeting with González, 23.04.1975.
84. A. MUÑOZ SÁNCHEZ, *La Fundación Ebert y el socialismo español de la dictadura a la democracia*, in: *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 29(2007), pp.257-278.
85. AdsD, Helmut Schmidt Archiv 7077, note on a meeting of the chief of the chancelorship with the Spanish minister of Presidency in Bonn at 24 June 1975, 25.06.1975.
86. *AAPD*, 1975, doc. 242.

reluctant to follow this advice and even rejected Brandt's request that Felipe González be given back his passport so that he could depart upon a European tour organized by the SPD, the Prince backed the idea, and told the ambassador that after having taken office he would be willing to work with all major illegal parties, except the communist party.[87]

The executions at the end of September 1975 of three FRAP (ultra-left organization) and two ETA members provoked a huge international outcry. There were large demonstrations in the most important European cities. In Lisbon, the embassy was destroyed by a fire. The Nine (except Ireland) withdrew their ambassador from Madrid; Mexico claimed the expulsion of Spain from the United Nations, and European trade unions pleaded for an economic boycott of the country. On 1st October, almost one million people gathered in Madrid to respond to those "foreign provocations" and to offer their support to Franco. The German government, fearing that the fury of public opinion would force European governments to isolate Spain, a situation that would just weaken reformists close to Don Juan Carlos and the moderate opposition such as the PSOE, and hinder the peaceful transition even more, decided to calm down tensions, especially within the EEC.[88] Two days before the executions were carried out, the European Parliament had issued a hard resolution asking the Council to stop relations with Spain as long as democracy had not been re-established. During the Council meeting on 6 October, German Foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was able to convince his Dutch and Danish colleagues to abstain from the idea of demanding that Brussels should exert real pressure on Spain and to accept a resolution simply stating that "in the present moment, negotiations between the EEC and Spain can not be resumed".[89] The following days, Lilienfeld was one of the first European ambassadors to return to Madrid. Once again, the German government had decisively contributed to avoid giving Francoist leaders the impression that the Community was above all a fortress of democracy, liberty and human rights where they could never be accepted.[90]

The executions severely damaged the credibility of the Spanish government abroad and even of Prince Juan Carlos, whose capability to manage the complex transition laying ahead was questioned exactly at the moment when he had to take office as chief of State following Franco's illness at the end of October. In this atmosphere of complete uncertainty, ambassador Lilienfeld persistently asked the Prince to force his PM to give Felipe González his passport, which would allow him to attend the SPD congress in Mannheim. This was to be much more than a regular party meeting. The who is who of the European socialism would gather

87. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 110257, Lilienfeld to Auswärtiges Amt on his meeting with don Juan Carlos, 06.08.1975.
88. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 110258, note of Auswärtiges Amt on German position to executions in Spain, 30.09.1975.
89. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 105669, report of Auswärtiges Amt on relations EEC-Spain, 10.10.1975.
90. F. GUIRAO, *The European Community's* …, op.cit.

there, at Willy Brandt´s invitation.[91] The SPD had conceived the congress as the staging of its own leadership of a renovated European democratic left, able to speak (for the first time) a common language and to provide global solutions to the crises of the continent.[92] By allowing González to attend the congress, Lilienfeld told Don Juan Carlos, the future king would be sending a clear statement to a sceptical Europe on his will to break with Francoism and to start a new era of democratisation and national reconciliation.[93] The Prince finally managed to impose his will on Arias Navarro in this issue, and Felipe González could fly to Germany and approach the stand of the SPD congress to warn European democrats not to repeat former mistakes. The veteran SPD leaders probably laughed for a while inwardly thinking that, all in all, their strategy of "Europeanising" Franco's dictatorship did not deserve such bad records. In any case, that was not the moment to look backward, but to fully engage in supporting the PSOE, a party that just by case had become a key element in West Germany's policy towards Spain. The dream of any postwar social-democratic government came true: Realpolitik and international solidarity packed in one single strategy.

91. *Die Linke auf Tauchstation*, in: *Die Zeit*, 14.11.1975.
92. Up to then, the SPD had shown no interest in coordinating its European policy with other socialist parties. See C. HIEPEL, *'Europa gehört keiner Partei': Die SPD und der Weg vom Socialist Information and Liaison Office zur Sozialdemokratischen Partei Europas*, in: J. MITTAG (ed.), *Politische Parteien und europäische Integration. Entwicklung und Perspektiven transnationaler Parteikooperation in Europa*, Klartext, Essen, 2006.
93. PAAA, Zwischenarchiv 110257, Lilienfeld to Auswärtiges Amt on his meeting with Don Juan Carlos, 10.11.1975.

Spanien im Wandel

Die Macht der Vergangenheit

Demokratisierung und politischer Wandel in einer spanischen Kleinstadt

Von Beatrice Schlee

2008, 668 S., brosch., 98,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-3274-9
(Studien zu Ethnizität, Religion und Demokratie, Bd. 11)

Wann erreicht ein Demokratisierungsprozess die Bevölkerung? Führt er zwangsläufig zu einem tief greifenden politischen Wandel?

Die Studie verweist auf die Komplexität, mit der die Themen Demokratisierung und Vergangenheitsbewältigung betrachtet werden sollten – und auf die vielen Fallstricke, in die gerade auch die Erneuerer (Opposition und Zivilgesellschaft) geraten können.

»Die Studie ist von beeindruckender Detailliertheit.« Timo Lüth, ZPol 07/08

Kommunismus in Spanien

Die Partido Comunista de España – Widerstand, Krise und Anpassung (1970-2006)

Von Andreas Baumer

2008, 445 S., brosch., 79,– €,
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(Studien zu Ethnizität, Religion und Demokratie, Bd. 9)

Der vorliegende Band ist die erste umfassende Darstellung der politischen und organisatorischen Entwicklung der Kommunistischen Partei Spaniens (PCE). Einst dominant im antifranquistischen Untergrund und während der Demokratisierung, konnte sich die PCE nach einer Krise mit dem Linksbündnis Izquierda Unida dauerhaft als dritte politische Kraft in Spanien etablieren.

»hervorragend recherchiert« Natalie Wohlleben, ZPol 08/08

Stability and socialist autonomy: The SPD, the PSI and the Italian political crisis of the 1970s

Giovanni BERNARDINI

This article aims at assessing the influence of the German SPD, one of the leading forces of European socialism in the second half of the twentieth century, on the evolution of the Italian Socialist Party during the crisis of the Italian political system in the 1970s. Research has been conducted in the 'Archiv der sozialen Demokratie' at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn, where the central files of the party, as well as the personal records of the leaders of the SPD, offer the opportunity to explore the developments of the manifold foreign activity deployed by the party.[1]

In the first part will briefly be sketched the role played by non-state actors (such as the political parties) in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Subsequently, the focus will shift on to the shape and goals of SPD foreign activities during the 1970s and on its relation to the conduct of the foreign policy of the SPD-led governments in the same years. Thirdly, the specific features of the Italian crisis will be examined in the context of the broader European political scenario. In the last and more substantial part, a closer look will be devoted to the bilateral SPD-PSI relations and to its effects on the evolution of the latter, especially after the appointment of Bettino Craxi as secretary of the Italian party in 1976.

Non-governmental actors in the German foreign policy

Several publications have recently emphasised the unusual role that non-state actors have played in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany since its establishment in 1949.[2] On the one hand, this evolution was a by-product of the slow recovery of full sovereignty by the government over the country's international relations. Furthermore, it was favoured by the high degree of international institutionalization that the Western Allies imposed on the German

1. The author wants to thank especially the archivists Harry Scholz, Christoph Stamm, Mario Bungert and Wolfgang Stärcke for their indispensable help, as well as former chancellor Helmut Schmidt and former minister Horst Ehmke for allowing the access to their personal archives.

2. According to a common operative definition, non-state actors are intended as actors operating on the international level which are not states. In the case presented here, the group is further restricted to actors which have a clear national origin, namely the Federal Republic of Germany during the Cold War years.

state as a precondition for its rebirth.[3] On the other hand, the federal, thus highly fragmented, institutional make-up of the FRG allowed a plethora of societal actors to progressively emerge and to influence the official foreign policy in the following decades. This was initially the case of various religious and secular organizations propelled by the moral obligation to rehabilitate Germany's history and values in the international community after the Nazi era.[4] Afterwards, the focus of more 'political-oriented' non-governmental activities shifted to the promotion of 'Western values' of liberal democracy and 'social market economy', especially in conjunction with the first wave of decolonization in vast areas of the so-called 'Third World'.[5]

This was hardly a novelty in international relations, since the participation of non-state actors in the reshaping of the post-war world and politics was a typical feature of the American 'soft power' approach, which was especially aimed at Western Europe even before the outbreak of the Second World War, according to some interpretations.[6] Far from mechanically transposing this pattern from one shore of the Atlantic to the other, it is undeniable that the 'polyphony' of the post-war German foreign policy had absorbed and updated the lessons coming from the United States, and that its main goals merged in great measure with the broader Western approach to the Cold War: namely, the containment of Soviet influence and of revolutionary tendencies through the assertion of personal and economic liberties, political participation through a parliamentary system, high social mobility, mass consumption and so on.[7] It was a feature of the German case that the central and local authorities voluntarily gave considerable leeway to these actors.[8] Such a co-operative attitude among governmental agencies and non-state actors was rooted in the high degree of ideological cohesion characterizing German post-war society, engendered by the full-blown success of the 'German model' in distributing the dividends of the 'economic miracle' among all the social classes.[9] Although promoting different political nuances (social democratic, liberal, Christian-conservative), the German non-state actors had absorbed, shared and in turn spread fundamental values which had full citizenship at home and in the Western world.

3. A.-M. LE GLOANNEC, *Non-state actors and 'their' state: an introduction*, in: A.-M. LE GLOANNEC (ed.), *Non-state actors in international relations. The case of Germany*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007, p.6.
4. L.G. FELDMAN, *The role of non-state actors in Germany's foreign policy of reconciliation: catalysts, complements, conduits or competitors?*, in: A.-M. LE GLOANNEC (ed.), op.cit., pp.17 and f.
5. P. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Die internationale Arbeit der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts*, Dietz Verlag, Bonn, 2007, p.10.
6. A. DOERING-MANTEUFFEL, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1999); V. DE GRAZIA, *Irresistibile Empire. America's advance through 20th-Century Europe*, Harvard Univeristy Press, Cambridge, 2005.
7. O.A. WESTAD, *Devices and Desires: On the Uses of Cold War History*, in: *Cold War History*, 3(August 2006), pp.373-376.
8. A.-M. LE GLOANNEC (ed.), op.cit., pp.6 f.
9. P. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, op.cit., pp.59-61.

Thus, the (partly) unintentional result was the attempt to export a German model of parliamentary democracy, whose main feature was the political competition between a conservative and a social-democratic party contending for government *inside* the system, not about its fundamental laws and structure.

This process reached its fulfilment at the end of the 1950s, with a congress held by the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Bad Godesberg in 1959. The impressive success of the economic recovery driven by the conservative governments for a decade had forced the party to reappraise its ideological stance and to conform to the daily experience of the German masses.[10] The *Wirtschaftswunder* was becoming "a model able to provide for the pressing individual needs" of the masses, as well as "a historical projection for all the classes", and thus also for the working class that the SPD strove to represent.[11] Thus, the SPD abandoned its traditional aim of an ultimate social palingenesis, fully accepting the capitalist mode of production and turning itself from a 'Klassenpartei' (class party) to a 'Volkspartei' (people's party).[12]

Legitimisation was not only a matter of internal politics. The consolidation of the Cold War order in Europe had more irreversible effects on German political life than elsewhere, after the 'iron curtain' had divided the national territory into two states belonging to different international blocs. The inclusion of the FRG in the Western military association, as well as active participation in the European integration process since its first steps, were increasingly regarded by the population as a positive element of defence in the face of the Soviet expansionism and of faster recovery from the ruins of the war. Therefore, the SPD felt also compelled to reassess its traditional position based on a choice of neutrality between the two blocs to achieve reunification, and on a relentless mistrust of the economic European integration.[13] In a famous speech to the Bundestag in June 1960, Herbert Wehner (a historical leader of the party)

> "publicly acknowledged the failure of the party's past foreign policy and stressed the commonalities that bound the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats to all facets of the Western Alliance",

10. However, it is undeniable that the occupants, and especially the United States authorities, had imposed such constraints to every project of (West) German collectivism that they "effectively condemned the left wings of the SPD and of the CDU to a political desert". C.S. MAIER, *The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II*, in: C.S. MAIER (ed.), *The Cold War in Europe. Era of a Divided Continent*, Markus Wiener Publisher, Princeton,1996, pp.189-190.
11. J. HOFFMAN, *Compromesso di classe keynesiano e socialdemocrazia nella RFT*, in: E. COLLOTTI, L. CASTELLI, *La Germania socialdemocratica. SPD, società e Stato*, De Donato, Bari, 1982, pp.151.
12. D. ORLOW, *Common Destiny: A Comparative History of the Dutch, French and German Social Democratic Parties*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2000, p.233.
13. T. WIELGOSS, *PS und SPD im europäischen Integrationsprozess*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden Baden, 2002, pp.55 f.

as well as to the challenges of European integration.[14] Far more than a *mea culpa*, the speech was aimed at doing to the party's foreign activities what the Bad Godesberg program had done on the domestic side. The ultimate goal was to propose the SPD as a legitimate candidate to accede to power at every level of the federal state, in the face of the public opinion as well as of the Western Alliance.[15]

This political and cultural evolution brought direct repercussions on the international activity of the party. The traditional 'internationalism' deeply rooted in the history of the German Social Democracy and trade unions was overcome by a new spirit of international activism whose aims coincided more than ever with those of the official German foreign policy. Consequently the SPD, the *Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* (DGB), and the *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung* (the cultural political foundation close to both the aforementioned actors), abandoned during the 1960s their simplistic self-representation as "ambassadors of German goodwill abroad" to head for more challenging tasks.[16]

The 1970s of the SPD: Social Democracy for Europe

It was especially after the accession to government in 1967, and later during the 'long 1970s' of the SPD-led governments in coalition with the Liberal Party (FDP), that three main areas of intervention emerged to the attention of the German Social Democracy: apart from the co-operation with Third World countries, the activities of the party concentrated on the two halves of the European continent, with different strategies and goals. The 'New Ostpolitik' deployed by the government of chancellor Willy Brandt after 1969 had unquestionably both enhanced the prestige of the SPD at the continental level, and increased the political leverage of the FRG in East-West relations. The contacts between the SPD and the institutions of the communist countries had the main goal of preserving and even expanding the human, political and economic results of the normalization of relations. On the other hand, the activities of the party in the Occidental field were increasingly aimed at enhancing the attractiveness of the 'German model' of social democracy on the Western side of the continent, and especially in the face of the persistence of right-wing dictatorships and of the diffusion of communist tendencies in the South.[17] It is apparent how such a project effectively merged the traditional Cold War struggle against communism with the promotion of a higher

14. D. ORLOW, op.cit., p.222.
15. B.W. BOUVIER, *Zwischen Godesberg und Grosser Koalition. Der Weg der SPD in die Regierungsverantwortung*, Dietz Verlag, Bonn, 1990, pp.57 f.
16. C. HIEPEL, *Die SPD und der Weg vom "Socialist information and liason office"zur "Sozialdemokratische Partei Europas*", p.8; paper published from the website of the University of Bochum, www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/iga/isb/isb-hauptframe/forschung/Tagungspapiere/Hiepel.pdf.
17. P. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, op.cit., p.29.

level of Western European integration of more homogeneous political national systems.[18]

Bruno Friedrich, the SPD speaker for foreign policy at the Bundestag, effectively epitomized the new priorities for the social democracy: the European attitude toward the Northern shore of the Mediterranean had been relying exclusively on military opposition to the Soviet expansion for far too long. This had silenced the critics against the Spanish, Portuguese and Greek dictatorship, ultimately undermining the moral credibility of the West. The time had come to shift the attention toward more articulated measures in order to raise the Southern part of the continent from its political instability and its economic backwardness, so that those populations would naturally increase their aspiration to adhere to the Western model and to the European integration process.[19]

The SPD had to pursue the twofold goal of ensuring a democratic evolution, at the same time favouring the success of local social democratic factions. The leaders of those forces had found a safe harbour in Bonn during their long exile, allowing the SPD to influence their personal political development. The return to democracy presented new challenges to the SPD mentors, since the brother parties were "urgently in need of […] organisational and material support" in resurfacing from dictatorship.[20] Unless such help might come from the very heart of Europe, those countries could pass through political experiences that might be destabilizing for the whole European balance and to which the American administration might respond with a "Chilean-like solution" that would hinder the progress of democracy on the continent.[21] The need to give a fresh start to its policy drove the SPD to establish a specific working group on Southern Europe under the Commission for foreign relations of the *Parteivorstand*; Horst Ehmke, one of the most loyal co-workers of secretary Willy Brandt, was appointed director.[22]

Although anti-communism was a traditional fall-back for the SPD, enhanced by the Cold War framework, it found new motivations in the European political development of the 1970s. After its electoral success in 1972, the SPD identified itself with the economic and social success of the 'German Model' of a 'social market economy', to which "million of citizens in other countries [looked at] with envy", since it was able to grant "social and political stability" and a high degree of personal freedom, and in which the class struggle gave way to a solidarity enabling

18. D.J. BAILEY, *Obfuscation through integration: legitimating "New" Social Democracy in the European Union*, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1(March 2005), pp.13-35.
19. Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (AdsD), Nachlass Bruno Friedrich (NBF), 66, speech of Bruno Friedrich in Bruxelles, 22 May 1975.
20. AdsD, NBF, 342, Resolution of the SPD Parteivorstand, 16 September 1974.
21. On the policy of the Ford Administration toward Portugal, see: M. del Pero, 'I limiti della distensione: gli Stati Uniti e l'implosione del regime portoghese', in Antonio Varsori (ed.), *Alle origini del presente. L'Europa occidentale nella crisi degli anni Settanta* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2007).
22. AdsD, NBF, 542, Letter of Horst Ehmke to the participants of the working group on Southern Europe, 3 July 1975.

a positive progress in general material conditions.[23] Thus, both the government in Bonn and the majority party were determined to exploit the new economic and diplomatic weight of the FRG to speed up a process of Western European homogenization and integration around West German standards. Together with the more traditional communist tendencies, the SPD also explicitly contested every alternative path that the European left parties undertook or just designed in order to overcome the economic crisis of the 1970s.[24] Confronting a structural crisis of Keynesian precepts, several European socialist and labour parties considered a deeper public intervention in the production sphere, to "democratize" the economy and to foster the technical and organizational innovations that the market seemed no longer able to provide.[25]

The SPD did not lose any opportunity to oppose these trends through its national experience, since it claimed to "have achieved exemplary accomplishments" thanks to its autonomist course in contrast to more radical examples.[26] This strategy was pursued by the German government especially after the appointment of Helmut Schmidt as chancellor in 1974. Coming from the moderate wing of the party, Schmidt deemed the traditional Keynesian-like approach to the economic crisis as no longer effective.[27] Rather, the German social democracy had to overcome the difficulties of the 1970s by deeply reassessing its historical tasks, namely consolidating the national identity of the RFT based on the extraordinary results achieved by the 'German system', and acting consistently with its political and economic strength at the international level.[28] Western European governments were urged to pursue a more 'market-oriented' course, both at national and communitarian level, thus reducing public intervention in the production and leaving aside the traditional post-war aim of full employment.[29] Consequently, the German government had an active part in translating those precepts into new rules for the international economy, especially since the first summit of the five most industrialized countries of the West in Rambouillet in 1975. Schmidt was persuaded that only the imposition of a more *laissez faire*-oriented approach to the international economy could avoid a global

23. E. COLLOTTI, *Esempio Germania: socialdemocrazia tedesca e coalizione social-liberale, 1969-1976*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1977, p.132.
24. A. GLYN, *Aspirations, Constraints, and Outcomes*, in: A. GLYN (ed.), *Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times. The Left and Economic Policy since 1980*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p.5.
25. A. GLYN, *Capitalism unleashed: finance, globalization, and Welfare*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, pp.44-48; K. HICKSON, *The IMF crisis of 1976 and British politics*, Taurus Academic Studies, Londra, 2005, chapter 7.
26. E. COLLOTTI, op.cit., pp.107 f.
27. M D'ANGELILLO, *Crisi economica e identità nazionale nella politica di governo della socialdemocrazia tedesca*, in: L. PAGGI (ed.), *Americanismo e riformismo. La socialdemocrazia europea nell'economia mondiale aperta*, Einaudi, Turin, 1989, p.152.
28. AdsD, Helmut Schmidt Archiv – Bundeskanzler (HSA-BK), 9302, Erwägungen für 1977, 5 January 1977.
29. AdsD, Parteivorstand (PV), 285, Speech of chancellor Schmidt at the 'Conference of the European Social Democratic parties and Trade Unions' in Oslo, 1 April 1977.

depression "worse than in 1932".[30] The Western economic powers had to take the lead of the process, influencing their partners through the international economic institutions to reduce their protectionist tendencies concerning the free flow of goods and capitals, as well as the governmental interventions that were bound to distort the efficient allocation of resources at the global scale.[31]

As far as the SPD was concerned, its activities in Western Europe were basically in line with this conduct of the German government, aimed at reaffirming its leadership over the European 'democratic left' and to promote its line of 'social democratic autonomy' in opposition to more radical tendencies. The main concerns came from the project for a "Popular Front" among the French socialist and communist parties promoted by François Mitterrand since the beginning of the 1970s. Indeed, the secretary of the French Party asserted that the socialists could not exclude co-operation with the local communist parties where the latter represented a not-marginal component of the political spectrum.[32] This again was the case in the Southern part of the continent, where the communist parties had gained considerable popular favour. Some of them, under the leadership of the Italian secretary Enrico Berlinguer, seemed to match Mitterrand's expectations, as they were working on the new project of 'Eurocommunism' intended as a democratic political force autonomous from the Soviet experience.[33] Such coalitions were intended to promote a more radical economic and social stance than those proposed by the Northern social democratic forces, thus influencing the common programme that the European socialist forces had to work out in view of the first popular elections for the European Parliament scheduled in 1979.[34] Although recognizing the increasing gap between some western communist parties and Moscow as a favourable development, the official doctrine of the SPD continued to deny the very existence of Eurocommunist beyond the public professions of its party members.[35] The growing strains between the two main authors of the Eurocommunist project, namely the French and the Italian Communist parties, proved that this opinion was not far from the truth; nevertheless, a fully legitimised Eurocommunism was inevitably to become a serious competitor for the socialist parties in the same elections. More reasons for opposition came from internal German politics: while the 1976 elections were

30. AdsD, NBF, 365, Speech of chancellor Schmidt to the SPD Parteivorstand, 22 March 1976.
31. D. BASOSI, G. BERNADINI, *The Puerto Rico summit of 1976 and the end of Eurocommunism*, in: L. NUTI (ed.), *The Crisis of Détente in Europe. From Helsinki to Gorbachev, 1975-1985*, Routlege, London, 2008.
32. P. BUTON, *I socialisti francesi e la questione italiana*, in: A. SPIRI (ed.), *Bettino Craxi, il socialismo europeo e il sistema internazionale*, Marsilio, Venice, 2006.
33. On the complex subject of Eurocommunism, see among others: S. PONS, *Berlinguer e la fine del comunismo*, Einaudi, Turin, 2006; F. BARBAGALLO, *Enrico Berlinguer*, Carocci, Rome, 2006.
34. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11617, Speech of Wilhelm Dröscher (president of the federation of the Social Democratic Parties of the European Community) at the SPD Congress in Hamburg, 19 October 1976.
35. H. EHMKE, *Democratic Socialism and Eurocommunism: the policy of Détente and ideological controversy*, F.E.S., Bonn, 1977.

approaching, the CDU was ready to present the legitimisation of the Western communist parties as a side effect of the Ostpolitik pursued by the SPD-led governments, thus undermining its achievement in front of the German public opinion.[36]

This ideological dispute had especially dangerous geo-political implications. The SPD leaders repeatedly expressed their concern that the strategy of the French secretary could define a limit between a Mediterranean and a Northern-European socialism, thus endangering the cohesion of the Western European socialist group on standards of moderation and undermining its potential influence on the future of the European integration process.[37] Thus, the German party exerted its influence in bi- and multilateral *fora* to counter the spread of a 'frontist' tendency. As an example, in the case of the Spanish exiles, several socialist factions contended for an international recognition as the sole representatives in the international arena: the SPD finally gave its preference to the group represented by the later Prime minister Felipe Gonzalez since it most clearly expressed its orientation toward an 'autonomous' model of socialism and against a co-operation with the communist party.[38] Therefore, the 'frontist' model never reached a continental dimension, due to scant interest displayed by the Spanish, along with the deterioration of relations between the Portuguese socialist and communist parties after 1974, and the sudden interruption of co-operation among socialists and communists in France in 1978. Nevertheless, during the 1970s, another European country would become a battleground for this dispute inside the European socialist family.

The Italian political scene

According to the analysts in Bonn, during the 1970s Italian democracy went through a period of political, social and economic instability that threatened to spread across the whole of Southern Europe. The country was set to become a perpetual source of apprehension in international relations, due to its status as a full member of the Western Alliance and of the European Communities.[39] The opening in Rome in 1973 of the first permanent bureau of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in

36. AdsD, NBF, 365, Transcription of a meeting of the SPD Parteivorstand, 25 March 1976.
37. AdsD, Willy-Brandt-Archiv (WBA) – Parteivorsitzender, 127, Memorandum of Hans-Eberhard Dingels (SPD secretary for foreign relations) to secretary Willy Brandt, 14 May 1975.
38. N. SARTORIUS, A. SABIO, *El final de la Dictadura. La conquista de la democracia en España*, Ediciones Temas de Hoy, Madrid, 2007, pp.656 f.; P. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, op.cit., pp.211 f.; A. MUNOZ SANCHEZ, *La Fundación Ebert y el socialismo español de la dictadura a la democracia*, in: *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 29(2007), pp.257-278.
39. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11531, Memorandum of Dingels to the chancellery, 30 August 1974.

the Western world attests the interest of the German Social Democracy in improving its understanding of the Italian vicissitudes.[40]

The main feature of the Italian political crisis was the persistence of the Christian Democracy (DC) in government since 1945 and "beyond every reasonable limit": the majority party, permanently divided in opposed factions, extended its "capillary system of patronage" over all the viewed domains of the public life. Even the representatives of the CDU thought of their Italian brother party during the 1970s as "the political expression of a feudal thinking", so deprived of moral orientation that it would have accepted every political co-operation to remain in power.[41] Furthermore, the very identification of the DC with that democratic institution also risked dragging the latter along with the permanent crisis of the majority party. The paralysis of the political system seemed to aggravate the structural problems of the country and to postpone indefinitely the necessary economic and social reforms. The sensational and unexpected defeat of the DC in a popular referendum about the introduction of divorce into Italian legislation finally certified the difficulties of the party in understanding and governing the widespread demands of renewal coming from the Italian society.[42] The revival of the '*centro-sinistra*' (centre-left) coalition between the DC and the increasingly restless Italian Socialist Party in 1973 seemed to offer only a temporary compromise, while the two main components assessed their options for the future.[43]

At the same time, the PCI was experiencing a season of considerable electoral growth under the leadership of secretary Enrico Berlinguer, reaching one third of the national vote. Berlinguer took advantage of the climate of continental Détente to drive his party toward a "different and responsible" attitude, proposing the PCI as a serious candidate to rule the country in the foreseeable future, even if in a coalition with the DC. Such a proposal stemmed from the observation that only a vast coalition with socialist and moderate forces would have allowed the PCI to access government without engendering violent reactions such as those that had ultimately determined the success of the Pinochet *coup d'état* in Chile over the democratic elected government of president Salvador Allende. In two articles on the official PCI magazine "Rinascita" at the end of 1973, Berlinguer proposed a stable collaboration among communist, socialist and catholic popular forces to avoid authoritarian tendencies and to help the country to overcome the economic and social turmoil. This strategy was soon labelled "compromesso storico" (historic compromise), and it relied on the assumption that the international

40. P. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, op.cit., p.187.
41. The expressions were referred to Dingels from the director of the Foreign bureau of the CDU, Boex, during a meeting. AdsD, WBA – Parteivorsitzender, 126, Memorandum of Dingels to Wischnewski, 9 August 1974.
42. AdsD, HSA-BK, 6638, *Innenpolitische Lage Italiens*, Memorandum for chancellor Schmidt, 21 August 1974.
43. AdsD, NBF, 490, Memorandum from the FES bureau in Rome to the SPD Commission for Foreign Relations, 30 October 1973.

constraints of the Italian democracy would have not allowed the communist and socialist forces to exclude the DC from power, even if the former could have reached the threshold of 51 % in the popular vote.[44] Such orientation seemed to find interested interlocutors in the DC, especially Aldo Moro, one of its historical leaders. A temporary co-operation with the communists seemed to offer to the DC the opportunity to associate the PCI in the necessary renewal of the political, administrative and economic system.[45]

The SPD had a different viewpoint, stemming from its observation of the international situation. It is undeniable that the German Social Democracy had shown interest for this development inside the major communist party of the West. On the basis of common personal experiences (such as European anti-fascism, the Spanish civil war, the exile), Brandt and the former secretary of the PCI Luigi Longo had launched a private dialogue that had favoured the first secret opening moves of the *Ostpolitik* toward the Eastern German and Soviet ruling parties during the 1960s.[46] Furthermore, Berlinguer and Brandt shared similar opinions concerning the limits of the Western model of development, especially after the latter was appointed chairman of the Independent Commission for International Developmental Issues in 1977.[47] However, when confronted with the very real prospect of the *compromesso storico*, the SPD restated its traditional stance against the participation of communist parties in governments of free countries.[48] Brandt publicly conceded that the PCI could "turn itself into something different", but this process would "last the time of a new generation" of leaders.[49] Even if some optimistic analyses of Berlinguer's line of conduct where assessed in an internal debate, the approval of the SPD to the inclusion of the PCI in a government coalition was out of question.[50] As summarized by chancellor Schmidt to the press, the SPD did not like the idea of communists in government "in any place of the world, be it in Italy or elsewhere".[51]

While the social democratic leaders agreed in condemning the *compromesso storico*, they were also aware that their party had narrower room to manoeuvre in Italy than elsewhere. Answering the concerns of US State secretary Henry Kissinger, Brandt reassured his American interlocutor that the position of his party concerning the Italian communists was unchanged, and that the SPD was

44. P. GINSBORG, *Berlinguer tra passato e presente*, in: M. BATTINI (ed.), *Dialogo su Berlinguer*, Firenze, Giunti, 1994, pp.56-95; S. TARROW, *The Italian Party System Between Crisis and Transition*, in: *American Journal of Political Science*, 2(May, 1977), pp.193-224.
45. AdsD, HSA-BK, 6638, Innenpolitische Lage Italiens, op.cit.
46. F. LUSSANA, *Il confronto con le socialdemocrazie e la ricerca di un nuovo socialismo nell'ultimo Berlinguer*, in: *Studi Storici*, 2(2004), pp.461-488.
47. F. LUSSANA, *Il confronto con le socialdemocrazie e la ricerca di un nuovo socialismo nell'ultimo Berlinguer*, in: D. CAVIGLIA, A. Varsori (eds.), *Dollari, petrolio e aiuti allo sviluppo. Il confronto Nord-Sud negli anni '60-70*, Franco Angeli, Milan, 2008.
48. AdsD, NBF, 71, Statement of Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski to the German press, 27 January 1976.
49. AdsD, Parteivorstand (PV), 12124, Interview of Willy Brandt to *Die Zeit*, 29 October 1975.
50. AdsD, Horst Ehmke Archiv (HEA), 793, Letter of Ehmke to Schmidt, 7 November 1979.
51. AdsD, HSA, 6681, Interview of Schmidt to the German press, 23 July 1976.

committed to encourage its brother parties to refuse any co-operation with the local communist parties.[52] However, Brandt had to admit that the SPD had almost no leverage with the two major Italian political parties, since none of them was related to the European socialist family. Concerning the forces of Italian 'democratic socialism', they were divided into two small parties, the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and the Social Democratic Party (PSDI), which the electoral progression of the PCI pushed into an almost irrelevant position.

The Bureau of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Rome shared Brandt's frustration concerning the behaviour of the two Italian parties. Despite the favourable reaction of the PSI and the PSDI to the opening of the Bureau, their contacts had not improved significantly. The "permanent confusion" of the Italian party system negatively influenced the work of the Bureau, and the search for reliable interlocutors was nullified by a shared "non-committal attitude" inside the two brother parties, more interested in internal disputes than in working out a common political project.[53] Both parties seemed to share the same passive attitude toward the "irresistible" electoral growth of the PCI, as well as a similar feeling of apprehension toward the dialogue between the two major Italian political forces. In particular PSI secretary Francesco de Martino felt compelled to take a schizophrenic stance toward the severe economic measures that the government was working out in order to tackle the economic crisis: on the one hand, the party continued to take part in the majority coalition; on the other hand, a publicly critical attitude was calculated to characterize his party as the defender of the working class, trying thus to halt the erosion of the PSI's electoral foundations to the PCI's advantage. Such a short-sighted strategy did not allow the party to work out innovative solutions to the structural problems of the country, which in turn originated from the unstable and corrupt political system, both at central and local level.[54]

Furthermore, the relations between the SPD and the PSI were considerably worsening, as emphasised by the debate at the European Socialist meeting of Helsingor in January 1976. The conference offered to Mitterrand the opportunity to promote his 'frontist' strategy on a continental level, at the same time criticising the "Northern socialists" for their "lack of tolerance". Although underlining the differences between the two national political landscapes, De Martino supported the French position against the objections coming from the SPD representatives.[55] In the following days, Mitterrand had convened a meeting of the socialist parties of Southern Europe in Paris. While strongly restating his loyalty to the European socialist group, Mitterrand urged his international interlocutors to work for a common project of structural co-operation with the local communist parties and

52. AdsD, HSA-BK, 6356, Willy Brandt to Henry Kissinger, 10 February 1976.
53. AdsD, NBF, 490, Memorandum from the FES bureau in Rome to the SPD Commission for Foreign Relations, 30 October 1973.
54. AdsD, HSA-BK, 6638, Innenpolitische Lage Italiens, Memorandum for chancellor Schmidt, 21 August 1974.
55. AdsD, SPD-Präsidium, 25, Memorandum of Dingels on the Helsingor Conference, 20 January 1976.

trade unions. The results were disappointing for the future French president: the Portuguese secretary Mario Soares confirmed that the socialist and communist positions in his country were incompatible, and the Spanish representatives denied that the "common anti-Franco front" would last after the return to democracy. Nevertheless, the Italian Foreign secretary Mario Zagari assured Mitterrand of the solidarity of his party, before exposing a long (and for the German observers disconcerting) defence of the Italian PCI: in his opinion, the party of Berlinguer had become a democratic and pro-European force, that the PSI intended to drive to the government of the country.[56]

Therefore, the first task that the SPD had to confront was to

"increase the interest and the understanding of the PSI in improving its co-operation with all the parties of the democratic socialism in Europe […] to divert its strong orientation toward the Latin countries".[57]

A carefully driven intervention from outside was more than necessary, since the leadership of the PSI looked paralysed by the electoral decline and was permanently uncertain about the future of its alliance with the DC.[58] Only the strengthening of the link between the PSI and the SPD could save the Italian socialism from its 'provincialism', while improving its consciousness of the tasks that the European 'democratic left' had to face.

This engagement notwithstanding, the situation worsened further during the first months of the 1976, when De Martino drove the PSI out of the centre-left coalition supporting the government of Aldo Moro. While the new political elections approached, the PSI looked determined to avoid the 'historic compromise' in an erroneous way: the final resolution approved by the socialist Congress held in March 1976 submitted to the Italian electors the project of a 'left alternative', that is to say, a coalition with the PCI to govern the country and to confine the DC to the opposition for the first time in the history of Italian democracy.[59] Such a programme looked like a dangerous derivation of the French 'frontism', made worse by the political, cultural and above all numeric communist preponderance. Paradoxically, Berlinguer did not reserve any enthusiasm for the socialist proposal that he judged untimely: the PCI continued to propose the co-operation with the DC as the only viable strategy in the short run.[60] The result for the PSI was a dramatic although not unpredicted defeat that brought to the party a meagre 9.8 % of the electorate, its worst score ever. Furthermore, the

56. AdsD, NBF, 363, Memorandum of the SPD observer to the meeting, Veronika Isenberg, to the Commission for International Relations, 26 January 1976.
57. AdsD, PV, 10785, Resolution of the Working Group on Southern Europe, 17 March 1976.
58. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11224, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome, 31 March 1974.
59. AdsD, WBA-Parteivorsitzender, 155, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to Brandt, 17 March 1976.
60. AdsD, NBF 537, Memorandum of Isenberg to the SPD Commission for Foreign Relations, 31 May 1976.

Italian electors had favoured a further polarization of the political system, with both the DC and the PCI well over the 30 % mark.

Although seriously concerned, the SPD had resolved to support the campaign of the PSI among the Italian workers in Germany, hoping that a good result would favour the renewal of the party leadership.[61] In their public post-electoral evaluation, the German speakers severely urged the Italian socialists to reconsider their strategy of the 'left alternative', since it had proved unpalatable even to their traditional electorate.[62] A similar analysis of the Italian electoral results came from Mitterrand. In a private conversation with Brandt, the French secretary surprisingly revealed his relief for the failure of the 'Left alternative', since the unpreparedness of the PSI to lead the coalition would have definitively conceded the leadership of the Italian left to the PCI. Before promoting a new 'frontist' strategy, the PSI had to come through a deep process of renewal, a reassessment of its ideological stances, and a complete replacement of its manifestly inadequate leaders.[63]

A new 'autonomist' leadership for the PSI

The heavy defeat produced a dramatic development only a few weeks after the election: during a meeting of the Central Committee of the PSI in mid June, a coalition of young leaders coming from the different factions managed to overthrow the sitting board and to take control of the party.[64] The news of the 'Midas plot' (from the name of the Hotel hosting the meeting) spread quickly through the national and international media, and forced the SPD to reconsider its stance toward Bettino Craxi, the new young secretary coming from the 'autonomist' (from the PCI) wing of the PSI. As a pupil of the former socialist secretary and Foreign minister Pietro Nenni, Craxi had become the youngest member of the board in the late 1960s, and had represented his party at several international socialist meetings.[65] In his conversations with the German representatives only a few weeks after his election, Craxi described the condition of his party as serious. Before entering a new government coalition with the DC, the socialist party needed a deep renewal of its central and local structures, as well as a consolidation of his precarious autonomist leadership.[66] Furthermore, it was

61. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11332, Meeting of the SPD Parteivorstand, 10 June 1976.
62. AdsD, NBF, 72, Comments by Friedrich. SPD-Pressedienst, 22 June 1976.
63. AdsD, SPD-Präsidium, 39, Meeting between Brandt and Mitterrand in Paris, 25 June 1976.
64. S. COLARIZI, M. GERVASONI, *La cruna dell'ago. Craxi, il partito socialista e la crisi della Repubblica*, Laterza, Bari, 2005, pp.18-27.
65. Although the archives of the SPD do not contain any information about Craxi before his appointment as secretary, several Italian sources consider his international activities during the early 1970s as a key component of his later success. M. PINI, *Craxi*, Mondadori, Milan, 2006, p. 77 f.
66. AdsD, WB-PV, 155, Report of Wischnewski on his meeting with Craxi in Rome to the Parteivorstand, 19 July 1976.

necessary for the PSI to strengthen its ideological profile to escape its perpetual inferiority complex toward the PCI. Craxi looked determined to challenge the image of the Italian communists as a fully reliable political force, stressing its disturbing cultural heritage and its cultural and emotional link with the experience of the Soviet Union.[67] Consequently, the PSI needed to increase its relations with those parties that based their political strategy on the practice of 'socialist autonomy' to remove the debris of the 'frontist legacy' that the former leadership had left behind.[68]

With his first statements to his German interlocutors, Craxi seemed to have won the interest of Brandt, the leading figure of the European socialism that the young secretary repeatedly quoted in his interviews with the press. Their first meeting took place during the German campaign for the political elections, in September 1976. Only a few days before, Craxi had addressed an open letter to the European socialist leaders in which he reaffirmed the pro-European attitude of the PSI and his own willingness to take part in elaborating a common socialist strategy in view of the forthcoming European elections, as well as in taking the influence of the Socialist International (SI) beyond the European borders: intentionally or not, the Italian secretary had mentioned several topics that Brandt would finally include among his priorities in officially assuming the leadership of the SI at the end of the year.[69] During the meeting, Craxi exposed his long-term plans for a revival of the centre-left coalition, provided that the new socialist leading group could accomplish the 'autonomist' process away from the influence of the PCI, all the while achieving a more respectable status towards the DC. The ultimate ambitious goal of the young secretary was to force the majority party to concede the premiership to a socialist, as a concrete sign of renewal to Italian public opinion.[70] The communists could take part in this coalition from an external position, but the PSI would never allow them to accede to government. Concerning the PCI, Brandt committed himself to promptly informing the Italian socialists about the state of the relations between the party of Berlinguer and the SPD. Furthermore, the German secretary proposed to establish mixed groups among his party and the PSI to work out common positions on every aspect of international co-operation, and he offered Craxi the opportunity to meet chancellor Schmidt within a few months, so as to enhance the prestige of the new Italian secretary in front of international public opinion. Despite the still precarious internal support of his leadership, Craxi seemed to have persuaded Brandt that the cooperation of the SPD was necessary for driving the Italian brother party through the programme of renewal that the new

67. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10785, *Craxi*, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to the Parteivorstand, 6 August 1976.
68. AdsD, WBA-P, 155, *Bettino Craxi*, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to secretary Brandt, 21 August 1976.
69. B. ROTHER, *Between East and West – social democracy as an alternative to communism and capitalism: Willy Brandt's strategy as president of the Socialist International*, in: L. NUTI (ed.), op.cit. pp.217 f.
70. AdsD, WBA-Parteivorsitzender, 155, Transcript of the meeting between Brandt and Craxi, 18 September 1976.

secretary had outlined, since it represented the last chance to prevent the *compromesso storico*. A qualitative improvement in the relations with the 'champions' of socialist autonomy was a precondition to strengthen the new autonomous profile that Craxi strove to give to the party.[71] The project of the "young and vigorous" Italian secretary appeared so sound to Brandt that the former chancellor pleaded Craxi's cause even in Washington: meeting the new Carter administration, he assured to State secretary Cyrus Vance that Craxi would ultimately drive the PSI back to a revival of the centre-left coalition, as soon as he could strengthen his leadership over his own party.[72]

The first public evidence that Brandt had committed himself to enhance the prestige of the new Italian secretary was the appointment of Craxi to the vice-presidency of the (SI) in February, after the former German chancellor had taken the lead of the organization. The new status allowed Craxi to maintain more frequent relations with the other leaders of European socialism. Furthermore, Brandt promoted the summoning of a highly publicized meeting of the SI Bureau in Rome, where the Italian representative exposed the views of the party concerning the relations between Western Europe and the Middle East (one of the strongest points of Craxi's foreign policy in the years to come).[73] Against the resistance of the SPD direction, which deemed it necessary to await a further strengthening of the new Italian leadership before engaging the German party in a substantial improvement of relations, Brandt urged the *Parteivorstand* to send a high profile delegation to Rome, so as to further attract the attention of the media.[74] The German representatives took advantage of a separate bilateral meeting to convey to the Italian comrades the encouragement of the leadership of the SPD to pursue the new course. To this end, the German leadership was ready to supply "concrete help" to the PSI, provided that the latter would consider the SPD as its "main interlocutor" in working out a common socialist programme for the European elections..[75] Only a few weeks before the meeting took place, and after careful examination of the course of events, the SPD Commission for Foreign Relations strongly recommended that the *Parteivorstand* make every possible effort to help Craxi in his new course, since it fully matched the German national interest as well as that of the SPD.[76]

The German party was especially interested in the cultural struggle that Craxi had launched against the communist 'cultural hegemony' in Italy. According to the new secretary, it was a necessary precondition to redress the balance of power

71. A. SPIRI (ed.), op.cit., p.7.
72. AdsD, Depositum Horst Ehmke (DHE), 790, Notes of the meeting between Brandt and Vance, 7 March 1977.
73. AdsD, SPD-PV, 12098, Memorandum of Dingels to the SPD Präsidium, 6 June 1977.
74. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10946, Note from Dingels to Brandt, 5 April 1977; WBA-P, 129, Memorandum of Dingels to Brandt, 31 May 1977.
75. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10788, Memorandum of Dingels on the SPD-PSI meeting in Rome, 1 June 1976.
76. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11616, Final recommendations of the SPD Commission for Foreign Relations, 14 April 1978.

inside the Italian left.[77] During the controversy over the cultural heritage of the PCI, which became particularly harsh between 1976 and 1979, Craxi received the unexpected support of young intellectuals gathered around several socialist magazines.[78] Although more interested in daily political activities rather than in ideological disputes, the new secretary took advantage of such contributions to publicly dispute the reputation of the PCI as a fully democratic and autonomous (from Moscow) political force that Berlinguer had successfully proposed to the Italian public opinion in the recent years.

This cooperation would ultimately be broken at the end of the 1970s, when it become apparent that it was based on different premises from the two sides: most of the young intellectuals intended to press Berlinguer toward a faster and deeper 'de-Leninization' of the Italian communists, with the ultimate goal of a fully democratic left alternative to the DC; on the other hand, Craxi's short-term goal was to regain for his party those younger or traditional socialist electors that had been tempted away by the new communist respectability.[79] Nevertheless, the SPD did not underestimate the effects on the 'frontist' project that the quarrel would produce both at the Italian and at the international level. Brandt offered Craxi the opportunity to reveal his reasons to an international public opinion by proposing that a speech of the Italian secretary would open the official celebration for the thirty years of the reopening of the Karl Marx House and Museum in Trier.[80] Even before the meeting, the German secretary envisaged that the theme of the conference, "The relation between socialism and freedom", would become the main subject of "a permanent institution within the SI under the leadership of Bettino Craxi".

From the highly symbolic stage in Trier, Craxi harshly attacked Leninism as a degenerate and extreme interpretation of Marx's writings, which inevitably led to dictatorial forms of government. Thus, every political force committed to the values of freedom and democracy should reject it, and learn the lesson of European democratic socialism. The latter had mixed Marxist heritage with the highest respect for personal freedoms: the result was that the working class had an unprecedented influence on political life in those countries that were ruled by social democratic forces.[81] The speech of the Italian secretary had followed the path that Brandt had traced in his opening remarks: although the Western communists had recently undertaken a promising process of ideological revision, a firm-based cooperation with the forces of democratic socialism was still out of

77. Interview with secretary Craxy, *La Stampa*, 17 July 1976.
78. F. COEN, P. BORIONI, *Le Cassandre di Mondoperaio*, *Una stagione creativa della cultura socialista*, Marsilio, Venezia, 1999, p.19.
79. S. COLARIZI, M. GERVASONI, op.cit., pp.8 f.
80. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10765, Minutes of the *Sechserkreis*, restricted organ of the Parteivorstand, 14 January 1977.
81. U. FINETTI (ed.), *Il Socialismo di Craxi. Relazioni e documenti dei congressi socialisti, 1978-1991*, M&B Publishing, Milan, 2003, p.18; M. PINI, op.cit., p.119.

question.[82] The international and Italian press concluded that the concurrence of opinions between the two leaders proved that the 'Eurosocialist' project that Craxi had repeatedly evoked was no longer a mere European electoral slogan, and that socialist autonomy was its main feature for the foreseeable future.[83] Although the institutionalisation of the debate inside the SI never materialized, the SPD continued to support the activities of the Italian socialists aimed at calling into question the respectability of the PCI. It was the case of the conference "Marxism, Leninism, socialism" held in Rome in 1978, where again the *Parteivorstand* resolved to send a high-profile delegation.[84]

The ideological dispute did not resolve the sensitive subject of relations between the SPD and the PCI. As previously stated, Berlinguer pursued during the 1970s a complex correspondence with the leaders of European socialism, among them Willy Brandt, about the new challenges confronting the world, such as the North-South relations, the environmental decline, the outbreak of new inequalities, the relationship between technological advances and social welfare.[85] As the PSI leadership underscored towards their German interlocutors, the Italian socialists were disposed to tolerate and even to favour such a dialogue, provided that it would be confined to the aforementioned subjects. On the contrary, the SPD was warned that any praise of the Eurocommunist strategy would give new strength to those inside the PSI who strove to bring the party back to the old 'frontist' strategy, thus undermining the new autonomist course.[86] Especially difficult were the relations between Craxi and Horst Ehmke, who consistently visited Rome during the late 1970s to report to the *Parteivorstand* on the political developments in Italy.[87] Ehmke periodically met the representatives of all the parties represented in the Parliament (except the neo-fascist MSI). During his tour in 1976, the newspaper *La Stampa* published an interview in which the German representative allegedly praised the progress of Western communism during recent years. Facing the harsh protests of Italian socialists, the leadership of the SPD immediately demanded that the newspaper rectify the content of the article.[88] In the following year the SPD seemed to have accepted the reserves of the Italian brother party, as evidenced by the substantial reduction of contacts with the Italian PCI.[89] The frustration of the Italian communists was increased by the evidence that the reluctance of the SPD was the consequence of a veto coming from the Italian socialist leadership.[90]

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82. F. OSTERROTH, D. SCHUSTER, *Chronik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie. Band 3: 1974 bis 1982*, Dietz, Bonn, 2005, pp.126 f.
83. AdsD, WBA-Parteivorsitzender, 155, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to Brandt, 1 June 1977.
84. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10768, Memorandum of Karsten Voigt to the Parteivorstand, 2 December 1978.
85. G. ARFÈ (ed.), *Brandt-Palme-Kreisky. Quale socialismo per l'Europa*, Lerici, Cosenza, 1976).
86. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10652, Letter from Carlo Ripa di Meana to Karsten Voigt, December 1978.
87. M. PINI, op.cit., pp.117 f.
88. AdsD, WBA-Parteivorsitzender, 128, Memorandum from Dingels to Brandt, 15 October 1976.
89. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10947, Memorandum of Dingels to Ehmke, 19 July 1978.
90. AdSD, SPD-PV, 10948, Memorandum of Dingels to Voigt, 28 March 1979.

A specific feature of the controversy between the Italian socialists and communists had more serious implications for the SPD. Since 1976, the PSI chose to defy the PCI on the basis of its support to dissidents in the socialist countries, to prove that Berlinguer had not severed his last links with Moscow.[91] However, the SPD had to balance its support for Craxi with the need to avoid jeopardizing the results of the *Ostpolitik* that it had pursued since the 1960s. In Trier, Brandt had implicitly warned Craxi that the ideological dispute with Western communists should not bring East-West relations back to the worst Cold War climate.[92] Although the later PSI accusations toward the German social democracy for its alleged indifference towards dissent in the communist countries seem unfair, the SPD also refrained from sending its moral and material support to controversial events in that field, such as the 'Biennale del Dissenso' in Venice in 1977, the exhibition that the PSI had sponsored to bring to the attention of the international public opinion the conditions of living of the Eastern bloc dissidents.[93] Even if the SPD was concerned by the international reverberations of such public events, the negative reactions from the PCI brought the analysts in Bonn to conclude that Craxi had succeeded again in publicizing the persistence of an emotional, if not political, tie between the party of Berlinguer and the communist ruling parties of Eastern Europe.[94]

The three years following the electoral success of 1976 where exceptionally hard for the PCI. While supporting the DC-only governments led by Premier Giulio Andreotti by abstaining in parliamentary confidence votes until march 1978 (and then taking part in the national solidarity coalition after the kidnapping of Aldo Moro), the PCI was never allowed to enter the 'button room' of government, although it was called to share the responsibility for unpopular economic and social policies. Its loss of votes in the 1978 administrative elections, together with an encouraging socialist recovery, was a clear sign to Bonn that the offensive strategy followed by Craxi was even exceeding his (and his international partners') expectations.[95]

Conclusions

After having contributed to enhancing the internal and international prestige of Bettino Craxi, the SPD assisted with the first consolidation of his autonomist

91. On the complex relation of the PCI with the dissidence of the communist countries, see: V. LOMELLINI, *Il Partito comunista italiano al banco di prova del dissenso nell'Est (1975-1979)*, in: F. ROMERO, A. VARSORI (eds.), *Nazione, interdipendenza, integrazione. Le relazioni internazionali dell'Italia (1917-1989)*, Carocci, Rome, 2006.
92. F. OSTERROTH, D. SCHUSTER, op.cit., pp.126 f.
93. S. COLARIZI, M. GERVASONI, op.cit., p.38.
94. AdsD, NBF, 449, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to the Parteivorstand, 23 January 1979.
95. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10652, Memorandum from Isenberg to Brandt, 16 May 1978.

project inside his own party. During his first two years as secretary, the observers in Bonn had to recognize his tactical skill in repulsing the frequent attacks coming from internal oppositions. The old and young leaders of the several socialist wings seemed to lack a shared political project to oppose the 'socialist autonomy', since the 'left alternative' was frustrated by the PCI's apparent lack of interest. The common goal of overthrowing the new party leadership was not sufficient to overcome traditional personal rivalries: in these conditions, it was easy for Craxi to play them off against each other, lavishing offices and honours inside the party and in public, economic and administrative institutions.[96] The 61st Socialist Congress held in Turin in 1978 approved his appointment as secretary with an unprecedented 65 % of party members, while the German newspapers greeted the meeting as the 'Italian Bad Godesberg'.[97] The programme of the secretary postponed the 'left alternative' to an undefined date, and not one before the PSI itself would be able to lead the alliance and urge the PCI to fully accept the principles of democratic socialism.[98] The final resolutions of the Congress constantly referred to the '*Orientierungsrahmen '85*', the official economic programme of the SPD for the decade 1975-1985, as a model for the future political activities of the party.[99] Even the pronouncements of Craxi were manifestly inspired by the internal German debate, such as the overcoming of a strict Marxist interpretation of a classist society and the acknowledgement of the primacy of the market economy, provided that it could be moderated by social requirements. Although internal opposition accused the secretary of dismissing the Marxist tradition of Italian socialism, the vast majority of the party delegates approved the document. Surrounded by the attention of the media, Craxi restated the 'Europeanist' mark of his leadership, pledged his (and his party's) loyalty to the European integration process, and urged a continuous dialogue with the continental brother parties in order to work out a common autonomist strategy.[100]

Within a few months, the tragic conclusion of the Moro kidnapping and the consequent ultimate defeat of the 'historic compromise' inside the DC made possible a return to the centre-left coalition. It was an all too promising opportunity for the new socialist leadership to refuse, after five years of self-exclusion from the government. A month before the political elections of 1979, which gave a contradictory result and a disappointing score to the PSI, Craxi privately revealed to the SPD parliamentary group that his party was ready to ensure "governmental stability" to the country with a renewed alliance with the DC, although this time the socialists would avoid the subordinate state that had characterized the previous experiences.[101]

96. AdsD, SPD-PV, 10793, Memorandum from the FES bureau in Rome to Brandt, 3 February 1977.
97. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11840, Note of the DPA, 3 April 1978.
98. AdsD, SPD-PV, 11616, Memorandum of Dingels to the Präsidium, 3 April 1978.
99. AdSD, SPD-PV 10652, Memorandum of Karsten Voigt to the Parteivorstand, 28 March 1978.
100. AdsD, DHE, 459, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to the Parteivorstand, 7 April 1978.
101. AdsD, NBF, 1530, Speach of Craxi to a group of SPD members, 9 May 1979.

The new centre-left coalition became a reality in 1980, and it was undoubtedly welcomed as a major success in Bonn, especially since the foreign policy of the government led by Prime minister Francesco Cossiga concerning the nuclear rearmament of Western Europe and the progress of European economic integration was in line with the German government. Nevertheless, the analysts in Bonn questioned what real possibility there was that the 'conservative' choice of a revived centre-left coalition might ultimately bring Italy the structural reforms that its political system as well as the economic system urgently required.[102] The following years, when Craxi was finally appointed Prime minister between 1983 and 1987, would even show Bonn that a mere return to governmental stability would not suffice to overcome the distortions of the Italian political life that had emerged during the 1970s.

102. AdsD, WBA-P, 132, Memorandum of the FES bureau in Rome to the Parteivorstand, 3 April 1980.

Book reviews – Comptes rendus – Buchbesprechungen

Daniele CAVIGLIA, Antonio VARSORI (a cura di), ***Dollari, petrolio e aiuti allo sviluppo. Il confronto Nord-Sud negli anni '60-70***, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2008, 260 p. – ISBN 978-88-464-9554-9 – 22,00 €.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the process of decolonization in its last phase forced the two blocs to reconsider their relations with the Southern part of the world, especially with those countries that had just gained their political independence and were looking for a suitable model of modernization. In this political context, Western countries tried to develop a common pattern of behaviour towards the countries of the Third World, focussing on the task of shielding young nations from Soviet influence. It was not easy to work out a common policy toward the Less Developed Countries (LDCs): the Western bloc had to deal with a call for reforms of the international economic system as well as with a growing and urgent demand by the LDCs for the final achievement of political independence. Moreover, the Western bloc had to reconcile the different views expressed by the United States, on the one hand, which supported a complete emancipation of former colonial countries, and on the other hand by the European imperial powers, which didn't conceal the will to maintain some control in those countries.

The relations between the United States and Western Europe, centred on the problems of the African continent and the Middle Eastern region, represent some of the major issues developed in the book edited by Antonio Varsori and Daniele Caviglia. The editors develop the theme of the North-South confrontation from the last stage of the economic boom to the end of the Détente. These essays are the result of a national research project, chaired by professor Varsori, on "The North-South Dialogue. The EEC and the USA faced with the Third World problem", and were presented during a conference held at the University San Pio V in Rome in 2006.

In the first essay Lorella Tosone points out that, since the second half of the 1950s some members of the US Department of State had started to criticize the tendency to delegate to European states the responsibility for the stability of the Black Continent. The perspective to involve newly or nearly independent countries in the global economic system, in order to provide American investors with more trade opportunities and guarantees, gained in significance. Ultimately, this new approach asked for an anti-colonialist and a less European-oriented policy towards Africa. The Kennedy administration encouraged this trend, giving it an idealistic impulse and setting up a systematic conceptual framework. This new approach towards African countries followed the USSR foreign policy under Nikita Khrushchev, who was now very interested in expanding Soviet influence on the African continent through an anti-colonialist campaign largely welcomed by the LDCs. Though the US aid program developed since 1961 had an anti-communist character, it didn't show a merely defensive or short-term attitude. It rather aimed

both at providing financial and technical long-term assistance and at developing helpful policies to the effective use of American capital. Therefore, in order to prevent any criticism of the strong European presence in Africa from arousing anti-Western feelings, Washington relied upon the diversification of the sources of assistance. However, the prevailing "Africanist" side of the Department of State during the Kennedy administration had to face several critics: according to the "European" faction, the fear that the neutral choice of many African countries, considered unable to manage the aids efficiently, could open up a possibility to fall under Soviet influence; moreover, considering the US balance of payment's deficit, the Congress opposed any new and huge commitment in Africa without an important involvement of European countries. Despite the US call for burden sharing agreements, the US allies actually held a different view both on the quantity and the quality of the required aids. Internal dysfunctions within the Agency for International Development and the limits of the program, pointed out by the Clay Commission in March 1963, led the US Congress to cut the funds drastically. So, the short period of the Kennedy administration didn't bring about a real change in the US behaviour towards African countries, the former priority of stabilizing USSR influence being immutable.

In order to pursue this task, Washington had traditionally sustained the Euro-African relations not only in foreign aid but also in commercial policy. As Guia Migani writes, the Eisenhower administration welcomed the project of a new Euro-African trade area, despite the GATT rules, in order to strengthen the Western presence in Sub-Saharan Africa. As a consequence, the Kennedy administration greeted the Yaoundé Convention and started joint efforts with the EEC in order to co-ordinate the respective activities within the African Associated Countries. However, this dialogue was short-lived and quite fruitless, because of bureaucratic delays (the work of different agencies had to be co-ordinated); divergent approaches (the EEC favouring a project aid, while the USA preferred a program aid); the lack of funds Washington had assigned to the African Associated Countries; and, finally, the unfriendly French attitude towards the common projects of the EEC and the USA, as the Paris government was afraid of losing its sphere of influence on the continent. Since the Johnson administration, and all the more since the Nixon government, the US behaviour towards the EEC had radically changed. While the negotiations for British membership in the EEC were evolving, the European Community considered another association agreement involving the African members of the Commonwealth. Washington didn't dispute foreign assistance granted by the EEC to the former and future associated African nations as a good contribution it relied on; it rather wanted the preferential trade area not to widen further so as to include the African members of the Commonwealth, in order not to threaten seriously US exports. Instead of creating preferential trade areas, as a proper instrument of development, the Nixon government aimed at increasing foreign aid. The regional approach chosen by the EEC was not the appropriate policy for a country which adopted a global view.

With the looming of the international economic crisis and the emerging role of the Third World's countries, the industrialized Western countries drifted more and more apart in their action of dealing with the needs of the LDCs.

The decline of the American Empire, the questioning of its socio-economic model and the difficulty to reconcile national development programs with the widening of economic interdependence led to a general revision of the policy to be taken towards the Third World countries. At the same time, after the first UN Development Decade, the GNP of the Third World countries showed an increasing level of growth, which led to a disparity among themselves. The oil-producing countries showed a higher level of growth and, considering the dependence of industrialized nations on oil-exports, energetic sources became a political weapon conditioning Western policy towards the South. On the whole, the LDCs gained a greater contractual weight that they exploited from the UN stalls in 1974 to start on the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

The Third World countries used this new evidence of their growth to support some crucial political questions, such as the anti-colonial struggle, the fight against racial discrimination, the Arab-Palestinian cause. The Yom Kippur conflict in 1973, the oil shock and the following economic crisis clearly represented a turning-point in the North-South relations. As Francesco Petrini underlines in his essay, even before the third Arab-Israeli war, Western countries, whose industrialization during the "golden age" had become possible thanks to oil, understood the growing importance of the energetic question. As soon as the OPEC members imposed a hard oil embargo against the Western states supporting Israel, the oil-importing nations tried to develop different lines to solve the problem: they could try to establish a dialogue and a collaboration with the Arab Muslim states or, as the Nixon government preferred, constitute a compact Western bloc to face the policy of the oil-exporting nations. In the early 1970s, the first option was in embryo, when the resolute Arab behaviour and its heavy economic consequences on the Western economy forced the EEC members to go rapidly on this way. Therefore they considered plans for financial and technical aid in change of oil supply, taking advantage of the willingness of the so-called Arab world's moderate wing, that were interested in industrial modernization. The EEC countries also showed solidarity with the Palestinian cause, backing officially the application of the UN Security Council resolution 242 about the occupied territories. Even though the Arab-Muslim nations welcomed this sensitivity, the EEC was unable to accomplish the Euro-Arab dialogue, allowing thus a strengthening of the US leadership in the Middle East.

During the 1970s, Western countries had to deal with other issues closely connected to the energetic question, such as the surplus of dollars accumulated by the OPEC nations. As the essay of Silvio Labbate's proves, the Western European states took a different position as their overseas ally on the project of allocating the earnings of oil-incomes for the good benefit of the LDCs' economies. The EEC members were in competition with the USA in order to gain the OPEC capitals for

their own financial markets. Furthermore, unlike the Nixon government, they had a more accommodating attitude towards the call for new banks and new international development agencies, which came from the Arab world. The US way prevailed and the existing Western bodies dealing with development, such as the IBRD and the OECD, persisted as the co-ordinating centre for the flow of foreign aid.

The initial divergences among Western governments had been settled in the mid-seventies. This gradual regrouping found its turning-point, as Daniele Caviglia says, in the Rambouillet conference of 1975. It was essentially based on the upturn in the American economy as well as on the rejection by the EEC countries of the G7 requests (such as the indexation of raw materials' prices and the widespread modifications of the terms of trade). The Western world worked in order to preserve the free market economy and the original mechanisms governing international trade, the LDCs' expectations being confined within the existing international organizations.

Then, if until the early 1970s the Third World could easily stake its claims, thanks to the general puzzlement of the main industrialized countries, after the Rambouillet conference, and more clearly with the International Economic Co-operation Conference (December, 1975), it finally missed the chance to revise the international economic order. This shift in the North-South relations had specific consequences on the ties between the EEC and the United States. As Giuliano Garavini highlights, the energetic crisis and the decline of the American empire drove the EEC, and especially some of its members like France, to look for an autonomous role in order to save its own interests and to give the LDCs a place (that is to say the International Economic Co-operation Conference), where they could play an influential role though accepting the rules of the capitalistic system. The idea of a New International Economic Order proposed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing implied all these elements, but it had to face several obstacles both among the Western bloc and the LDCs. The French government wasn't able to find the general agreement of other European nations and failed in prevailing against the US attitude. The less developed countries divided into two factions: on one side, the supporters of a radical opposition to the West, who wanted to exploit the oil weapon against it and make good use of their newly achieved role; on the other side, some countries chose a more moderate approach, trying to gain that change in the economic system they longed for. The differentiation among the Third World nations began to deepen more and more as long as the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took place.

Besides the French initiative, the book rightly underlines some considerable indications offered by the two German states in order to revise their relations with the LDCs. In some critical areas, like the Middle East, the features of the North-South link joined other peculiar elements. Firstly, the endless Palestinian-Israeli conflict, that conditioned the Euro-Arab dialogue and shaped an unavoidable tie between development and security policies; secondly, the tendency shown by some Arab states to employ the Cold War dynamics in the achievement of their own

tasks of regional security and modernization. In this frame, Massimiliano Trentin analyzes the North-South relations through the contacts the two German states maintained with Syria and Iraq during the 1960s. The competition between the different models of development represented by the German states was used by the LDCs as a further instrument of pressure to gain greater and more profitable sources of aid. The "active neutrality" concept adopted by Syria and Iraq became the way to keep both assistance channels open, excluding every political clause from the co-operation agreements they signed. The two Arab governments came closer to East Germany's model, which was the most suitable to strengthen and centralize state authority both in the political and economic field. Nevertheless, and even if Bonn had supported Israel since 1956, Syria and Iraq didn't move to the Soviet area of influence completely. They continued to use the non-commitment policy to gain foreign assistance from Eastern and Western blocs.

Sara Lorenzini continues the analysis and deals with the Western German policy towards the Third World during the era of the "Ostpolitik". Contrasting the up-to-date prevailing thesis of continuity in the Western German foreign aid policy, Lorenzini rather proves a clear-cut discontinuity in the policy the Brandt government pursued and underlines the positive attempt to connect this policy to the internal and external changes along the second half of the 1970s. Even if the results of this shift in the FRG's approach were not so evident, considering the limits of the foreign aid policy itself and the difficulty to modify well-established bureaucratic mechanisms, Western Germany's ruling class and public opinion proved to be more sensitive about the problems of development and inclined to manage the link with the Third World following the dynamics of the Détente.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the easing climate between East and West in concert with the North-South dialogue represented two aspects which the German Social-Democratic Party and all the other leftist parties in Europe had to deal with. Willy Brandt and Enrico Berlinguer were two of the leading European politicians whose views are originally analyzed by Fiamma Lussana. They both looked at Europe as a potential leader in the North-South dialogue and in the development of a fairer international economic order. Despite their ties and mutual influences, the two leaders kept on showing deep differences related not only to the theoretical approach but also to the initiatives the leftist European parties would have to take. This divergence, along with national problems, didn't allow them to sketch any shared strategy.

Finally, the short essay devoted by Ilaria Russo to Malta as a border-land between North and South concludes a book which is helpful in highlighting some significant features. First of all the heavy though ever reset dispute between the two sides of the Atlantic; moreover, the crisis of the American model and the efforts to develop a social European model, more open to the concept of solidarity and to the call for a dialogue with the Third World; and then, the EEC looking for its own identity. This book also seems worth mentioning among the wider literature concerning the "long decade" which started with May 1968 in France and

ended with the so-called second Cold War. It contributes to portray this period not as a marginal conjuncture but as a crucial turning-point, whose tendencies were to become constant characteristics of the following decades.

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Karel DAVIDS, Greta DEVOS, Patrick PASTURE (eds.), ***Changing liaisons. The Dynamics of Social Partnership in 20th Century West-European Democracies***, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2007, 265 p. – ISBN 978-90-5201-365-7 – 34,90 €.

The book describes the evolution of the relationship between unions and employers in some Western-European countries during the 20th century, with a focus on Belgium and the Netherlands and on their peculiar experiences. Indeed, in spite of several political and economic similarities, industrial relations and collective bargaining in these two countries have had a very different evolution. That's why Gregory Vercauteren's essay, centred on their comparison, refers to them as to some sort of paradigmatic cases (a concept stressed also by the editors of the book in the introduction): on the one side, Belgium, characterized by a political fragmentation that has constantly hampered the cohesion of the workers' movement, and by a traditionally conservative *patronat*, with a consequently strong social conflict and a weak tradition of collective bargaining; on the other side the Netherlands, where the presence of more "open" employers and less conflictive unions, and their traditional sharing of the aim of the country's international competitiveness, have favoured a useful practice of social dialogue.

All this seems to be confirmed in the contributions of Jan Peter van den Toren, Doreen Arnoldus and Ivan Wijnens, that show, among other things, how social partnership has represented a genuine *leitmotiv* in the history of the Netherlands, with results that have focused the attention of many foreign scholars on the characteristics of the so-called "polder model". The "Wassenaar Agreement" of 1982, through which after a decade of (unusual) conflict, the social forces found a convergence on new economic policy lines, is commonly identified as a watershed in the country's industrial relations, and the starting point of this model. With the return of Dutch unions to their traditional commitment to wage moderation, and the insertion of new elements of flexibility in the labour market, the new "Social Pact" laid the bases for the realization, in the following twenty years, of several reforms in a context of relative social peace and good levels of economic growth. With the help of theoretical models, Arnoldus analyzes the roots and genesis of what has been referred to as "the mother of all agreements" (p.198), reconstructing the dynamics produced the realization of the fundamental conditions for its signature: a general perception of the economic problems to face, that occurred after the second

oil shock of 1979, and shared ideas about the solutions to apply, the core of which was the abandonment of the automatic adjustment of wages to the inflation.

Peter Berger exposes even more linear events in his essay on Austrian "neo-corporatism", whose consultation mechanisms, which started in the fifties, have been so strongly tied to the political evolution that they have represented for almost half a century a basic character of the Austrian "consociational democracy" (p. 143). In particular they have largely contributed to the maintaining of social peace, a condition that the country's peculiar international position made more vital than elsewhere. This equilibrium ceased, not by chance, with the change of the domestic political framework due to the end of the cold war, and especially after the birth of the first "non-consociational" right-wing government in 2000, composed by the traditional People's Party conservatives and Jörg Haider's Freedom Party.

On the contrary, the notion of "neo-corporatism" seems not to fit the two countries considered by Claude Didry and Ruggero Ranieri, respectively France and Italy. On the one hand, the typical "interventionism" of the French State has strictly limited the unions' range of action to working issues, preventing their development as a "universal" actor and thus determining the lack of a fundamental condition for having an effective social dialogue. On the other hand, the high level of conflict in the Italian political environment has largely influenced the country's social forces, preventing the emergence of a strong and cohesive workers' movement in the post-war years, contributing to the failure of the projects of economic planning in the sixties – in which the tripartite collaboration would have played a crucial role – and hampering the adoption of anti-inflation policies in the seventies, so that they could get their first tangible results only in the following decade. Only in the early nineties, with the dissolution of the political schemes of the cold war, became it possible to activate a more solid social partnership. Stimulated also by the intention of deepening European economic integration, stated by the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty, this social partnership officially started in 1993 with an agreement on a "permanent incomes policy" (p. 233), which have represented the basis for the reform of several aspects of the Italian welfare state over the following years.

Indeed, even if the increasing importance, since the mid-eighties, of European integration is also mentioned in other essays, the most attention to it is paid by Anton Hemerijck in what may be considered the most meaningful contribution of the whole volume. In his synthesis of "tripartism" in Western Europe since the end of World War II, the Dutch scholar shows how national specificities have been coexisting together with strong similarities generally related to the evolution of the overall European economic situation. If, therefore, the main value of the other essays is to study single national situations or meaningful moments in depth, the merit of Hemerijck's essay consists in presenting those same events with an organic interpretative key. A definitely innovative approach, with great relevance not only for scholars in industrial relations or economic and social history, but, more generally, also for all those who work on or are interested in the history of

European integration. In fact, from a certain point of view, Hemerijck tells the story of a process of progressive "convergence" by the social forces of the Western European countries, if not on a unique form of tripartite collaboration, then at least on a favourable attitude towards it.

Actually, the only possible criticism of Hemerijck's contribution, as well as, to some extent, to the whole volume, concerns its excessive focus on the economic origins of the evolution of social partnership, and its substantial omission of the possible role played by the European Communities' institutional framework. Indeed, EC institutions, by constantly promoting tripartite participation in the decision-making process (for example by constituting, since the early years, several tripartite organisms with consultative or administrative duties, or, in the seventies, by convening a series of tripartite conferences dedicated to employment problems), or just by favouring contacts between social actors of different member countries, may well have contributed to pave the way for the "European social dialogue" launched in 1985 by the Delors Commission, through the promotion of a cultural environment favourable to it. If it's true that in the introduction the editors mention such factors, stressing that the European integration process has stimulated "the formation of transnational European associations", and therefore created a mechanism of "transmission belts" between national unions and employers' associations that has favoured the circulation of ideas (pp.14-15), unfortunately this theme has not explicitly been considered in the single essays, where it would have represented a further enrichment to a book that, in any case, represents a very precious contribution to the understanding of a crucial aspect of the history and politics of our continent.

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Elie BARNAVI, Krzysztof POMIAN, *La révolution européenne. 1945-2007*, Perrin, Paris, 2008, 274 p. – ISBN 978-2-262-02602-8 – 18,00 €.

Elie Barnavi et Krzysztof Pomian, tous deux membres actifs du musée de l'Europe à Bruxelles, écrivent à deux mains ce travail engagé en faveur de l'unité européenne, ce qui est dit haut et fort dans l'avant-propos. Selon eux, l'intégration est un fait, et «l'Europe […] une option idéologique».

En introduction, nos deux auteurs rappellent le sentiment de puissance ressenti par les Européens du début du XX e siècle, faute de concurrence sérieuse: seuls sept pays de l'ancien monde avaient alors préservé leur indépendance, mais aucun ne jouait de rôle majeur (sauf le Japon, s'inspirant fortement des modèles européens). En Europe même, le rapprochement des modes de vie et l'explosion des échanges semblent donner une réalité à une «société européenne». Cependant, le Vieux continent reste constitué de nations, où l'élément autoritaire et conservateur prédomine, surtout à l'Est. Malgré l'escalade de l'armement, on pense

encore canaliser la violence, jusqu'à l'irréversible, durant l'été 14. Voilà une guerre que l'on commence sans que l'on sache comment la terminer: 65 millions de soldats vont se battre sur une période de 4 ans, 3 mois et 14 jours, une guerre qui se fait sur terre et sur mer, mais aussi sous mer et dans le ciel, avec une arme de destruction massive (le gaz), une économie et une culture au service du conflit, à tel point qu'il n'y a plus de différence entre le front et l'arrière. Le ton est posé: pour les auteurs, l'Europe entre dans la guerre des idéologies le 28 juillet 1914 pour n'en sortir (peut-être) que 75 ans plus tard.

C'est par ce «crime contre l'Europe» que s'ouvre l'ouvrage. En effet, la boucherie de 14-18 clôt une certaine vision de la guerre, avec par exemple un Winston Churchill qui annonce qu'entre la victoire et la défaite «il n'y aura presque pas de différence». Cette guerre ne se termine pas vraiment dans les esprits en 1918, avec la figure dominante de l'ancien combattant, défendant le pacifisme d'un côté, l'amour éperdu de la nation et de l'ordre de l'autre. Les choses ne s'arrangent pas avec les traités de paix, qui cherchent à refaire l'Europe avec des outils et une mentalité du siècle précédent, sans l'aide des Etats-Unis. Le cosmopolitisme du Congrès de Vienne n'est plus une réalité face au droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, appliqué aux seuls vainqueurs. On ne peut cependant pas tout rejeter de ces traités: la plupart des frontières dessinées alors existent toujours, les principes tels que l'autodétermination et le respect des minorités ont été lancés, ainsi que la condamnation des empires. Il faudra cependant près de 80 ans pour que ceux-ci atteignent leur but. Sur le terrain, le doute s'empare des Européens sur leur destinée (le thème du «déclin»), alors que la guerre continue en Silésie, entre la Pologne et la Russie ou entre la Grèce et la Turquie. A partir de 1925 et Locarno, il semble néanmoins que l'Europe revive à travers «l'esprit de Genève», mais les éléments de faiblesse sont là: la démocratie est menacée très vite à l'Est faute de tradition, mais aussi à l'Ouest, faute de soutien ou d'adhésion. L'action méritante mais isolée d'une Louise Weiss ou d'un Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi n'équivaut qu'à un prêche dans le désert, alors même que le discours d'Aristide Briand, point culminant de l'européisme des années 20, ne précède que d'un mois le krach de 1929.

«L'Europe en rouge et brun» est une réalité de la décennie suivante. Cela dit, le ton, parfois très militant, des auteurs nuit parfois à l'objectivité historique: ainsi, l'introduction de ce chapitre sur les totalitarismes fait-elle une allusion très actuelle aux souverainistes. Peut-être ceci est-il involontaire, mais ce court texte aurait tendance à faire un amalgame gênant et contre-productif. Pour revenir à la période, on constate que l'idée d'Europe compte des ennemis déterminés. Les auteurs commencent par Lénine, qui combat farouchement le principe d'une construction européenne; malgré Léo Trotski, Joseph Staline reprendra ce mot d'ordre, en s'aidant d'un vieux fonds nationaliste (socialisme dans un seul pays) et culturel (défiance à l'égard de l'Occident). Côté extrême droite, les auteurs établissent bien la différence entre fascisme et nazisme. Ils démontrent le côté spécieux et opportuniste de l'européisme nazi, et rappellent que le fascisme est moins intéressé par la thématique. Ce caractère ambigu ressurgit à travers l'européisme de la

Collaboration, par l'obsession du déclin qui le sous-tend souvent (Drieu), ou par la volonté de noyer la défaite nationale dans un cadre plus large. L'idée européenne, encore dans les limbes, devient plus tangible à travers l'affirmation d'une résistance fédéraliste (Altiero Spinelli, Henri Frenay, CFFE, Déclaration de Genève), évoquée de manière un peu trop laudative, sans tenir en compte que celle-ci est largement minoritaire. Le chapitre se termine sur les Rencontres de Genève, où une définition de l'Europe de l'esprit est esquissée, cependant que les troubles de la Guerre froide montrent très tôt que la réflexion sur l'Europe ne parvient pas à échapper ni à la politique ni à l'actualité.

«Un rideau de fer est descendu sur l'Europe». Les destructions sont sans pareil: plus de la moitié des morts ont été des civils; l'introduction du mot «génocide» dans le droit international par Raphaël Lemkin rappelle quelles horreurs ont pu être perpétrées sur le sol européen, entre Européens, même si la haine ne baisse pas encore les bras (pogrom de Kielce le 4 juillet 1946). Partout en Europe, l'Etat souhaite reprendre la main, et pense pouvoir le faire dans l'euphorie de la Libération. On assiste à nouveau à un remodelage de la carte, surtout à l'Est, au profit de l'URSS (23 millions d'Européens deviennent sujets soviétiques) ou de ses alliés (la ligne Oder-Neisse en faveur de la Pologne, qui a beaucoup perdu à l'Est). La «politique du salami» commence à faire son œuvre à l'Est, et le «kidnapping» de l'Europe centrale par l'URSS, dénoncé plus tard par Milan Kundera, peut commencer. A l'Ouest, les dégâts sont importants: l'Allemagne compte 7 millions de morts et 12 millions de «déplacés». On a imaginé le pire contre ce pays, notamment avec le Plan Morgenthau qui avait été validé à la conférence de Québec en septembre 1944. Cependant, la Guerre froide va vite changer la donne. Parallèlement, la puissance américaine s'étale (peu de morts, la moitié du charbon et les deux tiers du pétrole, les deux tiers de l'or). Pour les Européens, c'est «la Rome et l'Athènes réunies des temps modernes» (p.76). On imagine un nouveau monde à travers Bretton Woods et l'ONU (conférence de San Francisco, juin 1945) défini par les Américains, et défendu par eux à travers le «containment» et le Plan Marshall: entre 1947 et 1951, 13 milliards de dollars vont être injectés dans les économies occidentales, dont 11 en dons (le tout équivalant à 170 milliards de dollars actuels), auxquels il faut ajouter 17 milliards déjà distribués depuis la Libération. Le bras de fer du blocus de Berlin (280.000 sorties et 2 millions de tonnes de fret convoyés en une année par le fameux pont aérien) encourage ceux qui veulent faire l'Europe, dans la seule partie occidentale. La création de l'OTAN ne fait que confirmer la lutte des esprits qui a commencé entre deux Europes qui s'observent et se défient (exemples de Radio Free Europe ou du Mouvement pour la paix).

«Les deux Europe» est un fait au point de vue de l'idéologie, donnant sa chance, dans un moment dramatique pour l'Europe, à l'européisme militant. La caution churchillienne accélère la création des premiers mouvements, dont l'Union européenne des fédéralistes; le Congrès de La Haye, qui suit, soulève un réel espoir, même s'il déçoit les plus déterminés des européistes, les fédéralistes. Cela dit, ce Congrès aboutit à la création du Conseil de l'Europe, avec sa Convention

(1950), puis sa Cour (1959), instaurant une sociabilité dépassant les frontières et donnant un forum aux discussions européennes. Avec la Déclaration Schuman, on passe à autre chose, avec l'invention de la méthode communautaire. Avons-nous cependant, comme l'écrivent les auteurs, «le premier empire démocratique de l'histoire» (p.102)? Le livre tombe là dans des platitudes un peu décevantes sur les Pères de l'Europe, les oppositions multiples aux initiatives européennes, puis les échecs: en ce qui concerne la CED, il est oublié de préciser que Jean Monnet n'a jamais soutenu ce projet à bout de bras comme il le fît pour la CECA. La coupure entre les deux Europes se confirme dans le même temps: malgré le dégel suite à la mort de Staline, la répression à Berlin-est en 1953 ou contre les partisans d'Imre Nagy ne provoquent aucune réaction de l'Occident, illustration de l'équilibre des forces au sein de l'Europe, que chacun se doit de respecter. Certes, la Hongrie signifie pour l'URSS la perte du soutien de nombreux intellectuels à l'Ouest (Jean-Paul Sartre). Dans cette dernière zone, la relance européenne combine le sectoriel et l'horizontal avec les Traités de Rome. Les auteurs font à nouveau en passant un clin d'œil partisan à l'actualité, s'attelant à démontrer que ces traités ne sont pas ultralibéraux, dans un petit message explicite à ceux qui ont voté non au Traité constitutionnel européen en France en 2005.

«Quelle Europe?». Dans les années 50 puis 60, de gré ou de force, les pays européens se délestent des colonies, ainsi qu'en Europe même (Chypre et Malte en 1960 et 1964). L'Ouest vit avec la menace, largement instrumentalisée, des Soviétiques, un accroissement du fossé se faisant sentir avec l'érection du mur de Berlin dans la nuit du 13 au 14 août 1961 (depuis 1945, près de 4 millions de personnes avaient «voté avec les pieds»). On s'accommode cependant de cette situation, même en Occident. Ailleurs, les relations entre les deux Grands peuvent dégénérer (Cuba), alors que la Chine commence à concurrencer sérieusement Moscou. Du point de vue de la construction européenne, un long développement est consacré à l'Europe gaullienne, avec ce reproche qui est fait au Général d'avoir considéré qu'une démocratie à l'échelle européenne constituait pour les Etats «un abandon de souveraineté». L'année 1968 est une année de révoltes, mais qui n'ont pas la même source et les mêmes motivations de part et d'autre du Rideau de Fer. L'idéal européen subit de plein fouet les crises qui affectent le moral des différents pays européens, symbolisées par les «années de plomb» en Italie et le terrorisme en RFA; l'envolée des prix suite à la guerre du Kippour voit ces mêmes Européens se désolidariser. Tout n'est cependant pas catastrophique avec la fin des dictatures à l'Ouest, au Portugal et en Espagne (il ne reste que l'Est). De même, les discussions autour de la CSCE ont fini par légitimer la dissidence et une certaine solidarité diplomatique européenne.

«Vers une 'maison commune européenne'?». Les années 80 voient de nombreux changements à la tête des gouvernements: Jean-Paul II au Vatican, Margaret Thatcher en Grande-Bretagne, François Mitterrand en France, Felipe Gonzalez en Espagne, Helmut Kohl en RFA. La France connaît pendant deux ans un décalage avec nos principaux partenaires européens du fait des choix libéraux de ces derniers, alors que l'Hexagone souhaite relancer son économie par des choix

opposés. Du côté soviétique, la première moitié des années 80 porte au pouvoir une véritable gérontocratie, signe des temps et de l'impuissance du système à se réformer. Les années 80 voient apparaître de nouveaux dangers dans le monde: une Chine qui suit sa propre voie entre communisme et capitalisme, la révolution iranienne et l'islamisme. On assiste à un changement d'atmosphère avec la fin des «avenirs programmés»: le communisme, l'action de l'Etat sont menacés par la conjoncture, portée vers l'individualisme et les leçons de l'école de Chicago. La troisième révolution industrielle, celle des microprocesseurs, a aussi son importance. Autre évolution vers la mondialisation: celle du conteneur qui provoque l'explosion des échanges à l'échelle internationale. Pendant ce temps, la guerre froide se regèle, l'URSS met le pied en Afrique, mais rencontre en Afghanistan son propre Vietnam. Des fissures se font sentir dans le camp soviétique, où l'appareil ne semble plus pouvoir répondre aux aspirations des peuples, à commencer par la Pologne: la visite à ce pays par Jean-Paul II en juin 1979 et l'accord de l'Etat avec Solidarnosc le 31 août 1980 marquent une évolution. Cela ne durera pas avec l'instauration d'un pouvoir militaire pour la première fois dans un pays du bloc soviétique. L'arrivée de Michael Gorbatchev lève cependant beaucoup d'espoirs, vite étouffés dans son pays même par les mauvais coups de Tchernobyl en Ukraine et des Stinger en Afghanistan, morosité contaminant les pays «frères», Pologne et Hongrie en tête.

Du côté occidental, l'entrée de la Grèce dans la Communauté rapproche les Européens de la matrice de leur civilisation («on ne peut laisser Platon dehors», Valéry Giscard d'Estaing) et donne une perspective du dépassement de l'espace occidental et de l'entrée dans une aire orthodoxe largement dominée par Moscou. A l'Ouest, des débats intenses ont lieu, favorisés par des arrêts types «Cassis de Dijon» (principe de la libre circulation des produits dans la CEE) et un certain renouveau de l'idée européenne dont sait jouer un homme comme Jacques Delors. A la fin de la décennie, les différentes «révolutions de velours» se succèdent rapidement. Les auteurs avancent des explications à un tel écroulement: depuis 35 ans, il n'y a avait plus de purges dans l'espace soviétique; l'autoritaire avait remplacé le totalitaire; le messianisme révolutionnaire était remplacé par la routine bureaucratique, les régimes étant en fait soutenus par un nationalisme discrètement orchestré. Tout cela aboutit à une génération moins prompte à la violence, même du côté du commandement, conscient des blocages du système, et une dissidence plus au fait des événements extérieurs, comme les effets bénéfiques de l'intégration européenne (exemple de l'Espagne).

Les «difficiles retrouvailles» se font dans l'euphorie, à laquelle succède vite la défiance: le Plan en 10 points d'Helmut Kohl inquiète ses partenaires sur les perspectives d'une réunification intempestive, les ardeurs sécessionnistes dans les pays baltes font redouter une sévère réaction russe. Cependant, les frontières n'ont pas été remises en question dans la violence, sauf en Yougoslavie. L'Europe occidentale sait désormais qu'elle doit s'ouvrir à l'Est, tout en intégrant les Européens et en imaginant de parler d'une voix forte sur la scène internationale. Les débuts sont laborieux, notamment ceux de la PESC, de Sarajevo au Koweït.

Des développements ont cependant été lancés, avec notamment quelques éléments supranationaux qui se sont imposés (euro).

Dans l'épilogue, les deux auteurs considèrent que l'Europe est essentiellement reliée aux efforts de l'après-guerre, et autour de l'idée de paix, grâce à des acteurs conscients des erreurs du passé. Pour eux, l'intégration de l'Europe leur paraît une évidence qu'ils démontrent en effectuant une brève analyse régressive de celle-ci: l'imposition aux différents pays du Vieux continent, au siècle dernier, de toute une série de références «européennes» (système métrique, espacement des rails, instances d'arbitrage, statut des prisonniers de guerre, etc.…); les Lumières, qui auraient duré jusqu'à 14-18, laissant une trace au fond des esprits («Européen, celui qui a la nostalgie de l'Europe», Kundera). Barnavi et Pomian remontent le temps pour démontrer que les bases d'une même civilisation se sont affirmées en Europe (Voltaire et l'«espèce de grande république»), offrant aux différentes sociétés les mêmes valeurs. Cette Europe-là est, pour eux, reliée à la chrétienté latine, à travers différentes renaissances qui n'ont fait que revivifier «l'héritage» d'une unité religieuse et culturelle immanente. Il faut y ajouter le souvenir de l'Empire romain dans la fixation des mêmes institutions, des mêmes hiérarchies, du même enseignement, des mêmes interdits dans les différents pays qui constituent l'Europe. A travers Rome, c'est la Grèce (qui revit avec Byzance) qui cautionne cette source commune. Pour eux, les trois derniers millénaires éclairent d'un jour différent l'aventure européenne récente: Barnavi et Pomian se font archéologues, étudiant les différentes strates de sédimentation de «notre» histoire pour mettre en avant «la» mémoire européenne.

L'approche n'est pas inintéressante, mais elle ne permet pas de comprendre pourquoi l'aventure européenne commence seulement en 1945, et dans une partie de l'Europe uniquement. Il ne faudrait pas se tromper d'héritage: la préoccupation moraliste n'est pas dans les fondements de la CECA ou de la CED. La démarche originelle s'inscrivait dans une autre perspective: liquidation définitive des causes politiques et économiques ayant déclenché les deux guerres mondiales, dans une ambiance de Guerre froide où Américains et Russes sont les acteurs principaux. En ce sens, comme l'écrit Robert Frank, «[…] c'est moins la vieille identité culturelle qui a naturellement débouché sur la nouvelle conscience politique, que le mouvement inverse: c'est la conscience qui a modifié l'identité. Les continuités du temps long ont moins poussé à l'unité que les ruptures du XX^{e} siècle. Charlemagne, Kant et Hugo ont moins compté que Hitler et Staline».

Livre bienfaisant tout de même, rappelant les grandes étapes du Vieux Continent au cours du «féroce XX^{e} siècle» (Robert Conquest), en alliant érudition et fraîcheur de l'engagement, qui a le mérite de ne pas être masqué. Utile révision de nos connaissances, il pourrait être l'objet d'une observation du militantisme contemporain pour l'Europe, plus prudent que celui qui tournait autour du culte des

Pères de l'Europe, mais tout aussi persuadé de l'urgence d'aboutir, au risque d'un certain moralisme. A conseiller aux convaincus et à ceux qui débutent dans l'étude de l'idée européenne.

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François SAINT-OUEN, *Le fédéralisme*, coll. «Illico», infolio, Gollion, 2005, 125 p. – ISBN 2-88474-907-1 – 11,00 €.

François Saint-Ouen est docteur ès sciences politiques de l'Université de Lausanne, spécialiste de Denis de Rougemont, sur lequel il a écrit plusieurs contributions. Dans cet ouvrage, il tente le tour de force de définir rapidement le fédéralisme, exercice de style obligé de par les caractéristiques de la collection Illico, rappelées en deuxième page de couverture.

Il est pourtant vrai que ce régime, si exotique pour certains, régit pas moins de deux milliards de personnes dans le monde, sans compter les Etats unitaires qui semblent évoluer vers des solutions fédérales (l'Espagne et l'Italie, voire l'Union européenne).

L'auteur commence par évoquer les concepts qui donnent tout leur sens au mot fédéralisme, souvent masqué par celui, plus vague, de «gouvernance». Utile rappel, tant le mot fait peur, ce qui est propice aux fantasmes et aux pires déformations. De fait, c'est surtout sa complexité qui rend la définition de ce vocable si délicate: le fédéralisme ne correspond qu'à des cas particuliers, parce qu'il est le résultat d'une situation propre à une société donnée, entre unités qui se rapprochent tout en gardant leur diversité (le mot uniformité est banni, d'où l'importance du mot «union», qui dérive de foedus, ou contrat). En ce sens, le fédéralisme est l'envers de l'Etat-nation, tout simplement parce que ces deux entités ont des caractéristiques et des buts opposés. Saint-Ouen évoque également les deux grands courants du fédéralisme contemporain du XX^{e} siècle, intégral et institutionnel. En tant que proche de Rougemont, il consacre plus de temps au premier, en oubliant cependant de préciser que celui-ci a échoué dans ses principaux objectifs dès les années 60.

Suit l'étude de cas pratiques, avec l'analyse de cinq régimes, dans le but de démontrer la diversité du système fédéral dans ses applications politiques et sociales.

Le premier exemple est le plus connu, celui des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Pour illustrer la nature empirique du système fédéral, signalée par l'auteur dès le départ, celui-ci rappelle que le mot fédéralisme n'est même pas mentionné dans la Constitution américaine. En effet, le régime politique en vigueur est d'abord le résultat d'un équilibre et d'un compromis historique, qui invente à partir de peu (dont Montesquieu) une vision républicaine de la démocratie et une pratique politique originale propre à un pays de grande étendue. Certes, il y eut un débat

intense sur le degré de centralisation du système tout au long des deux siècles qui nous séparent de la constitution, débat qui connaît son apogée avec la guerre de Sécession (les «fédéralistes» étant plutôt pour un pouvoir central fort, les autres défendant, à travers les Etats, les droits fondamentaux des citoyens). Par la suite, la balance varie d'un côté puis de l'autre: on a pu constater une augmentation des pouvoirs de l'Union au cours de différents épisodes de l'histoire américaine, comme les deux guerres mondiales, le New Deal ou la mise en place des programmes anti-ségrégationnistes et sociaux des années 50 et 60; plus récemment, on assiste au contraire à un léger retrait, à partir des années 80 et du reaganisme, mais le 11 septembre a changé la donne.

L'exemple suivant concerne l'Allemagne. Ce pays a renoué en 1945 avec un fédéralisme brutalement mis de côté pendant une trentaine d'années. Cela dit, les Länder sont des entités moins anciennes qu'on ne le pense (voir leurs noms composés, résumés de restructurations diverses). La constitution allemande est très précise dans la répartition des tâches entre les différentes entités (exclusives pour l'une ou l'autre, partagées), mais là aussi le sens va dans le renforcement des compétences de l'Etat fédéral. Le Bundesrat reste tout de même un organe important dans l'élaboration de la législation fédérale («fédéralisme coopératif»), où les représentants ont un mandat impératif de leur Land. A la différence d'autres systèmes fédéraux, ce nombre de représentants tient compte de la population des Länder. Le système est très évolutif, s'adaptant aux événements, dont le dernier en date est celui de la réunification. Il faut noter que les ressources allouées aux entités fédérées le sont de manière généreuse, au contraire de la politique de décentralisation à la française, et qu'il y a redistribution vers les Länder les plus pauvres, de la part des autres Länder comme de l'Etat fédéral.

L'exemple de la Suisse s'appuie sur la création de l'Etat fédéral en 1848. Avant cela, il faut se rappeler l'ancienneté de l'alliance (1291 avec 3 cantons) qui s'est agrandie (26 aujourd'hui), suite à un réflexe de défense et de mise en valeur des liens économiques dans un lieu de passage capital. Après la guerre du Sonderbund, l'Etat fédéral moderne pouvait naître. A noter qu'avant cette date, les Suisses avaient inventé la neutralité pour éviter de sombrer dans les affres des guerres de religion, qui auraient pu les affecter au premier plan. Historiquement, la Suisse relève ainsi d'un processus historique (et non pas ethnique comme en Espagne) par agrégation, et non par dévolution depuis un centre. Le fédéralisme dérive ainsi du peuple et du libre arbitre. Aujourd'hui, l'Etat fédéral est discret (il touche moins des impôts que les cantons), même si l'imbrication des pouvoirs est de plus en plus forte. Il faut ajouter les particularismes de l'initiative populaire au niveau constitutionnel, qui peut donner matière à vote, ainsi que le droit de s'opposer à un texte de loi dans les délais prévus, qui peut aboutir à un référendum. Tout cela constitue aujourd'hui des freins à l'évolution politique du pays: le Conseil fédéral, composé de 7 membres, a de plus en plus de mal à répondre aux défis du présent, entre le poids écrasant du compromis et l'épée de Damoclès du référendum qui gèle toute initiative.

L'exemple de la Belgique est bien différent. Lors de l'indépendance, l'élément français est dominant dans un Etat unitaire, le flamand n'étant reconnu comme deuxième langue qu'en 1898. Une entité allemande s'ajoute à partir de 1918. De fait, le fédéralisme sera ici essentiellement d'ordre linguistique, tout en évoluant de manière heurtée du fait de l'entrecroisement d'événements divers, parmi lesquels le fort démarrage économique flamand au XXe siècle, alors que la situation périclite du côté wallon, ou le passé compromettant des Flamands sous l'Occupation ainsi que l'attitude contrastée des deux communautés lors du référendum sur le retour de Léopold III, en 1950. Cette évolution n'est pas encore terminée, et se traduit par des polémiques incessantes: ainsi, Bruxelles, majoritairement flamande à la base, se francise (80 % aujourd'hui), provoquant chez les Flamands la peur de la tâche d'huile. La frontière linguistique a d'ailleurs existé dès 1963, bien avant l'Etat fédéral lui-même (1993). Il faut ainsi tenir compte de la complexité du système si l'on ajoute aux Communautés l'existence de Régions qui sont à compétences plutôt socio-économiques et techniques, se juxtaposant au reste (la région wallonne englobe ainsi la communauté germanophone). Le système est très compliqué dans le cas de Bruxelles où l'on respecte la parité au mépris des chiffres réels. Le fait observable est la multiplication des dédoublements (notamment au niveau des partis politiques): la logique qui s'affirme est celle de la communautarisation, qui n'existe par exemple pas en Suisse, et qui aboutit à des débats intenses sur la redistribution de la richesse, au sein desquels les Flamands sont partisans du «juste retour». Le fédéralisme n'en est pas moins inventif, et audacieux au niveau européen: une région peut ainsi représenter la Belgique au Conseil de l'Union européenne en fonction du sujet débattu.

Cette dernière constitue un «cas à part». Certes, le mot «fédéralisme» a été prononcé dans la Déclaration Schuman, mais l'évolution ultérieure, notamment sous l'influence de De Gaulle, a montré que les Etats étaient «plus obstinés qu'obsolètes». Pourtant, François Saint-Ouen estime que les dynamiques sociétales, celles de l'échange, de l'interaction et de la solidarité de fait vont dans le sens d'une création européenne originale, même si «l'effet de débordement» espéré dès le départ a montré ses limites, surtout en ce qui concerne le domaine politique. Aujourd'hui, le terme de subsidiarité sert entre autres à définir un régime politique qui se cherche encore, à mi-chemin entre coopération et intégration. Cela ne peut être suffisant face aux handicaps qu'il faut surmonter en matière de transparence et de démocratie: il faut introduire du politique dans la vie européenne en ne paraissant pas être le bras armé de la mondialisation, et en repensant le rôle des institutions (voir la Commission qui a trois pouvoirs en même temps) qui souffrent d'un véritable manque de légitimité. L'auteur invite à abandonner désormais la méthode Monnet et à avoir des préoccupations plus tournées vers le social et la notion de citoyenneté à l'échelle européenne. Il envisage comme solution l'adoption de l'Europe à la carte, tout en rappelant que le principe de solidarité doit toujours compter.

Le fédéralisme, non dogmatique par essence, est susceptible de toutes les évolutions. Peut-être reste-t-il maintenant à inventer ce que Jacques Delors a

appelé une «fédération d'Etats-nations»? Ce petit livre peut servir à faire un choix entre ce qui existe, et ce qu'il reste à imaginer.

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Michael KUHN (ed.), ***Who is the European? A New Global Player?***, Peter Lang Verlagsgruppe, Frankfurt a.Main, 2007, 206 p. – ISBN: 0-8204-7895-4 – 31,10 €.

In the most popular images describing contemporary society attributes such as information, knowledge, consumer, network or risk often reappear. The advantage of the elastic concept of the "learning society" is, that it "has stronger ties with almost every other concept listed above" (p.123). A short definition of the conception of learning society includes at least two characteristics: First of all, education is considered as a major tool on the way to competitiveness and social inclusion and is thus put at the centre of the (policy) agenda. Secondly, it shifts resources from State initiatives to initiatives coming from civil society, in other words: it focuses on empowerment and opportunity. Because of this change from regulation-stateness-security to empowerment-opportunity-subsidiarity, the increasing role of the concept of learning society does not only concern the educational politics but also the necessity to reform the welfare state paradigm and redefine the role of the individual responsibility for the course of life.

In the articles collected in the publication "Who is the European? A New Global Player?" edited last year by Michael KUHN (Forum for European Regional Research at the University of Bremen) the authors analyse the definition of the individual in the EU in the age of the learning society. The present book is a result of research undertaken by the project EURONE&T ("Towards the European Society: challenges for educational and training policies and research arising from the European integration and enlargement")[1] supported by the EU.

The promotion of the European worker as an autonomous, flexible and mobile lifelong-learner plays an important role in the way to make Europe "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" by 2010.[2] Hence, the title of the present book "Who is the European? A New Global Player?" is a clear allusion to the Lisbon Agenda. Interestingly, this development plan for the EU set out by the European Council in Portugal in March 2000 and related

1. The outcomes of the EURONE&T project include the following titles edited by M. KUHN and published by Peter Lang: *New Society Models for a New Millennium: The Learning Society in Europe and Beyond* (2007); *Building the European Research Area: Socio-Economic Research in Practice* (2005) [co-ed. S.O. REMØE]; *Towards a Knowledge Based Economy? Knowledge and Learning in European Educational Research* (2006) [co-ed. M. TOMASSINI, P. ROBERT, J. SIMONS].
2. Presidency Conclusions, Lisbon European Council, 23 and 24 March 2000, online: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm (14.11.2008.).

documents do not mention the issue of the EU-citizenship. Nevertheless, political debates imply concepts of what the Europeans are supposed to be.

In the contributions assembled in three parts – The European Citizen, The European Learner and The European Worker – scholars from (Western) Europe and abroad, try to find out how the Europeans are constructed and what they are expected to be.

Many articles, e.g. by John Helford (Surrey, England) and Domenico Maddaloni (Salerno, Italy), discuss the definition of learning society. Jacqueline Brine (Bristol, England) explores the construction and the evolution of the European lifelong learner in the official documents of the EU-Commission and Catherine Casey (Auckland, New Zeeland) does the same for the concept of the European worker. Isabelle Darmon (Barcelona, Spain) and Carlos Frade (Manchester, UK) draw a short history of European categories for the mobilisation of labour showing the evolution of unemployment and related categories from promotion of growth to mobilisation for work. The main mechanism in this change of policy aim is a twofold shift: first, the creation of identity of interests of individuals and the market; second, the formation of an indiscriminate mass of individuals offering their labour on the labour market. According to Terry Seddon (Melbourne, Australia), the lifelong learner as "an adaptable, flexible, mobile and employable unit of human capital" (p.29) is not sufficient as a definition of the educated person and recommends using the more appropriate term of "learning citizen".

Paul Kellermann (Klagenfurt, Austria) discusses the images of the European university and the European student in the Bologna-process. The primary intension of the later is to support learning mobility and employability of university students or graduates in order to improve the competitiveness of Europe. Kellermann stresses the economic instrumentalisation of knowledge. According to the pessimistic opinion of the Austrian sociologist this restructuring of higher education will result in the domination of extrinsic purpose in research, studying and learning; teaching in favour of the interests of the employment system; focusing on the utility of knowledge and disappearance of joy and satisfaction due to intellectual discoveries. Kellermann recommends a serious reconsideration of the EU's vision of higher education.

An interesting case study, even though far from the explicit subject of the present volume, is an article by Aitor Gomez and Rosa Valls (Barcelona, Spain) concerning the Romà's contribution to European identity. Romà as a people without territory and transcending borders see their way of life rather as enriching than as an obstacle. According to Gomez and Valls exactly this attitude of the "voiceless ethnic minority in Europe for over five centuries" (p.105) could contribute to shape European identity. The "only" problem is that Romà are suffering from an almost complete lack of recognition in Europe that denies them the right to their difference.

"Who is the European?" includes also two contributions discussing more general topics concerning the production of consensus and accountability at the European level. Michael A. Peters' (Illinois, USA) article is focused on the constitutional convergence effects of the EU at the level of international politics and law as a way of discursive making a new Europe and new Europeans. Amparo Serrano Pascual (Madrid, Spain) elaborates "The Supranational Expertocracy and the Policies of Production of Identities" in the EU, emphasizing the role of working, pressures, advisory and expert groups, think-tanks, task-forces, research promoted by the EU Commission as well as the departments of studies in the DGs, etc. Besides, the author stresses the major position of economics and psychology in production of EU-legitimacy.

The most striking result of the analysis collected by Kuhn is that, according to the official documents of the EU, European citizens do not exist. This lack of attention and sensibility for the real problems many European are facing is all the more remarkable in the light of the growing heterogeneity of biographies and careers. According to the New Zealand economist Catherine Casey the image of the European worker present in the official documents of the EU is very idealistic and the economic policy makers seem to ignore the most important problem that workers face: "how can one be flexible, adaptable, mobile, insecure, and life-long learning […], while raising children, caring for elders, sustaining communities and participating in one's workplace and polities?" (p.193).

Regrettably, most of the contributions limit themselves to the diagnosis but do not ponder on the question of how to change this lack of participation of Europeans in the debates about themselves. The only exception is the already mentioned contribution by Maddaloni who draws a vision of a European learning society consisting on two pillars. The first one should comprise the universal compulsory state-owned educational system in which the EU could intervene enriching the national dimension of educational curricula with a European outlook. The second pillar comprising third-level education, vocational training and permanent education in a lifelong competition learning perspective should be open to competition amongst public, private and non-profit agencies promoted by the financial support of the EU. Unfortunately, the author does not discuss the question of the practicability of this solution. So it remains open how to translate this project into action.

Nevertheless, the volume furnishes many interesting points about the growing importance of the concept of learning society. Moreover, it can be considered as an implicit critique on the Lisbon Agenda: its weak force of application, subordination of employment to the economic guidelines, weak involvement of the social partners (e.g. trade unions) as well as weak interest for the reality of work and for concrete challenges workers have to face. Hence, the overarching question formulated in the book edited by Kuhn could be: Can Europe become a Global Player without Europeans? The answer would be: No, it cannot.

The authors of the present book emphasize several times, that, by now, Europeans are not subject of the debates about the "Project Europe" and they do not even occur as a major topic in the discourses of European political elites. This is the reason why it would be interesting to give Europeans a voice by enlarging the references and analysing not only the official documents of the EU institutions but also, for instance, newspapers and magazines. This would allow to compare production of the concept of learning society (the top-down-processes) and the perception of the well educated society, active citizenship, equal opportunities, and a learning approach to life by Europeans themselves (the bottom-up-dimension). Besides, it would be also justified to discuss the problem of the learning society not only from the West but also from the East European point of view. A very good opportunity to respond to this pleading could be an analysis of the "Citizen for Europe"-programme (2007-2013) seeking to promote active European citizenship.

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Sylvain SCHIRMANN (dir.), ***Robert Schuman et les Pères de l'Europe. Cultures politiques et années de formation***, P.I.E. Peter Lang, Bruxelles, 2008, 361 p. – ISBN 978-90-5201-423-4 – 38,90 €.

Le pari de cet ouvrage tient en une question: peut-on esquisser le portrait d'une «génération» des Pères de l'Europe? Dans l'avant-propos, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb rappelle que la guerre en elle-même a été une excellente formatrice à l'idée européenne, ce que l'ensemble des contributions va s'employer à démontrer dans différents cas d'étude. Il serait en tout cas réducteur, au vu des personnalités étudiées, de réduire l'Europe que ces hommes ont façonnée à n'être que «vaticane». L'idéologie ne suffit pas pour comprendre ces différentes vocations et, comme y invite Sylvain Schirmann dans l'introduction, il s'agit de se pencher sur les «origines» des Pères de l'Europe, c'est-à-dire les liens familiaux, les rapports à la terre de naissance, à la nation, à la foi, l'impact de l'éducation et celui du contexte pour mieux suivre le chemin qui les mène vers «leur» Europe. «L'alchimie complexe» à laquelle on devrait ainsi aboutir se situe inévitablement «à la charnière du politique et du culturel» (p.21).

La première partie porte sur la formation et la culture de Robert Schuman, au centre de ce colloque organisé en octobre 2007 par la Maison éponyme, à Scy-Chazelles.

Alan Fimister (Aberdeen) évoque l'humanisme intégral dans le mouvement en faveur de l'Europe, en s'intéressant à son influence sur Robert Schuman. Ce dernier a étudié Thomas d'Aquin et s'est intéressé à la philosophie politique thomiste de Jacques Maritain, qui l'a beaucoup inspiré ultérieurement. Schuman combinera ainsi ses activités politiques avec sa foi chrétienne: n'oublions pas que,

après 1918, les termes du Concordat ont été retenus pour la Lorraine et que Schuman fut élu sur une plate-forme de défense des droits liés au règlement religieux. Il s'agit dès lors d'entamer une lutte contre ceux qu'il appelle «les gardiens laïques du Capitole», qui écartent les catholiques des postes d'importance et s'acharnent à défendre les principes de la séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat. S'inspirant en particulier d'*Humanisme intégral* (1936), il défend une révolution de la souveraineté et la mise en place de relations internationales fédérales. Suivant cet enseignement, Schuman considère que la «démocratie» et «l'Europe » ne peuvent se justifier sans la Chrétienté initiale.

Angeles Muñoz (Madrid) s'intéresse plus prosaïquement à l'engagement européen de Schuman. Ses origines propres sont incontestablement «européennes»: ses racines familiales dans un premier temps, entre Lorraine, Allemagne et Luxembourg; ses études dans un second temps, qui le mènent de la Moselle jusqu'aux grandes villes universitaires allemandes, où il intègre une corporation d'étudiants catholiques, l'Unitas. Il devient docteur en droit en 1910, et ouvre un cabinet d'avocat en 1912 à Metz. Réformé pour des raisons de santé en 1908, il ne participe pas à la guerre, qui est d'autant plus terrible chez lui dans la mesure où les membres de sa famille ne combattent pas tous du même côté. Député de la Moselle en 1919, il est le spécialiste du droit local, en charge de défendre le particularisme de sa région dans le giron de la France réintégrée. En 1940, il devient, sous Paul Reynaud, sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Réfugiés. Peu après, il est l'un de ceux qui votent les pleins pouvoirs à Pétain. C'est en prison puis dans la résistance qu'il élabore sa doctrine européenne, le supranational reposant sur des assises nationales. Après la guerre, l'expérience du Conseil de l'Europe lui démontre que les négociations politiques doivent suivre et non précéder la mise en route d'un projet «supranational». C'est ce qu'il suggère avec la proposition de Pool Charbon-Acier, qui débouche sur la CECA. Peu après, il s'éloigne de l'arène politique, mais reste un «pèlerin de l'Europe» pour en défendre la juste cause auprès de ses contemporains (chaire au Collège de Bruges, président du Mouvement européen, de l'Assemblée parlementaire européenne, divers prix dont Charlemagne en 1958, docteur *honoris causa* de différentes universités).

Plus spécifiquement, la culture juridique de Robert Schuman est étudiée par Eric Sander (Strasbourg). Cette culture est, dans ses jeunes années, essentiellement d'origine allemande, et c'est celle-ci qu'on lui dispense comme étudiant à Strasbourg, vitrine de l'enseignement supérieur. Il fait une thèse de procédure civile, assez éloignée des questions d'ordre politique, économique et social, mais, dans le même temps, il a des connaissances sur le droit français qui lui procurent un esprit comparatiste, sans oublier les valeurs chrétiennes, et l'imprégnation du catholicisme social qui le portent à l'ouverture vers son prochain, tout ennemi soit-il. Après la guerre, il devient membre du Conseil municipal de Metz et de l'Association des juristes d'Alsace-Lorraine pour défendre certains droits acquis. Il continue ce combat à un niveau plus élevé, en étant membre de la Commission d'Alsace-Lorraine à la Chambre des Députés. Les lois Schuman du 1er juin 1924 maintiennent la différence: la loi du 9 décembre 1905 ne s'appliquera jamais en

Alsace-Moselle, au contraire des lois concordataires, et ce malgré les tentatives d'Edouard Herriot.

Les visites de Robert Schuman dans le bassin du Danube forment une dernière contribution, par Gergely Fejérdy (Paris-IV): il s'agit dans un premier temps du séjour en Hongrie de députés et journalistes français en mai 1934, à un moment où ce dernier pays n'est pas en odeur de sainteté. Le voyage a été mis à l'index par le Quai d'Orsay, et a provoqué l'ire de la Roumanie et de la Yougoslavie, alliées de la France. A l'issue de sa visite (ce n'est d'ailleurs pas la première), Schuman se rend compte de la nécessité de faire un pas vers les pays révisionnistes, dans le but de ne pas donner une trop grande marge de manœuvre à l'Allemagne. Au retour, il fait escale à Vienne, où il rencontre le chancelier Engelbert Dollfuss. Il évoque avec lui, dans un allemand qu'il maîtrise parfaitement, la révision des traités de Versailles, alors que l'idée d'un rétablissement de la monarchie austro-hongroise est dans l'air. Par la suite (août), il passe par Zagreb, où il est surpris par la dureté du régime en place, pourtant réputé proche de la France. Il est alors terriblement conscient des difficultés à venir pour ce pays. Il revient enfin en Hongrie en septembre 1935, où il se montre surtout sensible au besoin de réviser les frontières. Il fait encore escale à Vienne, où il rencontre Kurt Schuschnigg, avec lequel il évoque une organisation des pays du bassin du Danube.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage porte sur la formation intellectuelle et politique des Pères de l'Europe, en insistant sur les convergences et les divergences.

Les relations Monnet/Schuman sont étudiées par l'écrivain Eric Roussel, en commençant par les débuts. Les origines géographiques des deux hommes sont bien différentes (la façade maritime contre le cœur de l'Europe). En ce qui concerne les origines religieuses, signalons que la sœur de Monnet a fait carrière au Vatican, mais que Monnet lui-même s'est montré très discret sur sa foi chrétienne, contrairement à Robert Schuman (voir la première contribution). Pour les origines politiques, Monnet a été moins «monolithique» que Schuman: il a eu des sympathies radicales avant de voter pour la SFIO puis de se rapprocher, sur le tard, de Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Son but n'est d'ailleurs pas partisan, mais consiste à rechercher les hommes de bonne volonté (Comité d'action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe). Monnet est donc plus «aventurier» que Schuman, notable politique classique, allant jusqu'à rédiger sa correspondance en anglais, même son testament. En ce qui concerne l'intérêt pour l'Europe, il commence essentiellement pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale dans les deux cas, mais surtout après le Plan Marshall. Cela dit, leur rencontre s'avère capitale pour l'Europe.

Gérard Bossuat (Cergy-Pontoise) s'intéresse plus précisément aux représentations de l'union des Européens chez Monnet, entre 1955 et 1975. Cette vision est partielle et met surtout en avant l'Euratom, privilégiant la théorie de l'engrenage, avec un atome civil qui ne remet pas en question le parapluie américain. Monnet ne se rend pas compte des réticences qui se font alors jour en France, et est de plus en plus déconnecté, même aux yeux des Américains. Il reste cependant très pratique et accepte assez rapidement la suprématie de la CEE. Il

travaille dès lors avec le Comité d'action, que ce soit sur les questions monétaires ou sur la question du siège des Communautés. La rupture avec de Gaulle intervient après le veto contre la Grande-Bretagne: acceptant le plan Fouchet, il repoussera le Traité de l'Elysée. Il croit au rôle international de l'Europe, même s'il est déçu par l'échec du projet de «Force multilatérale» de Kennedy. Pour terminer, il n'emploie pas vraiment le mot de fédération pour désigner l'Europe à venir, mais la guerre froide a son importance dans sa définition, où la crise prend toute sa dimension créatrice.

Jürgen Elvert (Cologne) s'interroge sur les raisons qui font de Walter Hallstein, premier président de la Commission européenne, un Européen «oublié». Ce dernier voit surtout son nom rattaché à l'un des pires épisodes de la Guerre froide, le principe de la non-reconnaissance des Etats ouvrant des relations diplomatiques avec la RDA, période de blocage et d'absence de dialogue entre les deux parties. Or, on ignore le plus souvent les antécédents du secrétaire d'Etat au ministère des Affaires étrangères, notamment le fait qu'il ait participé aux discussions autour de la conférence Schuman à Paris, et l'européisme qu'il a déployé à partir de là. C'est en tant que tel qu'il est ici étudié jusqu'à son rôle au sein de la crise de la chaise vide, où il a payé son engagement optimiste et ambitieux face au renouveau des Etats nations, incarné par de Gaulle.

Marie-Luise Recker (Francfort) se penche sur la place de l'Europe chez Konrad Adenauer avant les débuts de la RFA. Ce dernier a été sensible aux idées de Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, et, très attaché à sa ville de Cologne, il a vu dans l'idée européenne un moyen de multiplier les liens et la prospérité de sa cité. C'est la guerre cependant qui va donner plus de consistance à cette vision, la problématique Est-Ouest complétant ses attentes spirituelles, en même temps qu'il trouve des partenaires pour faire avancer de manière irrémédiable l'idée européenne vers sa concrétisation, tout en arrimant son pays à l'Ouest.

Andreas Wilkens (Metz) insiste lui aussi sur l'idée que les racines de l'action européenne d'Adenauer sont plutôt liées à la guerre. Il s'agit de défendre les «valeurs chrétiennes» menacées par l'expansionnisme soviétique, de prôner la souveraineté de la RFA et l'égalité avec ses partenaires, d'assurer l'entente avec la France (à ce propos, sa visite en France en 1951 n'est que la troisième seulement: Wilkens nous signale en passant qu'il n'est pas l'homme d'une culture transfrontalière). La politique européenne d'Adenauer est avant tout pragmatique: s'il a bien pensé à une réorganisation sidérurgique dès le début des années 20, c'est dans le but de mettre un terme à l'occupation de la Ruhr; en 1945, c'est pour éviter d'éventuels démontages; il s'agit enfin d'insérer l'Europe dans un système atlantique. En tout, une approche réaliste et réactive, qui tient compte du contexte. S'appuyant sur ces remarques, certains ont reproché à Adenauer d'avoir trop facilement oublié l'Est (Wilfried Loth). Mais que pouvait-il faire de plus?

Paul-Henri Spaak est étudié par Michel Dumoulin (Louvain-la-Neuve). Il s'agit de «Spaak avant Spaak». Celui-ci n'est pas exactement de la même génération biologique que les autres Pères de l'Europe, il n'est pas non plus du même moule

démocrate-chrétien. Ce qui a joué un rôle dans son engagement pour l'Europe, c'est l'expérience des guerres et de la grande dépression. Il a ainsi connu l'exil et la mort de certains proches. De plus, à Londres ou aux Etats-Unis, il a dû se battre contre les préventions entourant les petits Etats. C'est de toute façon la guerre qui sort de son «provincialisme» un homme issu d'un milieu aisé, marqué par la passion de la politique et de la culture. Sa propre formation politique précède son action européenne, qui se profile lors de ses premières expériences gouvernementales, mais qui se déclenche véritablement au cours du conflit.

Autre Belge, plus original au vu des traditionnels Pères de l'Europe, Jean-Charles Snoy et d'Oppuers est abordé par Vincent Dujardin (Louvain-la-Neuve). Celui-ci est l'un des signataires des Traités de Rome. Dans sa jeunesse, Snoy se voit interdit de parler allemand dans sa famille à cause de l'occupation du pays. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, il soutient des projets concrets mais sans aller jusqu'à une union douanière ou la création d'une entité fédérale. Il commence alors à avoir des responsabilités au cours des années 30, où il voyage et négocie beaucoup. En 1940, il est réfugié un temps mais tente une réorganisation depuis la France. Peine perdue, il revient en Belgique où il est mis au rancart par les autorités d'occupation. Il entre alors en résistance et connaît la mort de proches. Pendant ces années, il participe aux réflexions d'un Centres d'études économiques créé en 1941, où l'Europe reste encore assez en retrait, mais il prépare les premières réflexions et rencontres autour du Benelux. Pour lui, l'Europe unifiée reste un remède à destination nationale. Le pragmatisme de Snoy reste ainsi virulent au moment même où sa pensée se précise juste après la guerre.

Geneviève Duchenne (Louvain-la-Neuve) se penche sur Paul van Zeeland, qui lui non plus n'est pas généralement considéré comme un Père de l'Europe, ayant plutôt privilégié après 1945 une union économique la plus large possible, au détriment d'une formule politique d'intégration. Retenu prisonnier entre 1914 et 1918, van Zeeland entrevoit surtout l'Europe à la lumière de la crise économique. Il a alors fait une partie de ses études aux Etats-Unis, et passé sa thèse de doctorat sur la Réserve fédérale américaine. Chrétien convaincu, il soutient les entreprises de la SdN. Il affirme alors son attachement au libéralisme, même s'il n'est pas insensible à la planification ébauchée par Henri de Man. De fait, il a participé au vaste mouvement de réflexion de réorganisation à l'échelle de l'Europe des années trente, qui n'aboutit cependant pas. La fin de la guerre lui offre l'occasion d'avoir plus d'influence, et il crée en 1946, avec Joseph Retinger, la Ligue européenne de coopération économique.

Une étude sur Jean Rey suit, faite par Pierre Tilly (Louvain-la-Neuve). Ce dernier ne le range pas dans la catégorie «Père de l'Europe», même s'il a exercé toutes les fonctions exécutives et parlementaires de l'Europe. Il a une culture d'européiste qu'il définit lui-même très bien («J'ai longtemps été minoritaire […] les crises ne me surprennent pas»), et son héritage est important pour comprendre son action: plusieurs origines culturelles, un ancrage libéral mais avec des préoccupations sociales, des convictions internationalistes et pacifistes, sans

oublier son statut de prisonnier en 1940, et la perte de ses parents dans des conditions dramatiques. Plusieurs fois ministre à partir de 1949, il devient parlementaire au Conseil de l'Europe en 1953, et représente la Belgique au sein du Conseil des ministres de la CECA, bien avant l'aventure de la Commission européenne qu'il entame dès le départ.

Le luxembourgeois Joseph Bech est étudié par Charles Barthel (Luxembourg). Bech a été pour la première fois Premier ministre en 1926, cependant il doit tenir compte de l'immixtion constante des multinationales sidérurgiques dans la vie politique luxembourgeoise. Il doit également se pencher sur les mauvaises relations de son pays avec la Belgique au départ, celui-ci qui absorbe 20 % de la production sidérurgique, alors qu'Anvers est la plaque tournante de ses exportations d'acier. C'est pour cela que les gens de l'Arbed pensent alors à lui pour accéder au pouvoir: pragmatique, souple, non doctrinaire tout membre du parti catholique qu'il est. Ses débuts se font donc «à la remorque des maîtres de forges». Il ne faut pas oublier l'importance d'un homme comme Emile Mayrisch, dont l'œuvre et l'activisme rejaillissent sur le Luxembourg dans son ensemble. Le débonnaire Bech comprend alors tout l'intérêt de faire des concessions fiscales pour attirer encore plus l'attention et donner à son pays un rôle sur mesure. L'exil de la guerre lui rappelle combien les sidérurgistes ont de l'importance, eux qui avaient à Londres des comptoirs et des relations pour abriter et conseiller le gouvernement en exil, faute d'ambassades de l'Etat. C'est en reconnaissance de cette dette que l'avis des patrons est sollicité avec la Déclaration Schuman. Ceux-ci, d'accord avec Bech, ont compris que seul l'internationalisme pourrait sauver le Luxembourg. Ainsi, Bech n'est pas vraiment mené par le bout du nez dans les négociations, mais reconnaît, à l'égal des barons du fer, l'importance de privilégier le multilatéralisme et les échanges. C'est pourquoi le ministre va plus loin, à partir de la CECA, n'insistant pas trop sur les clauses de sauvegarde qui lui avaient été demandées par les sidérurgistes. De manière générale, le pragmatisme de Bech se marie avec son «patriotisme économique» pour jouer le jeu de l'Europe.

Le Néerlandais Jan-Willem Beyen se voit consacré un chapitre par Jan-Willem Brouwer (Nimègue). Il peut être considéré comme un Père de l'Europe, dans la mesure où il a su convertir son gouvernement eurosceptique, à partir de 1952, et imaginer le projet de CEE. C'est pourtant le hasard qui préside à sa nomination comme ministre, et ainsi comme Père de l'Europe. Il a fait des études de droit dans les Pays-Bas neutres, et se lance dans une carrière d'administration financière puis dans le business (Philips, banques): ses convictions libre-échangistes et atlantistes viennent de cette première expérience. Vice-président puis président de la Banque des règlements internationaux, il peut juger de l'impuissance de celle-ci. Il devient alors membre de la direction de l'entreprise Unilever en 1940, puis conseiller financier du gouvernement en exil. Il recommande une collaboration internationale plus étroite, sans pour autant envisager d'engagement européen. Il assiste à la conférence de Bretton Woods, et devient directeur de la BIRD puis du FMI. Il se lance donc sur le tard dans l'aventure européenne. De plus, l'auteur le décrit comme quelqu'un qui sait lancer les idées, mais pas les suivre. Cherchant à

améliorer la productivité et n'appréciant pas la méthode sectorielle, il voit dans le fédéralisme la stratégie du faible au fort. Une fois l'idée lancée et poussée par Spaak, on assiste à un désistement: il démissionne en octobre 1956, devient ambassadeur à Paris puis retourne à la banque.

Cornélia Constantin (Paris-I) s'intéresse à l'interaction entre particularisme régional et particularisme mémoriel à travers les cas comparés de Schuman et de Gasperi. A la recherche d'un idéal type de «l'homme européen», elle s'interroge sur les usages de la référence territoriale, et veut cerner les logiques des récits et des pratiques commémoratives. Il s'agit d'abord de mettre en garde contre la tentation téléologique et de célébrer un européisme «à l'envers». On remarque d'ailleurs que les communautés qui voient en Schuman et de Gasperi des Pères de l'Europe sont soit au-dessus soit au-dessous de la nation. Il n'y a pas vraiment d'effort national pour commémorer l'un et l'autre: la Fondation parisienne Robert Schuman n'est que de 1991, alors que la figure de de Gasperi est récupérée à des fins politiques et nationales par la démocratie chrétienne (célébration annuelle sous son patronage). Un déplacement du cadre commémoratif se fait cependant à partir des années 80: les élites locales se manifestent, par exemple dans le cadre de Saar-Lor-Lux ou la création d'un prix de Gasperi. Un autre type de sociabilité s'affirme également autour de ces deux figures, et qui se crée entre les différentes maisons des Pères de l'Europe.

Alfredo Canavero (Milan) s'intéresse à la formation européenne de Alcide de Gasperi. International parce que catholique, ayant connu la situation de député dans la monarchie austro-hongroise, ce qui lui donne l'expérience d'une minorité nationale, cette expérience l'amène à développer une «conscience nationale positive», acceptant d'instinct un jeu fédéral. Citoyen italien, il devient pour des raisons politiques bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque du Vatican, en charge de la rédaction de «L'illustrazione Vaticana», ce qui lui permet une bonne approche des relations internationales pendant les années 30, et lui apporte une méfiance instantanée à l'égard d'un nationalisme excessif, une tendance à l'ouverture et une certaine sensibilité à l'Europe, et en particulier au fédéralisme, qu'il redécouvre dans un contexte totalement bouleversé.

Dans la même lignée, suit un travail sur l'entourage politique de De Gasperi par Piero Craveri (Naples). Ce dernier signale les difficultés de l'après-guerre, avec la ratification du Traité de Paix (mars 1947) et l'élection du Parlement national d'avril 1948. Il fallut vaincre les réticences pro-neutralistes, notamment celles du Vatican. Dans la majorité de de Gasperi, on trouve des sociaux-démocrates, des libéraux et des républicains («mazziniens») qui sont pour l'Europe, d'une façon ou d'une autre. Une vision «volontariste» de la nationalité s'exprime alors, bien résumée par un homme comme le Président Luigi Einaudi. On trouve une trace profonde du fédéralisme chez les élites italiennes, à travers la geste du Partito d'Azione, ajoutée à une conscience plus forte qu'ailleurs de la fragilité nationale. Cette tendance pousse au rapprochement orchestré par Carlo Sforza, jusqu'à l'échec de la CED.

Daniela Preda (Gênes) étudie de Gasperi et le réseau catholique autour de lui. Le fédéralisme est bien répandu dans le milieu de la démocratie chrétienne (Pie XII, création des Nouvelles équipes internationales, rencontres de Genève). On assiste à la création, dès le 6 novembre 1949, d'un Secrétariat catholique pour les problèmes européens à Strasbourg. De Gasperi émet des doutes sur la méthode sectorielle, ce qui aboutit à l'introduction de l'article 38 et l'initiative franco-italienne du 23 juillet 1952 pour réfléchir à une Communauté politique européenne. Cependant, il est battu aux élections du 7 juin 1953. L'auteur évoque parallèlement le destin de différents collaborateurs, tels que Taviani, Benvenuti, Giacchero ou Caron, ainsi que d'autres européanistes catholiques comme Celeste Bastianetto, Piero Malvestiti ou Francesco Maria Dominedó. Cela dit, de Gasperi notait lui-même que le soutien à la cause européiste n'était pas réel ou constant parmi les rangs de la démocratie chrétienne.

Jean-Marie Palayret (Florence) apporte une contribution sur Altiero Spinelli jusqu'à l'échec de la CED. Il rappelle que Spinelli n'est toujours pas considéré comme un des Pères de l'Europe, et pourtant il a à son actif la réflexion autour de l'article 38 et la relance du projet d'union politique en 1984. Il vient du socialisme puis du communisme, avec une prison qui lui sert d'université, rejette le communisme pour ses excès, et fait l'expérience d'un entourage d'obédience politique diverse à Ventotene. Il découvre alors Einaudi, les penseurs britanniques et les *Federalist Papers*. Le *Manifeste* de 1941 évoque la «crise de l'Etat-nation», l'idéal de la Fédération européenne et tient le réalisme comme un principe essentiel. Par la suite, il crée le Movimento federalista europeo, travaille en Suisse puis organise une conférence à Paris. Il milite au Parti d'Action, avant que le Plan Marshall ne le reverse dans le militantisme fédéraliste: il accepte d'être «conseiller du Prince» à travers la campagne pour le Pacte fédéral puis l'écriture de memoranda avec l'accentuation de l'action constitutionnaliste, jusqu'à l'échec de la CED.

La conclusion de Marie-Thérèse Bitsch nous rappelle que nous avons vu, dans ces très riches actes, 12 personnages différents. Nous pouvons repérer avec elle trois thèmes qui ont scandé ces différentes études. D'abord celui des héritages: pour l'essentiel, ces différents «Pères» sont issus des classes moyennes sauf exception (Spaak, Beyen, Snoy), la spiritualité chrétienne est leur vecteur (catholiques fervents, protestants, valeurs humanistes à racine chrétienne pour les laïcs), ils ont presque tous fait des études juridiques (sauf de Gasperi et van Zeeland et des autodidactes comme Monnet ou Spinelli), et témoigné un fort intérêt pour les langues (sauf Spaak). Deuxième thèmes, celui des expériences: la génération n'est pas forcément la même entre tous (23 ans d'écart entre Adenauer et Spinelli), mais la Première Guerre mondiale, la conscience du déclin de l'Europe, la découverte des Etats-Unis pour certains, et surtout la Seconde Guerre mondiale ont joué comme autant d'étapes dans leur conscientisation européenne. Tous ont l'expérience de la défaite de leur pays (encore une fois, on ne compte aucun Britannique parmi les Pères de l'Europe), de l'exil ou de la prison, tous se sont opposés au communisme dans le cadre de la Guerre froide. Enfin, dernier

thème qui porte sur les engagements: ces hommes ne sont pas venus à l'européisme d'un coup. Schuman a commencé par le militantisme catholique et la défense du particularisme alsacien-lorrain, Monnet par un «tour du monde», Spaak et Rey ont d'abord été pacifistes, la plupart ont fait leurs armes au sein d'un militantisme politique classique. C'est la Seconde Guerre mondiale qui donne les priorités (avec un peu de retard pour Snoy, de Gasperi et Beyen). De fait, la plupart ne sont pas des doctrinaires, mais des fonctionnalistes (pas purement fédéralistes) qui concilient patriotisme et européisme. Ils veulent l'Europe du possible.

A l'issue de cet ouvrage, on peut, à l'image de Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, parler d'une œuvre enrichissante, sortant des sentiers battus et apportant des éclairages sur une catégorie d'acteurs trop souvent idéalisés au détriment de l'analyse historique. Mais on peut avec elle estimer que le travail doit continuer pour aboutir à une vraie typologie, en s'intéressant plus aux influences intellectuelles et en insistant sur l'axe comparatif plutôt que de mettre côte à côte des monographies, aussi brillantes soient-elles. Il est évident que 12, cela fait beaucoup, d'autant plus que, Bitsch y insiste, on ne trouve dans ce chiffre aucune «Mère» qui donnerait à l'Europe un peu plus d'humanité.

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Sergio PISTONE, *L'Unione dei Federalisti Europei*, Guida, Napoli, 2008, 284 p. – ISBN 978-88-6042-300-9 – 14,30 €.

Professeur à l'université de Turin, Sergio Pistone est un grand connaisseur de l'idée fédéraliste qu'il a étudiée dans des ouvrages reconnus depuis près de 40 ans. Homme engagé également, lui-même vice-président de l'Union des Fédéralistes européens (activisme dont on trouve des échos dans son livre aux pp.200-201 et 204), il tente ici une synthèse de l'action des fédéralistes européens, appelée à être un premier tome (ce qui n'apparaît pas dans le titre), et qui va des prémisses de la création de l'Union européenne des fédéralistes jusqu'à 1972.

L'idée fédéraliste ne s'est pas imposée d'elle-même: c'est la guerre qui l'introduit brusquement sur la scène politique européenne. Une partie de la Résistance reprend le thème, qui devient un lieu commun propre à la plupart des forces politiques engagées contre le nazisme. Certains se font précis, tel Altiero Spinelli avec le Manifeste de Ventotene (1941), appelant à la mise en place d'une force politique nouvelle dépassant les frontières, qui ne peut être que le fédéralisme. Au même moment, des hommes comme Alexandre Marc se réclament du proudhonisme et souhaitent la mise en place d'une organisation respectant les principes de pluri-appartenance et de participation de l'individu, ainsi que d'autonomie et d'autogestion des communautés.

Aux fédéralistes «constitutionnels», pour qui la création préalable d'un cadre institutionnel permettait la formation d'un esprit civique européen, s'ajoutent les fédéralistes dits «intégraux», pour lesquels l'Europe est encore une collection de sociétés que l'on doit pouvoir rapprocher. Deux voies sont donc possibles.

La prise de conscience d'une situation révolutionnaire ne se fait pas sans une révision de la doctrine fédéraliste, peu préparée jusque-là à s'appliquer à un continent tout entier. C'est pourquoi l'étude de l'idée fédéraliste doit prendre en compte la réflexion de certains penseurs, isolés les uns des autres et, qui dans une prison (Spinelli), qui dans la Résistance (Frenay), qui dans l'exil (de Rougemont, Marc), formulent à peu près au même moment les mêmes idées. Au demeurant, dès avant 1945, les expériences «solitaires» que nous avons évoquées ont débouché sur l'élaboration de projets ambitieux (Projet de programme international du Mouvement de Libération Nationale, Déclaration des Résistances européennes en 1944). Des mouvements ont vu le jour : *Movimento Federalista Europeo* en 1943, *Comité Français pour la Fédération Européenne* en 1944 (Lyon), *Europeesche Actie* hollandais en 1945. Des journaux ont été édités tels que *Fédération* en France, *L'Unità Europea* en Italie, *La Libre Hollande*, *L'Avenir* en Belgique. Les fédéralistes arrivent même, juste avant la fin de la guerre, à se réunir à Paris entre les 22 et 25 mars 1945 sous la présidence d'Albert Camus, afin de faire connaître leur désir d'intervenir dans les discussions politiques qui, depuis la Conférence de Yalta, le mois précédent, se penchent sur la réorganisation politique du continent. Le résultat immédiat de cette effervescence est la création, en décembre 1946, de l'*Union des Fédéralistes européens* (dont le sens nous est donné aux pp.9 et 234).

Or, la situation révolutionnaire va être vite démentie par les réalités issues de la guerre. A travers les aléas de la Guerre froide, ce courant européen se révèle très vite être un réflexe de défense stratégique le long du Rideau de Fer, réflexe qui lui donne, avec ou contre son gré, une coloration politique très particulière, alors que tous les acteurs de l'Europe ne sont pas forcément Européens. Les fédéralistes se sentent vite seuls, et leur première réunion se fait sans les gens de l'Est ni les Allemands ou les Autrichiens, auxquels ont été refusés les visas: il s'agit d'Hertenstein du 15 au 22 septembre 1946 avec 78 congressistes, d'où sort un programme en 12 points qui retient surtout le point de vue du fédéralisme intégral, et compte s'appuyer sur l'article 52 de la Charte de l'ONU pour promouvoir la construction européenne, que l'on n'ose pas encore dire «occidentale» (il y a un Polonais et un Hongrois dans l'assistance). Le discours de Winston Churchill au même instant est diversement appréciée par les participants (l'européisme est certes réhabilité, l'Allemagne réintégrée, mais la Grande-Bretagne se met en retrait d'une Europe qui se fait contre l'URSS, même si cela n'est que suggéré, suivant des principes confédéraux et avec un homme «encombrant» comme garantie). Les choses se précisent à Luxembourg (13-16 octobre) où une séparation se fait entre les «mondialistes» et les «européistes». Ces derniers vont former l'UEF le 15 décembre 1946, avec comme premier président Brugmans et premier secrétaire général Marc.

Le Congrès de Montreux (27-30 août 1947), par son souci des questions concrètes, a démontré la volonté des fédéralistes de ne plus passer pour des «faiseurs d'idées», mais de coller au contexte économique et politique tel qu'il s'impose avec le Plan Marshall et les contingences de la guerre froide. L'annonce du Congrès de La Haye, qui doit permettre de côtoyer des hommes politiques de premier plan et d'avoir accès au plus grand nombre grâce à la médiatisation annoncée, ne peut que satisfaire les ardents militants de l'UEF.

La querelle entre fédéralistes et unionistes connaît à La Haye son point d'orgue. Les premiers sortent du Congrès avec la nette impression que «leur» Europe n'a pas été valorisée car, contrairement à leur attente, l'unité européenne n'a pas été, lors des débats, «la question préalable».

Après le Congrès de La Haye, les fédéralistes sont en droit de se poser des questions sur leur avenir. Du point de vue médiatique, ils sont les grands perdants d'une rencontre qui reste, aux yeux de l'opinion, attachée aux grands noms de la politique absents des rangs de l'UEF. Cette dernière est en passe de perdre son autonomie, puisque la concertation entre les mouvements européens exige une certaine forme de concentration des idées et de l'action, incarnée dans le *Comité international de Coordination*, aux mains des unionistes. Il reste donc aux fédéralistes à se soumettre ou à se démettre, exercice difficile qui risque de réveiller au sein de l'UEF des différences que l'on avait tues jusque-là. De fait, l'échec relatif de l'UEF à La Haye pousse certains fédéralistes à adopter une attitude plus combative, en s'appuyant sur ces nouvelles revendications: c'est le cas des hommes du *Movimento Federalista Europeo*, derrière Altiero Spinelli, chargés d'organiser le Congrès de l'UEF qui succède immédiatement à celui de La Haye. Cette évolution a des conséquences importantes dans l'histoire du mouvement lui-même: en effet, le fédéralisme spinellien, jusqu'ici mis en minorité au sein de l'organisation fédéraliste, souhaite disposer d'une tribune pour s'exprimer, ce qu'il fait effectivement à Rome, en novembre 1948.

Sur l'OECE et l'UO, la prise fédéraliste est plus que négligeable, puisque les deux organisations apparaissent comme des créatures des Etats. Le sentiment est bien différent concernant la création du Conseil de l'Europe, ce qui se voit dans l'évolution au sein de l'UEF elle-même: la campagne pour le Pacte fédéral, qui signifie la victoire des spinellistes au sein même de l'organisation, s'appuie sur le succès de la proposition d'Interlaken (1-4 septembre 1948) et la multiplication des groupes fédéralistes au sein des assemblées.

Il s'agit de donner au Conseil de l'Europe les forces de ses ambitions. L'UEF décide de demander à celui-ci qu'il rédige un Pacte fédéral qui doit être soumis aux Etats, devant le faire ratifier, ce Pacte entrant en vigueur une fois approuvé par un nombre de pays dont la population dépasse les 100 millions. Parallèlement, l'UEF décide d'entamer une campagne de signatures pour une pétition en faveur de cet acte, avec un comité international de haut niveau (Croce, Moravia, Blum, Coty, Ramadier, Reynaud, Beveridge, Mackay). Les résultats sont décevants en Grande-Bretagne, mais encourageants ailleurs, notamment en Italie, où 500.000 citoyens

ont signé la pétition, dont 246 parlementaires, 493 autorités locales et 200 associations. Une cérémonie est organisée le 4 novembre 1950 où le texte est solennellement signé par Alcide de Gasperi, Carlo Sforza et six ministres, texte lui-même présenté et approuvé par les deux Chambres le 15 novembre. L'accueil de Paul-Henri Spaak, président du Conseil de l'Europe, est en revanche nettement plus froid.

Les fédéralistes de l'UEF avaient consacré une grande partie des années 1949 et 1950 à tenter de faire triompher la cause du Conseil de l'Europe, notamment en menant campagne pour un Pacte fédéral entre les Etats. Cette campagne était en train de mourir d'elle-même, les gouvernements ne désirant pas aller plus loin qu'ils estimaient être allés. Le Plan Schuman relance l'activité de l'UEF: pour la première fois, le mouvement se trouve en phase avec une idée officielle audacieuse. La déclaration Schuman contient, il est vrai, plusieurs éléments favorables à l'action de l'UEF: l'idée d'un «noyau continental» apte à devenir un «centre d'attraction irrésistible pour les autres pays de l'Europe» séduit des hommes comme Spinelli. Elle débouche sur une construction concrète, même si celle-ci peut paraître incomplète (seulement le charbon et l'acier, seulement l'économie, seulement l'Occident): elle passe par des réalisations institutionnelles et des réalités économiques basées autour des «solidarités de fait». Les crises sont une chance exceptionnelle de créer une demande pour des projets porteurs de conceptions neuves.

La fin de l'année 1950 correspond donc à un changement de tactique de la part de l'UEF: il n'est plus question d'avoir recours au Conseil de l'Europe pour obtenir l'adoption du Pacte fédéral. La défection britannique, la timidité du *Mouvement Européen*, les débats sur une Communauté Européenne de Défense lancés par la proposition Pleven (23 octobre 1950) créent un contexte très favorable à la discussion d'un thème jusque-là peu connu du grand public. L'UEF peut se considérer comme le fer de lance d'un combat européiste qui a changé de nature. Les fédéralistes vont donc maintenant s'employer à faire triompher l'idée de l'Assemblée constituante européenne …

Le projet d'armée européenne surprend tout le monde (y compris Monnet) et est plus ambitieux. L'UEF fera tout pour le faire aller d'une optique sectorielle (l'armée) à un objectif politique. Spinelli est le premier à se rendre compte des potentialités du sujet: avoir une armée européenne touche le problème politique (désignation de l'état-major), les valeurs (quoi défendre?), l'économie (importance du budget, implications militaro-économiques). On quitte le simple effet d'entraînement. Les fédéralistes s'engouffrent ainsi dans la brèche, voyant une continuité logique entre le projet de pool charbon-acier et celui d'une unité plus large et plus politique: ce n'est pas un hasard s'ils attendent le jour de la signature à Paris du Traité CECA (18 avril 1951) pour faire connaître leur projet de Constituante européenne à Lugano.

Le vent semble en poupe puisque, à la fin de l'année, l'article 38 ajouté au Traité CED paraît annoncer la politisation du problème européen. Le 11 décembre 1951, Spaak démissionne du Conseil de l'Europe et rejoint l'action de l'UEF, avec

le Mouvement européen, en créant le Comité d'action pour la Constituante européenne. L'institution d'une véritable autorité politique européenne ne paraît plus être qu'une question de mois, comme semble l'annoncer la proposition franco-italienne du 23 juillet 1952 pour une Communauté Politique européenne, qui reprend l'essentiel des suggestions de Spinelli. L'un des nombreux memoranda de Spinelli est approuvé le 10 septembre 1952, qui débouche sur la mise en place de l'Assemblée ad hoc.

Neuf autres résolutions, surtout de Spinelli, passeront (nombre de parlementaires de l'Assemblée ad hoc sont fédéralistes comme Dehousse et Benvenuti), légitimées par la création du Comité d'études pour la constitution européenne dans lequel officient des professeurs de Harvard. Certes, le point de vue des fédéralistes ne sera pas partout triomphant dans le projet de Communauté politique européenne remis en mars 1953 (un Conseil des ministres encore important, une CED qui n'obéit, pour les impulsions décisives qu'aux Etats, un mode d'élection peu populaire, une procédure de révision rigide), mais ce dernier retient le principe d'un parlement aux pouvoirs législatifs et pouvant contrôler l'exécutif, d'une cour de justice et d'une administration indépendante des Etats.

Mais la situation change avec la mort de Staline: l'armistice en Corée le 27 juillet, la conférence de Genève le 2 avril 1954, l'armistice en Indochine le 20 juillet, sans oublier le remplacement, aux Affaires étrangères françaises, de Robert Schuman par Georges Bidault, ou, en Italie, la chute de de Gasperi et l'affaire de Trieste qui réveille les appétits nationalistes. Tout cela explique que la CED n'ait pas été ratifiée dans ces deux derniers pays.

Ainsi une tendance nouvelle s'impose, sceptique face aux projets de construction européenne. Avant la mort de Staline, le seul ennemi était le communiste. Maintenant que se multiplient les déclarations hostiles à une accélération de l'intégration européenne qui ne paraît plus aussi urgente, cet ennemi est plus difficilement identifiable, il est «multi-forme». L'UEF dénonce les effets dilatoires de la politique des Etats et clame qu'en l'absence de réponse, l'Assemblée ad hoc aurait dû se réunir et prendre les décisions qui s'imposaient. Mais le discours fédéraliste aura beau s'employer à désigner l'URSS comme l'ennemi suprême de la cause européenne, beaucoup, à l'Ouest, estiment qu'un accord général sur l'Europe peut désormais être atteint entre les deux Grands. Du coup, toutes les belles constructions imaginées pour l'Europe s'effondreront, faute de bases stables, à tel point que certains estimeront que le mot «crime» ne peut même pas être appliqué concernant cette fameuse journée du 30 août où le traité CED fut enterré.

A la suite de l'échec de la CED, les dissensions sont de plus en plus fortes au sein même de l'UEF, entre ceux qui souhaitent faire appel au «peuple européen» contre le cynisme des gouvernements (Spinelli), et ceux qui, par réalisme, se contentent d'un soutien actif à la relance européenne orchestrée par ces mêmes gouvernements (Henri Brugmans). Reste à officialiser la scission et à soutenir «une nouvelle internationale fédéraliste» contre la menace

de «caporalisation» d'un mouvement qui se serait éloigné de l'essence même du fédéralisme. En réaction, d'anciens membres de l'UEF créent un centre d'Action Européenne Fédéraliste (AEF) qui s'intéressera exclusivement aux «problèmes économiques et à l'Euratom». Cette organisation, constituée de certains des principaux mouvements membres de l'UEF (Europa Union, BEF, La Fédération, Federal Union) voit le jour au mois de novembre 1956, à Paris. Désormais les fédéralistes ne peuvent plus compter sur une plate-forme commune: chacune des tendances qui se sont affirmées en son sein va continuer sa propre voie, au sein de deux orientations irréconciliables qui sont nées après le 30 août 1954: les «possibilistes», partisans d'un pacte fédéral inter-étatique, et les «maximalistes», soutenant un mouvement unitaire. Ces derniers, rassemblés à partir de juin 1959 dans le Mouvement fédéraliste européen (MFE; Président: Enzo Giacchero), vont tenter l'aventure du Congrès du Peuple européen avec Spinelli, jusqu'à son échec total en 1962, où le concept gaulliste de la «coopération politique intergouvernementale» s'impose.

Dès lors, la perte d'audience des fédéralistes est incontestable: les membres du MFE-France passent ainsi de 6.500 en 1960 à moins de 3.000 dix ans plus tard; dans le même temps, la mort emporte beaucoup des animateurs de la période «historique», de Grégoire Gafenco (février 1957), à Ernesto Rossi (février 1967). Au sein même du MFE, les divisions intestines se creusent de plus belle: l'unité entre fédéralisme intégral et fédéralisme constitutionnel est plus que jamais impossible (en France même, la section lyonnaise se détache de la tendance majoritaire dans le pays pour se joindre aux Italiens), alors que les fédéralistes sont partagés entre une nette sympathie pour le matérialisme historique et l'antimarxisme le plus virulent. Qui plus est, après la disparition, physique ou politique, des Pères de l'Europe, les interlocuteurs gouvernementaux se font rares, les aides gouvernementales sont coupées, et l'accès aux mass media est de plus en plus difficile. De fait, le retrait de l'action militante de Spinelli (1962) se traduit par un assagissement des fédéralistes: l'acceptation du cadre européen influe sur l'attitude des fédéralistes au cours des années 60, qui ne jouent plus l'opposition à tout crin, acceptant même de collaborer ponctuellement avec les adhérents de l'AEF (rédaction en commun d'un projet de Charte fédéraliste en 1963). Le MFE, sous la direction d'Etienne Hirsch, tranche en faveur du renforcement des institutions existantes, notamment à propos de l'élection au suffrage universel de l'Assemblée européenne (proposition Rossi de 1965) et, afin de relancer une Europe trop gaullienne, en soutenant la candidature britannique à la CEE. En fin de compte, les fédéralistes en arrivent à soutenir et à légitimer une Europe qui n'a plus rien de supranational, et à assumer dans leur ensemble les thèses possibilistes qui acceptent l'optique confédérale, ce qui aboutit logiquement au rapprochement puis à la réunification AEF-MFE lors du Congrès de Bruxelles (13-15 avril 1973). Ce dernier donne naissance à l'Union des fédéralistes européens, qui porte l'ancien sigle UEF, avec Etienne Hirsch comme président et Bob Molenaar (AEF) comme vice-président.

En conclusion, l'auteur considère deux moments forts de l'UEF: la CED et le sommet de Paris en 1974, qui débouche sur l'élection du Parlement européen au suffrage universel. Emporté par ses propres convictions, il a parfois tendance à exagérer l'influence des fédéralistes (p.229), mais il n'a pas son pareil pour raconter une histoire où construction européenne et militantisme peuvent pour une fois faire bon ménage. Ce travail doit ainsi être vu comme un honnête regard sur le bouillonnement mal connu à l'origine d'un processus que l'on limite trop souvent à l'action de quelques «Pères» bienveillants. Cela dit, l'influence des fédéralistes de l'UEF ne dépasse pas l'échec de la CED, comme le montre leur impuissant activisme lors de la «relance européenne». On peut dès lors craindre que le second volume que Sergio Pistone prépare sur cette histoire de l'UEF ne se limite qu'à une exposition de vœux pieux et d'espoirs déçus, même si l'on ne doute un seul instant de la chaleur de son enthousiasme.

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Wilfried LOTH (dir.), ***La gouvernance supranationale dans la construction européenne***, Bruylant, Bruxelles, 2005, 378 p. – ISBN 2-8027-2024-4 – 48,00 €.

Ce livre est issu des actes d'une conférence qui s'est déroulée à Essen les 23 et 24 octobre 2003, bien avant l'échec du Traité constitutionnel européen (comme le montre l'appel à le ratifier p.8). L'introduction de Marie-Thérèse Bitsch et Wilfried Loth revient sur la déclaration du 9 mai en soulignant les réflexions renouvelées qu'elle a permise en matière de souveraineté, tout en rappelant que le mot «supranationalité» n'apparaît pas dans ce texte. En dépit des avancées initiales, la Commission des Traités de Rome reste bridée, malgré le fait qu'elle représente l'intérêt général européen. Il y a bien quelques éléments dynamiques, comme la primauté du droit communautaire et la mobilisation en faveur de l'Assemblée, mais l'on constate à partir de la crise de la chaise vide un recul de la supranationalité entre 1965 et 1985. Après une reprise due à un environnement politique et économique qui a largement changé, on ne doit pas pour autant mésestimer les facteurs politiques et psychologiques et prendre en compte la vague de scepticisme qui accompagne le Traité de Maastricht. Le problème central soulevé par ce dernier est que, s'il y a n'a pas de transfert dans les deux domaines du législatif et de l'exécutif, la gouvernance supranationale n'apparaîtra jamais comme démocratique. Reste à savoir dans quels domaines une souveraineté européenne s'est exercée, et quelles garanties de démocratie cette dernière a apporté.

La première partie porte sur l'émergence de la gouvernance supranationale (dont on peut regretter qu'elle n'a pas été définie au préalable). Bernd Bühlbäcker (Duisburg-Essen) étudie les méthodes de travail de la Haute Autorité de la CECA, première institution «supranationale». On voit cette dernière comme un terrain

d'expérimentation qui doit tout inventer. Au départ, il y a débat pour savoir comment s'organiser afin d'obtenir une administration efficace, sans perdre de vue une méthode de travail collective: il s'agit de décider si l'organe sera collégial ou si la Haute Autorité sera composée de «petits ministres». Jean Monnet défend un point de vue autoritaire et «présidentiel», ce qui effraie les représentants des petits Etats, Spierenburg ou Kohnstamm en particulier. Au final, c'est le caractère collégial qui l'emporte avec le «statut général d'organisation» et le «règlement intérieur» du 5 novembre 1954.

Guido Thiemeyer (Kassel) étudie le supranationalisme de Sicco Mansholt dans sa pensée, entre le début des années 50 et les années 70. Ce dernier a commencé sa carrière dans le cadre de l'Etat-nation, en étant ministre de l'Agriculture de 1950 à 1958. A cette époque, son gouvernement craint par-dessus tout le protectionnisme, c'est pourquoi Mansholt propose un plan pour l'intégration agricole européenne dans la foulée du Plan Schuman. Il fait alors une mauvaise expérience face à la vitalité des groupes d'intérêt, notamment français, qu'il revivra d'ailleurs à la suite de son second plan de 1968. C'est fort de cette expérience qu'il il défend un intérêt communautaire représenté à l'échelle communautaire: sa conception n'était pas forcément démocratique, l'économie devant être régie à part suivant le critère de l'efficacité et au nom de la rationalité. Cette vision va se renforcer une fois commissaire, les Etats lui paraissant incapables de régler les problèmes qui se posaient à l'économie européenne. Il s'agissait également de maintenir un «troisième pouvoir» entre Etats-Unis et URSS, et d'exercer une influence dans le monde, par exemple à travers l'aide aux pays sous-développés. Dans cette perspective, surtout vers la fin, il plaide pour une responsabilisation à l'échelle planétaire, en accordant à l'ONU certaines compétences supranationales.

Gerhard Th. Mollin (Duisburg-Essen) étudie la «Commission Hallstein» en se posant la question de son pouvoir et de son influence. Il souhaite démontrer que l'action des Européens doit plus aux circonstances qu'aux personnalités, et en finir avec «l'âge d'or» désignant traditionnellement cette Commission Hallstein. Pour ce dernier, c'est la logique matérielle de l'intégration qui compte et l'emportera. La période est active (80 règlements, 50 directives, plus de 300 décisions en moyenne entre 1962 et 1965), mais Walter Hallstein a surtout profité du vide du pouvoir de départ, et le fait que les Etats lui laissaient une marge de manœuvre appréciable. Il a une vision politique de sa fonction, qui est un mixte entre le système administratif d'origine allemande et l'organisation collégiale à la française (l'auteur évoque un «mariage» des deux traditions). Pour le recrutement, des critères comme la «performance» ou «l'engagement» sont mis en avant, introduisant une politique autonome de la Commission: les commissaires nomment leurs directeurs généraux, qui nomment eux-mêmes leurs «directeurs de directions». On peut alors parler d'un esprit missionnaire et de l'esprit de corps de ces premiers fonctionnaires (à peu près 1000 à la fin de 1958). Cependant, la crise de légitimité guette ce nouveau pouvoir européen, dans la mesure où sa souveraineté est «prêtée» par les Etats, et que le Conseil des ministres, avec le COREPER, entretient une situation de conflit permanent. Certes, des compétences s'affirment, telle la politique commerciale

commune; de plus, Hallstein est vite considéré comme le «M. Europe» à Washington. Cependant, les Etats l'écartent de certaines politiques «privées», comme à l'égard des ex-colonies ou sur les questions d'adhésion. On peut parler de précarité, avec deux problèmes fondamentaux, qui dépassent la seule Commission: la faiblesse du Parlement européen et l'absence de conscience européenne. Les activités ne manquent pas: pour la PAC, il s'agissait d'élaborer un tarif douanier commun; il faut aussi instituer un règlement européen de la concurrence, sans oublier la politique commerciale commune (GATT, FMI). Mais il y a perversion, notamment au sein de la PAC, où ce sont les Etats qui finissent par fixer les prix, alors que les tendances surproductrices sont encouragées. De Gaulle a laissé faire jusqu'à ce qu'il obtienne ce qu'il désirait, et la confrontation devint inévitable avec les propositions de 1965 (un «choc des concepts»). Hallstein se faisait des illusions, et ne pensait pas à l'idée de «sabotage» qui va pourtant être celle de la chaise vide («un certain nombrilisme régnait à la Rue de la Loi»).

Gérard Bossuat (Cergy-Pontoise) étudie Emile Noël, inamovible secrétaire général de la Commission européenne. Ce dernier a une posture fédérale, qui encourage les velléités de Hallstein, un «fédéraliste patient» et efficace, qui provoque le courroux de De Gaulle depuis Paris. Cet homme doit tenir un rôle délicat pendant la crise de la chaise vide, où il exprime son désir de renouer les fils, plus qu'Hallstein qui a singulièrement manqué de sérénité. Noël communique avec Monnet et avec les commissaires, tentant d'éviter les points de vue extrémistes, comme celui qui aurait consisté à remplacer la France par la Grande-Bretagne. Il est très présent après le dénouement du 30 janvier 1966, qui inaugure une surveillance accrue des Etats sur les activités de la Commission dont il doit tenir compte: les décisions seront prises sans la Commission, même si le «compromis» de Luxembourg reste un «constat de désaccord» (Marjolin). Au final, Noël apparaît comme «un dénoueur de conflits» («Il y avait du Monnet dans cet homme-là»), qui sauve les apparences sur le moment, et préserve de meilleurs perspectives à venir.

Piers Ludlow (Londres) étudie trois cas de prises de décision communautaires pour en saisir le mobile et surtout le cheminement. Premier cas: la décision sur le prix des céréales au sein de la CEE, qui hésite entre un prix bas, qui aurait procédé à une concentration et une forte politique exportatrice, et un prix haut afin d'aider les agriculteurs à survivre. Le débat commence le 4 novembre 1963 et aboutit dans la nuit du 15 décembre 1964, après une lutte acharnée où la Commission s'illustre. La perspective du Marché commun et des négociations au sein du GATT ont contribué également à accélérer la prise de décision dans une optique consensuelle. Seconde décision étudiée: l'accord du 11 mai 1966 sur le financement de la PAC. La Commission est beaucoup plus souple à la suite du compromis de janvier, et les débats se font surtout au sein du COREPER, dans l'ambiance de retrait de la France de l'OTAN. Là encore, on voit qu'une décision s'impose à travers des liens multiples entre secteurs apparemment autonomes. Troisième cas étudié: la négociation à l'issue du Kennedy Round, qui montre que la Commission garde de l'importance et de l'influence, même si les Etats conservent un droit de regard

important à travers le comité de l'article 111. Au final, la scène politique communautaire apparaît très complexe, où les autorités décisionnelles varient suivant le cas et le contexte: Commission pour le premier, COREPER pour le second, Comité de l'article 111 dans le troisième.

La deuxième partie porte sur les projets de réformes et pratiques supranationales.

Vincent Dujardin (Louvain-la-Neuve) commence par la Belgique dans la construction européenne. Il est important pour ce petit pays de pouvoir compter sur une personnalité remarquable. Les pays du Benelux ont de même toujours pensé que renforcer la supranationalité les protègerait de l'influence des «Grands». C'est ce que pense Pierre Harmel au milieu des années 60, mais lui aussi doit composer avec la crise de la chaise vide. Il tente une relance par l'UEO en 1968 (ce qui donnait un moyen de conserver la Grande-Bretagne dans le cadre de la réflexion), mais ce Plan échoue, exemple parmi d'autres qu'il est difficile pour un petit pays de prendre l'initiative quand les «Grands» ne sont pas d'accord.

Suit une étude sur le couple Willy Brandt-Georges Pompidou par Claudia Hiepel (Duisburg-Essen). Chacun des partenaires a besoin de la CEE, pour des raisons économiques en France, pour des raisons politiques en RFA. D'où une politique du donnant-donnant, qui préside à toute relance communautaire et influe sur les institutions, comme le montre une fois de plus la relance de La Haye. Il y aura 14 rencontres entre Brandt et Pompidou entre La Haye et 1974. Nous avons affaire à deux hommes qui laissent de côté les considérations «théologiques» sur l'Europe et privilégient un bilatéralisme plus pragmatique. Cela dit, les différentes réactions à la suspension de la convertibilité du dollar en or entravent une réaction commune. Certes, les deux hommes ont évoqué la possibilité d'un secrétariat permanent de la toute nouvelle CPE mais, Pompidou le voulant à Paris, l'affaire tourne court. Pompidou n'est pas non plus pour la régularité des sommets, mais un premier pas est lancé à partir de Copenhague en décembre 1973. Au final, les conceptions des deux hommes sont différentes, mais dans l'ensemble ils arrivent à désembourber l'Europe, certes dans des conditions qui sont loin d'être idéales.

Daniela Preda (Gênes) étudie l'action d'Altiero Spinelli au Parlement européen de 1979 à 1984. Ce dernier avait peu de pouvoirs, mais les utilisait pleinement, par exemple en refusant le budget en décembre 1979, en exprimant fréquemment ses avis sur les diverses propositions et directives, ou en faisant des propositions et en prenant des positions. Tout cela n'empêche pas n'importe quel observateur de voir le caractère subalterne du Parlement. Pour parer à cela, Spinelli propose le 27 juin 1980 de créer un groupe de travail pour les réformes institutionnelles, et envoie une lettre à ses homologues dans ce sens. Après maintes péripéties, le projet, d'inspiration nettement fédéraliste, est adopté le 14 février 1984. Ces idées sont reprises par François Mitterrand et le comité Dooge, ainsi qu'au Conseil de Milan, mais le Parlement est imperceptiblement écarté, écartant ainsi toute option fédérale.

Le tandem Valéry Giscard d'Estaing-Helmut Schmidt est étudié ensuite par Michèle Weinachter (Cergy-Pontoise). Après les espoirs de déblocage de La Haye, l'année 1974 ouvre toutes les hypothèses, surtout les pires. Si une relance doit se

faire, ce sera incontestablement par les institutions, et non par l'économie. Vers quel but? Giscard ne le formule jamais vraiment durant son mandat. La formule du Conseil européen, qu'il fait adopter, est une forme de conciliation entre approches intergouvernementales et communautaires. Son fonctionnement ne sera spécifié qu'ultérieurement. Cela dit, le président a tendance à considérer, un peu comme de Gaulle en son temps, que l'Europe, c'est d'abord la France et la RFA. L'auteur distingue deux caractéristiques au couple: une solidarité sans faille (concertation avant les sommets) et une savante répartition des rôles, comme le montre la présentation du projet de SME à Brême (juillet 1978). Des avancées sont alors possibles, comme la décision d'élire le Parlement européen au suffrage universel, mais la loi électorale retenue par les pays (circonscription unique et liste nationale) ne renforce pas la légitimité comme espéré. Il y a blocage d'une éventuelle évolution supranationale à laquelle s'ajoute une forte opposition, surtout en France. Les tentatives de rapprochement des politiques économiques, sachant que chacun est pour l'autre le principal partenaire, ne peuvent rien face aux différences de structures et de conception du rôle de l'Etat, qui rendent difficile ce rapprochement. La zone monétaire créée avec le SME est devenue peu à peu, ce qui n'était pas prévu, une «zone mark», avec l'obsession de la stabilité des prix et de la lutte contre l'inflation ajoutée aux facilités croissantes des mouvements spéculatifs attirés par les monnaies fortes: le résultat est un alignement des taux d'intérêt sur ceux, élevés, de la Bundesbank. Au total, les avancées institutionnelles restent donc modestes, mais des bases sérieuses ont été posées, notamment à travers la coopération monétaire.

A son tour, le tandem François Mitterrand-Helmut Kohl fait l'objet d'une étude, par Georges Saunier (Paris). Il comptabilise pas moins de 24 conseils franco-allemands entre novembre 1982 et mai 1995, ainsi que plus de 150 entretiens en 12 ans et demi. L'auteur s'intéresse essentiellement aux conférences de presse, au travers desquelles se constitue un «discours conjoint franco-allemand», avec l'importance accordée à une Europe de la défense, basée sur l'idée de paix, mais pas de pacifisme, comme le montre la crise des euromissiles, le primat donné à l'économie, avec l'idée de constitution d'un pôle fort et la question de la monnaie unique, et enfin la perspective de l'Union politique, dont la vocation fédérale n'est pas repoussée (surtout par Kohl), avec l'idée d'une politique extérieure commune. Ce discours est avant tout pédagogique et de répétition, avec l'idée que la réconciliation est derrière et qu'il faut désormais construire l'avenir, c'est-à-dire l'Europe. Quelque part, ce discours pallie le déficit démocratique qui s'installe au sein de la CEE.

Helen Drake (Loughborough) étudie le président de la Commission Jacques Delors. Très connu à l'étranger, il a donné une certaine légitimité à ceux qui aspirent à conduire un processus d'intégration européenne. Son action montre que la politique doit être médiatisée et que de grands projets servent une cause. Cela dit, comment son influence peut-elle être mesurée? Le contexte positif a incontestablement joué un rôle, mais également la vision pragmatique de Delors lui-même. Cependant, dès 1993, cette influence a baissé, et la réflexion européenne

quitte à nouveau le cadre de la haute politique, revenant avec la crise à un fonctionnement de type intergouvernemental. Delors a créé en 1996 le groupe «Notre Europe», qui aujourd'hui a pour but d'influencer les élites. Ainsi, le leadership que peuvent donner les idées peut exister, chez Delors comme chez Monnet, mais par occasions seulement, le contexte ayant une importance fondamentale dans l'influence des idées européistes.

La dernière partie porte sur les problèmes actuels et la Constitution de l'Union européenne.

Muriel Rambour (Strasbourg) s'intéresse aux réformes institutionnelles dans l'Union européenne avant et après le Traité de Nice. Avant, une série de réformes inabouties ont mené jusqu'à ce Traité, dernier avatar d'une succession d'impuissances réformatrices. L'«après-Nice» commence avec le discours de Joschka Fischer et la réflexion sur une Europe plus démocratique. Maastricht a mis en place une forme de «schizophrénie organisée», texte peu lisible par les citoyens européens eux-mêmes. Amsterdam a été marqué par l'absence du rôle moteur franco-allemand (Lionel Jospin à peine arrivé est un européiste modéré, Kohl connaît une fin de règne difficile). Il s'agit par la suite de réformer dans la perspective de l'élargissement, ce qui entraîne l'âpreté des marchandages (re-pondération des voix au Conseil et décrochage dans la symbolique parité franco-allemande) et une certaine «renationalisation des esprits» qui elle-même aboutit à Nice et son mode de décision «à la carte». Cela dit, la déclaration 23 annexée au Traité appelle à sortir du seul cercle des négociations intergouvernementales. Des formules nouvelles apparaissent telles que «centre de gravité», «noyau dur» ou «cercles concentriques» (cependant déjà présentes dans le document Schäuble-Lamers de 1994 et dans le discours de Fischer). Le sommet de Laeken (décembre 2001) lance alors la Convention européenne, mais l'auteur souligne déjà le fait que l'opinion semble peu au courant de ses travaux.

Achim Hurrelmann (Brême) analyse le phénomène constitutionnel dans le débat sur l'UE, cherchant à savoir si le modèle du constitutionnalisme national peut être transféré à échelle européenne. Tous les principes de la démocratie constitutionnelle existent à l'échelle des différents pays occidentaux. Au stade communautaire cependant, il n'y a pas de sphère publique, de société ou de «démos» au sens classique du terme. Mais il n'y a pas pour autant incompatibilité: le concept d'«intégration sociale», qui insiste sur la coordination de l'action et la cohésion des croyances, ainsi que la fameuse communauté politique «imaginée» (Benedict Anderson) n'interdisent pas une transposition de la démocratie à une échelle plus large. Deux stratégies sont alors possibles: celle qui consiste à susciter une identité européenne, et celle qui cherche à créer des institutions démocratiques qui n'ont pas besoin d'un assentiment populaire fort (homogénéisation ou compensation de l'hétérogénéité par l'action intergouvernementale, soit le modèle allemand et le modèle français). En ce sens, le TCE aurait pu être un compromis entre les deux.

Pour terminer, Wilfried Loth (Duisburg-Essen) fait une mise en perspective de la constitution européenne depuis l'après-guerre. Il commence par les premiers projets, tels ceux de juin 1948, présenté par François de Menthon, suivi du projet d'Interlaken (septembre) et de celui de l'UEF à Rome (novembre). Le projet de CPE a pu ressembler à un summum, qui a cependant nettement échoué. Les Traités de Rome, eux, font penser à «un compromis alambiqué et diversement interprétable», avec un Parlement en retrait et un Conseil unique législateur de la CE. Hallstein essaie bien de rétablir la vapeur (modifier l'article 203 pour la majorité qualifiée), sans succès. De même, Monnet visait, avec sa proposition d'août 1973, un «gouvernement provisoire européen», mais cette formule restera proprement intergouvernementale. Vient ensuite le «Traité pour la création d'une Union européenne» de Spinelli, peu suivi, on l'a vu, par l'Acte unique européen, à tel point que, dans la foulée de Colombo, le Parlement européen demande le 12 décembre 1990 une Constitution. Viennent enfin le «rapport Herman» (10 février 1990) et le discours de Fischer (2000) ou celui, plus en retrait, de Tony Blair à Varsovie, le 6 octobre 2000 (sans oublier ceux de Jacques Chirac, Gerhard Schröder et Lionel Jospin). Ainsi, le débat est plus riche qu'on ne le pense, le projet de TCE n'étant que le dernier avatar d'une longue liste.

On ne fera pas le reproche à cet ouvrage de s'être lourdement trompé dans ses prévisions et ses espoirs concernant le TCE. Ce dernier a peut-être péché par excès d'européisme, oubliant tout simplement de définir ce que tous les citoyens souhaitent savoir concernant la «gouvernance supranationale» (nous renvoyons pour ce dernier terme sur le livre de Robert Frank). L'ouvrage ne répond pas vraiment à la question de la démocratie européenne, tout en enchaînant une série de brillantes études de cas et réflexions ponctuelles sur la pratique du pouvoir à Bruxelles et dans les différentes capitales. A lire par conséquent dans le cadre d'une monographie, ou comme exemple bien involontaire d'une construction européenne qui a toujours autant de mal à se définir.

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Stefania BARONCELLI, Carlo SPAGNOLO, Leila Simona TALANI (eds.) – *Back to Maastricht. Obstacles to Constitutional Reform within the EU Treaty (1991-2007)*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2008, 434 p. – ISBN (10): 1-84718-521-5, ISBN (13): 9781847185211 – 44,99 £.

Was ist die Bedeutung der Verträge von Maastricht? Das ist im Grunde die Ausgangsfrage des vorliegenden Bandes und erfreulicherweise geben die meisten der 18 Beiträge in der ein oder anderen Form eine Antwort darauf – bei Sammelbänden alles andere als eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Wie aktuell die Frage ist, muss nach dem Scheitern des europäischen Verfassungsvertrages nicht näher erläutert werden. „Maastricht" bleibt bis auf weiteres die wichtigste Änderung der

europäischen Verträge seit ihrem Bestehen. Der Band, hervorgegangen aus einer interdisziplinären Konferenz der Alumni des europäischen Hochschulinstituts im Oktober 2006 in Fiesole, stellt dabei die supranationale, nicht die intergouvernementale Dimension von Maastricht in den Vordergrund. Außen-, Justiz-, und Sozialpolitik spielen deshalb keine Rolle. Im Zentrum steht die Europäische Währungsunion (EWU) als die eigentliche Neuerung: Kapitel II bis IV und elf der 17 Einzelbeiträge sind ihr gewidmet. Dabei geht das zweite Kapitel der Legitimität der EU im Zusammenhang mit der Währungsunion nach, das dritte ihrer Genese und das vierte ihrer politischen Ökonomie.

Kapitel I nimmt hingegen rechtliche Bewertungen von Maastricht vor. Diskutiert werden die Architektur der „Europäischen Union" (Bruno de Witte), der Schutz der nationalen Identitäten durch Artikel F(1) des Maastrichter Vertrags (Marie-Claire Ponthoreau, leider ohne Bezug auf neuere Konzepte kollektiver Identität) und die Maastricht-Entscheidung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts (Julio Baquero Cruz, leider ohne Bezug auf die umfangreiche deutsche Fachdiskussion). Kapitel V handelt von Unionsbürgerschaft und der Politisierung der EU. Marie-José Garot hat gute Gründe für seine Schlussfolgerung, „European citizenship" sei 15 Jahre nach seiner Einführung weder wirklich europäisch noch „citizenship". Orsolya Farkas zeichnet den Wandel des freien Personenverkehrs innerhalb der EU von der Arbeitskräftemigration zu einem echten Bürgerrecht nach und Donatella Della Porta plädiert in ihren Überlegungen zu sozialen Bewegungen völlig zu Recht dafür, viele von ihnen nicht als Euroskeptiker, sondern als kritische Europäer zu verstehen.

Was nun die EWU anbelangt, so erinnert der Band fünfzehn Jahre nach dem Inkrafttreten von Maastricht an ihren langen Vorlauf (Francisco Torres; Pompeo Della Posta). Der notwendige Ausgleich unterschiedlicher politischer Interessen überstieg in diesem Fall bei weitem das europapolitisch Übliche, zum einen, weil mit der Geldpolitik eine nationalstaatliche Schlüsselkompetenz vergemeinschaftet werden sollte; zum anderen, weil die geldpolitischen Traditionen sehr unterschiedlich waren (Roberto Di Quirico). Katalysator der EWU war die deutsche Wiedervereinigung und der damit verbundene Wunsch vor allem Frankreichs, Deutschland noch enger europäisch einzubinden. Die Bundesregierung konnte den Preis für ihre Zustimmung zur EWU hoch ansetzen. Letztlich entsprachen die Unabhängigkeit der Europäischen Zentralbank (EZB) und deren Konzentration auf die Preisstabilität dem deutschen Modell (Jean-Marie Palayret, Stefania Baroncelli). Hinzu kam der von Deutschland eingeforderte Stabilitätspakt, der zwei der vier Konvergenzkriterien, die jeder Staat erfüllen muss, um der Währungsunion beitreten zu können, in die Zukunft verlängerte.

Die Geschichte von Maastricht und der EWU ist schon häufiger geschrieben worden. Die genannten Beiträge eignen sich aber gut als relativ knappe Einführung, wobei man sich eine stärkere und offenere Auseinandersetzung mit den ausführlichen Darstellungen zur Entstehung der Maastrichter Verträge

gewünscht hätte. Genannt seien nur Colette Mazzucelli (1997) und Kenneth Dyson / Kevin Featherstone (1999).

Daneben enthalten die Beiträge zur EWU eine Reihe von Thesen, die es verdienen, eingehender diskutiert zu werden. So argumentiert Stefania Baroncelli, der „institutionelle Schock", den die EWU mit den Prinzipien der Unabhängigkeit der EZB und der Konzentration auf die Preisstabilität in vielen Ländern ausgelöst habe, sei mittlerweile durch die Rechtsprechung des EuGH und durch einen vom Europäischen Parlament initiierten „strukturierten Dialog" mit der EZB abgemildert worden. Roberto die Quirico macht plausibel, dass andere geldpolitische Traditionen nicht deshalb einfach verschwunden sind, weil sich die EU-Mitgliedsländer – mit Ausnahme Großbritanniens – zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt auf das deutsche Modell geeinigt hätten. Er sieht im Gegenteil Anzeichen dafür, dass aktuell die französische „Währungskultur" wieder an Bedeutung gewinnt. Paul de Grauwe hält die EWU im Lichte der Theorie des optimalen Währungsraumes nach wie vor für „fragil". Erst eine echte politische Union würde ihr die notwendige Stabilität verleihen. Diese könne sich aber auf Grund des fehlenden Bewusstseins europäischer Zusammengehörigkeit absehbar nicht durchsetzen. Und Leila Simona Teilani betont, die EWU habe, wenngleich sie nicht an eine einheitliche europäische Wirtschaftspolitik geknüpft wurde, doch eine neoliberale Arbeitsmarktpolitik befördert: Im starren Rahmen der Konvergenzkriterien sei die Arbeitsmarktflexibilität die wichtigste Variable geworden.

All' diesen Überlegungen ist gemeinsam, dass sie die EWU „in Bewegung" sehen. Anders gesagt: Die Politik täte gut daran, die EWU nicht als feststehenden Erfolg zu begreifen, auch wenn die relative Stabilität des Euro in der gegenwärtigen Krise dieser Wahrnehmung wohl Vorschub leistet. Eine weitere Schlussfolgerung drängt sich auf: Hat Maastricht mit der EWU vielleicht eine so starke Schockwelle ausgelöst, dass der europäische Verfassungsvertrag einfach zu früh kam?

Damit ist die Frage der Legitimität und der Legitimation der EU angesprochen und zugleich die Schwäche des vorliegenden Bandes. Er möchte – ausweislich des etwas sperrigen Untertitels – zur Aufklärung der Hindernisse konstitutioneller Reform innerhalb der Verträge beitragen und – ausweislich des Klappentextes – untersuchen, inwiefern die „Europäische Union" mit dem Maastrichter Vertrag nach einer neuen Legitimität strebt. Dem geht die Einleitung von Carlo Spagnolo auf anregende Weise nach. Spagnolo fügt den bestehenden Deutungen der EU als Gemeinschaft „sui generis", als „Staatenverbund", als Verfassungsgemeinschaft oder als Konföderation die Deutung der EU als „Republik" hinzu. In dieser Deutung ist die historische Unterscheidung von Demokratie und Republik explizit enthalten. Demnach könnte die EU eine gemeinwohl-orientierte Republik sein und die Mitgliedstaaten weiterhin die Bürgen der Demokratie. Arbeitsprinzip der Republik sei die „passive Integration". Das birgt Diskussionsstoff – der aber in kaum einem Beitrag aufgegriffen wird. Der zentralen Frage: „Hat die EWU die

Legitimation der EU auf Dauer gestärkt oder geschwächt?“ wird nicht nachgegangen. Spannung und Kongruenz von Globalisierung und europäischer Integration bleiben unterbelichtet und eine Auseinandersetzung damit, ob bisherige Deutungen der Gegenwart der EU – und konkreter der EWU als Abweichung vom bisherigen Integrationspfad – gerecht werden, sucht man vergebens. Um nur drei Beispiele zu nennen: Weder John Gillinghams „European Integration, 1950-2003. Superstate or New Market Economy?” (2003), noch Andrew Moravcsik: „The Choice for Europe” (1998) oder die vielfältigen Überlegungen von Fritz Scharpf werden produktiv aufgegriffen. Außerdem verharren die Beiträge zu oft in der Beschreibung des Rechts und der Rechtsprechung ohne die Rechtswirklichkeit auszuleuchten und erst im letzten Beitrag stellt Della Porta explizit die zwar nicht mehr neue, aber nach wie vor offene Frage, was nach dem Ende des „permissiven Konsens“, der bis Maastricht galt, kommt. So bleibt ein zwiespältiger Eindruck: Einige gute Überblicksdarstellungen und anregende Thesen können nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass der Band seinen eigenen Ansprüchen nicht voll gerecht wird und bedeutende Teile der Forschung ausblendet.

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Clelia CARUSO, Jenny PLEINEN and Lutz RAPHAEL (eds.), ***Postwar Mediterranean Migration to Western Europe. Legal and Political Frameworks, Sociability and Memory Cultures***, Peter Lang, Frankfurt-am-Main, 2008, 261 p. – ISBN 978-3-631-58323-4 – 45,50 €.

Encompassing the period from the end of the Second World War until the 1990s, this collection of articles deals with the migrants from mainly Algeria, Italy and Yugoslavia towards Lorraine, Wallonia and, broadly, West Germany. It offers a rich analysis at various scales of the sociological issue of the inclusion or exclusion of these migrants in the spaces of arrival. Contrary to the general concept of integration, the concept of inclusion is defined as always being connected to a precise field of social life.

The frameworks produced by States first (first part of the book) define in advance the possibilities of inclusion and exclusion of migrants. The article of Jim Miller, who immersed himself in the archives of French ministries, presents the policies that aimed at improving the possibilities of inclusion for North-African migrants in France, in order to strengthen the French Union, a privileged way to build up again French power. The article shows the difficulties imposing these policies on the regional State services in Moselle, that were much more hesitant about the settlement of North-Africans in the area. The article of Karolina Novinšćak studies the cooperation of two States so as to frame Yugoslav migration towards West Germany from the 1960s onwards. Using evidence from West German federal archives and a secondary bibliography for the Yugoslav point of

view, the author shows that the shared interest of both States to promote temporary migration allowed only limited possibilities of inclusion in the reception society and favoured lasting ties with the society of origin. As far as the article of Jenny Pleinen is concerned, the author describes how foreigners were under close police surveillance in Belgium during the 1950s. She builds four case studies thanks to the archives of the *Police des étrangers* ("police of foreigners"), answerable to the ministry of Justice. Comparing these four cases, she shows that the cohabitation of a foreigner with a married woman, no matter whether Belgian or foreigner, homosexuality, as well as communist political activities were sufficient grounds for expulsion. These expulsions were carried out on a mere decision of the *Police des étrangers*.

Local actors complete and sometimes reorient the framework produced by States (second part of the book). The article of Sarah Vanessa Losego presents private social aid organizations supporting Algerian workers in Lorraine, whose archives the author has examined. These organizations were created by local political representatives, company directors of local iron and steel industries and even some Algerian workers: most of them had ties with Algeria. The associations provided workers with accommodation, food in case of necessity, employment, in order to maintain law and order, to stabilize manpower, but also, with the help of the ministry of the Interior, to gain the support of a population that was increasingly becoming a major stake in the war which was developing in Algeria. The article of Grazia Prontera explores the settlement and the development of an Italian community in Wolfsburg (Lower Saxony, West Germany), from the early 1960s. Using evidence from the archives of local newspapers, the author presents the actors who permitted this settlement: the Volkswagen company (that provided work, basic accommodation, cheap transportation to Italy), the mayor and local newspapers (that did their best to get this presence accepted by the local population). Presenting then the results of her interviews with migrants, the author shows what pushed some to return to Italy and what pushed others to remain in Wolfsburg. As far as the article of Manuela Martini is concerned, using statistical data from censuses and from the archives of the *Commissariat général du plan* and focusing more precisely on the case of the town of Champigny, east of Paris, she observes the variety of origins of workers on building sites. She however hardly manages to present the strategies of employers which explain this phenomenon. As far as the forms of socialization between migrants on building sites are concerned – which were to be the subject of the article –, they are not described.

Discourses on the past and commemorations also become a space of inclusion or exclusion for migrants as time has gone by since their arrival (third part of the book). The article of Lutz Raphael and Sarah Vanessa Losego is written on the basis of archives of two programmes of Radio Lorraine *Coeur d'Acier*, created by the French trade union CGT in 1979. The authors argue that the milestones in the workingclass' "collective memory" came to shape Italian migrants' individual memories. However the nature of this radio and the fact that the migrants interviewed during the programmes were trade-union activists relating their trade-

union experience explain a large part of the conclusions reached by the authors. Closing the book, the article of Clelia Caruso presents the emergence and the destiny of the commemorations of two figures within the Italian community of the town of Seraing near Liège in Belgium: a catholic missionary and a communist Resistance fighter during the Second World War. Based on evidence from the archives of the associations that organized these commemorations and from the archives of local newspapers as well as on information from books that were published about these personalities, the article depicts the tensions, sometimes the controversies surrounding them, the actors involved in these commemorations and underlines also the fact that the tribute paid to the second figure brings together Belgian as well as Italian people.

This book, though greatly enlightening, has a certain number of limits that must be underlined. First, instead of presenting the theory of transnational social fields in the introduction, which finds no empirical application in the book, the introduction should more usefully have justified the geographical scope of the study have presented the economic mechanisms that explain the considerable need for cheap unskilled labour in the great industrial area of North-Western Europe until 1973. Next, except a few articles (particularly that of Karolina Novinšćak), the historical perspective, i.e. the focus on evolutions and the sense of chronology, is often lacking. This is for example the case for the article of Jim Miller, whose work would have considerably gained in interest, if he had managed to show the change in the position of French ministries towards Algerian immigration from a relative openness to obstruction as the hopes of a French Union vanished. The lack of a general conclusion of the book comparing the different case studies in order to carry out a controlled generalization is also regrettable.

However, the article of Salvatore Palidda represents the main flaw in this book. It gives no primary source; footnotes quote secondary sources, however those are not intended to give evidence on precise points of the article, they rather take the form of large bibliographies about very vague themes alluded to in the article. Numbers without any source are legion. This article really takes the aspect of an essay, written from memory, from vague general knowledge and from the reading of daily newspapers: very vague anecdotes, clichés, militant stances not easily understandable and illogical lines are frequent.

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Mauve CARBONELL, *Des hommes à l'origine de l'Europe. Biographies des membres de la Haute Autorité de la CECA*, Publications de l'Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 2008, 283 p. – ISBN 978-2-85399-711-9 – 26,00 €.

The High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was the first supranational European administration and it has undoubtedly influenced the

European integration process. Since Dirk Spierenburg and Raymond Poidevin's *History of the High Authority* (1995), the institution and its history are well-known. Surprisingly, though, the individuals who worked in the High Authority, and who shaped it, have remained largely absent from historiography. Apart from vague and often stereotypical information, not much is known about the members of the High Authority – Jean Monnet excepted. Mauve Carbonell's book changes this. She has written a well-researched and source based collective biography of the members of the High Authority who headed the institution between 1952 and 1967. The book is skilfully constructed and explores chronologically, but in a comparative perspective, the individual biographies of High Authority members. This book is therefore one of the few studies that look beyond the European Union's "founding fathers" such as Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi. It introduces the reader to another group of individuals who had a significant impact on the European integration process.

The introductory chapter *L'Europe parfaite?* explores how the ECSC became perceived as an idealised European experience where dedicated staff, imbued by European spirit, worked for the European cause. By thoroughly studying the biographies of the High Authority members, Carbonell sets out to challenge the myths and stereotypes that surround the High Authority and its staff. One of the core questions of the book is: "how does one become European"? This implies that High Authority members had not been "Europeans" throughout their entire lives, something the official biographies of High Authority members often led to believe.

In the chapter *D'une guerre à l'autre*, Carbonell underlines the importance of World War I as a crucial experience for all future High Authority members. Whether they participated in the war as soldiers like Leon Daum or René Mayer or lost friends and relatives, the war altered their personal and financial situations and sometimes their ideological outlook. The inter-war period marked the beginning of their political activism, ranging from conservative youth movements and right-wing parties to labour organisations. As to their educational and professional backgrounds, by the early 1930s the High Authority members belonged to the elite of their chosen occupational area – be it trade unions, civil service, government or private business.

Especially revealing with regard to deconstructing the myth of the "perfect Europeans" is the chapter *Tous résistants?* which describes well the individual choices and constraints of High Authority members in the face of totalitarianism. Far from being all members of resistance movements, their reactions cover a wide range of possible responses, from collaboration to resistance. Only a minority of future High Authority members made a clear-cut decision against totalitarianism by going into exile (Pierre-Olivier Lapie, René Mayer and Paul Finet) or joining the resistance straight away (Jean Fohrmann and Piero Malvestiti); others served in their respective countries' armies and, in the case of Franz Etzel and Lapie, even faced each other directly on the battle-fields of World War II. Some became part of the National Socialist regime like Karl-Maria Hettlage who was a member of the

SS and a high official in Albert Speer's Ministry of Armaments and War Production, or collaborated with the German occupiers. With Johannes Linthorst Homan, Carbonell brings to light an interesting and little known episode of collaboration gone wrong. Under German occupation, Homan headed a movement of "national revolution" in the Netherlands, the *Nederlandse Unie*, but the movement was banned by the occupiers for not being sufficiently national socialist. The book then describes the future High Authority members' "wake up" moments towards the end of World War II. When it became evident that Germany would not win the war, some future High Authority members made an effort to end up on the "right side". Like Enzo Giacchero, some joined the resistance movement only at this point. Strikingly, all the Italian future High Authority members were founding members of the *Democrazia Cristiana*, the Christian democratic party that would dominate the political scene of post-war Italy. In parallel, the German members began to think about a democratic reconstruction of Germany and some became founding members of the Christlich Demokratische Union. With Christian democratic parties being the most active in promoting European integration, it is not surprising that a large number of Christian democrats ended up at the High Authority.

The immediate post-war years are explored in the chapter *Reconstruire*. After the war, all High Authority members became active in politics. They shared a certain optimism and ambition and many obtained leading posts in their countries' governments. When the ECSC was founded, some had, however, already passed the prime of their political careers. They were ready for a new challenge and the first attempts of uniting Europe were such a challenge.

The chapter *Les chemins de l'Europe* explores the future High Authority members' ideas and reflections on Europe and asks for their individual European "wake up" moments. With his commitment to Europe already during World War II, Mayer was one of the earliest to show an interest in European integration. A minority joined pro-European movements after the war, while others only came into contact with Europe during the Schuman-Plan negotiations. The chapter's sub-heading "the High Authority: coincidence, necessity or intention?" summarizes the different ways that brought the High Authority members to Luxembourg. First of all, choosing Luxembourg meant jeopardising their careers in the domestic context. A few opted for a post in the High Authority out of idealism, while for others it was a means to redirect and revive their careers. In spite of these heterogeneous motives and the different degree of interest in Europe, Carbonell argues that the members immediately embraced European integration and supranationality once at the High Authority. Therefore, the answer to the question Carbonell sets out at the beginning of her book is that members became European through working for Europe, applying the ECSC Treaty day after day and identifying with the institution they served.

Le visage de l'Europe, the face of this Europe at the High Authority was essentially a Christian democratic and an anti-communist one as Carbonell

demonstrates convincingly. A majority of High Authority members belonged or were close to Christian democratic parties. Christian-democracy was a unifying element between the members and ensured a certain "continuité idéologique de l'institution" (p.152). A shared anti-communism ensured, moreover, that the trade unionist members of the High Authority felt included in this ideological framework as well. Even though most of the six founding member states' governments were led by Christian democratic parties, Carbonell shows that despite the shared political background with ECSC member governments, the High Authority members could only take a limited influence on the European integration process. The limits of their influence became particularly evident in the period after Mayer had left the High Authority. It was after this president that the High Authority entered a period of crisis and decline which basically lasted until the merger of the High Authority with the Commissions of the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom in 1967, although the presidency of Dino Del Bo (1963-1967) somewhat improved the image of the High Authority. Carbonell underlines the unity of the college during these difficult times and the "family spirit" that developed among them. The High Authority members were linked by a European identity, she concludes. Through working for a European institution and interacting with each other, High Authority members – and their families – underwent European socialisation. Not surprisingly, this European spirit was most developed among those who remained in the High Authority for a long period of time. The founding years, which particularly embody the High Authority experience – or legend – did indeed seem to have the most impact on High Authority members. It was the period with the highest degree of cohesion among them.

The chapter *l'Europe… et après?* analyses the post-High Authority careers of the members. Private business, rather than national governments, was more eager to utilise the contacts and expertise of former High Authority members. The book points out an interesting pattern concerning the successes High Authority members had in reintegrating into domestic politics. Surprisingly, the Italian and French members had the most difficulties after leaving Luxembourg, while the German government seems to have been more willing to incorporate their "Europeans". This is contrary to what German members of the Commission of the European Economic Community (EEC) experienced later on and contrary to the experience of French high officials, both at the High Authority and the Commission, who were switching between appointments in Brussels, Luxembourg and Paris with ease.

It lies in the nature of prosopographical research that Carbonell encountered difficulties when researching some High Authority members' biographies. Roger Reynaud and Dirk Spierenburg largely had to be left out of the book as archival material was either lacking or not accessible. This is particularly regrettable in the case of Spierenburg, a major figure in the High Authority. All in all, this book is an important contribution to the historiography of the early phase of European integration. It sheds new light on the individuals involved in the European integration process and how they became European. For the most part, the High Authority members did not have exceptional lives or careers that predestined them

to become "perfect Europeans" but, and this is the much more convincing story, they were part of a generation which saw in European integration a precondition for the survival of their countries and the continent as a whole. The book also shows the power of European institutions for socialising individuals. At the same time, the study places these individuals and their actions in the larger context of post-war party politics and networks, which is important in order to understand their individual and collective room for manoeuvre. A collective biography of the members of the EEC Commission is still waiting to be written.

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François ROTH, *Robert Schuman. Du Lorrain des frontières au père de l'Europe*, Fayard, Paris 2008, 656 S. – ISBN 978-2-213-63759-4 – 31,40 €.

An Lebensbeschreibungen über Robert Schuman herrscht kein Mangel, wohl aber an Biographien, die wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen genügen. Auch das nun vorliegende Werk von François Roth kommt dieser Anforderung nur bedingt nach, wenngleich der emeritierte Professor aus Metz die Lebensstationen des Lothringers von der Kindheit in Luxemburg bis zum Ende der politischen Karriere in Paris sehr ausgewogen und nüchtern nachzeichnet.

Geboren 1886 als Sohn einer Luxemburgerin und eines Lothringers, wuchs Schuman wegen seiner deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit gewissermaßen mit drei Identitäten auf. Aufgrund der „intimité spirituelle très étroite" zu der sehr gläubigen Mutter (S.54), fühlte sich das Einzelkind, das 1890 den Vater verlor, früh zur katholischen Kirche hingezogen. Nach dem Tod der Mutter 1911, für Schuman ein „coup terrible du destin" (S.46), spielte der inzwischen promovierte Jurist kurzzeitig mit dem Gedanken, Priester zu werden. Zwar wandte er sich dann dem Anwaltsberuf zu, blieb aber „célibataire" (S.561) und verschrieb sich einer „vie d'une simplicité monacale" (S.153).

Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg optierte der selbsternannte „cosmopolite" (S.92) für Frankreich und begann eine politische Karriere, zunächst auf der lokalen Ebene in Metz, dann auch auf der nationalen Bühne in Paris. Überzeugt von der Notwendigkeit, die Partikularrechte seiner „petite patrie" Lothringen verteidigen zu müssen, engagierte sich der Deputierte der konservativ-katholischen „Entente Républicaine Démocratique" in der Assemblée nationale vornehmlich in religiösen, schulischen und sprachlichen Fragen. In außenpolitischen Angelegenheiten hielt sich Schuman hingegen auffällig zurück. Weder wirkte er bei jenen politischen Gruppen mit, die sich für die deutsch-französische Verständigung stark machten, noch bei denen, die die europäische Einigung auf ihre Fahnen schrieben. Von einem „projet européen" (S.484), so stellt Roth bündig fest, war bei dem „catholique avant tout" und „chrétien-social" (S.194) vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg nicht die Rede.

Nach der militärischen Niederlage Frankreichs stimmte Schuman 1940 für die Ermächtigung Pétains, weigerte sich aber, in die Vichy-Regierung einzutreten. Trotz Verfolgung und Deportation durch die Nationalsozialisten wurde ihm im Zuge der „Libération" der unberechtigte Vorwurf gemacht, ein Kollaborateur gewesen zu sein. Dank einer persönlichen Intervention de Gaulles erklärte ein Ehrengericht Schuman zum Sympathisanten der Résistance und öffnete ihm so das Tor zur Fortsetzung der politischen Laufbahn.

Nach den Neuwahlen zur Assemblée nationale schloss er sich 1945 dem neugegründeten „Mouvement républicain populaire" (MRP) an, wobei Roth mangels aussagekräftiger Dokumente kaum Erhellendes über das Parteimitglied und den Parlamentarier liefern kann. Auch Schumans kurze Amtszeiten als Finanzminister und als Ministerpräsident handelt er eher kursorisch ab, wohingegen das Wirken des Außenministers – der historischen Bedeutung gemäß – breit und ausführlich erörtert wird.

Als Schuman Mitte 1948 in den Quai d'Orsay einzog, hatte er zunächst das außenpolitische Erbe de Gaulles und Bidaults zu übernehmen: die Wiederherstellung des „rang international de la France" (S.345); nichts, so unterstreicht Roth, deutete damals auf seinen Aufstieg zum „Père de l'Europe" (S. 288). Zwar warnte Schuman in Bezug auf Deutschland vor der Wiederholung historischer Fehler, von einem Geist der Verständigung war gegenüber seinem deutschen Counterpart Konrad Adenauer aber lange Zeit nichts zu spüren. Erst der von Jean Monnet entwickelte Plan einer Vergemeinschaftung der westeuropäischen Montanindustrie ebnete den Weg zur deutsch-französischen Annäherung.

Für Schuman wie für Adenauer stellte die Montanunion ein multifunktionales Vehikel dar. Durch die gegenseitige Kontrolle über Kohle und Stahl diente sie dem Frieden, sie konnte Vorbildfunktion für die Integration weiterer Wirtschaftsgebiete, ja für eine politische Einigung gewinnen. Schuman unterstützte deshalb auch das Projekt der Europäischen Verteidigungsgemeinschaft und die Europäische Politische Gemeinschaft, ließ aber im Rahmen einer „double politique" stets eine Tür für die Sowjetunion offen (S.433).

Insgesamt fällt Roths Leistungsbilanz für den Außenminister durchwachsen aus. Als „un modèle et une référence" könne Schuman allenfalls wegen seiner politischen Methode dienen, „celle des petits pas, et la vision à long terme" (S. 566). Wirklich originell sei nur die Deutschlandpolitik gewesen: „une approche prudente, réaliste, progressive" (S.454). Dennoch seien die Beziehungen zu Adenauer häufig „âpres et tendues" gewesen (S.455). Wie vor ihm bereits Raymond Poidevin weist Roth dem Kanzler gar eine Mitschuld am Sturz des Ministers 1953 zu und begründet das mit seinen „rudes et impitoyables affrontements" in der Saarfrage (S.564). Historisch haltbar ist das nicht; weder Adenauer noch Schuman waren innenpolitisch fähig, in dieser „lancinante question" (S.434) über ihren Schatten zu springen.

Nach der Rückkehr de Gaulles an die Schalthebel der Macht 1958 geriet Schuman politisch mehr und mehr ins Abseits. Im Ausland mit hohen Ehrungen ausgezeichnet, wurde der „pèlerin de l'Europe“ (S.483) in Frankreich zum „homme du passé“ gestempelt (S.510). Gespeist wurde das Verdikt vor allem durch den Antagonismus zu de Gaulle in der Frage der europäischen Einigung. Während der General ganz auf die intergouvernementale Zusammenarbeit der Staaten setzte, blieb der ehemalige Außenminister dem Ziel einer supranationalen „communauté politique européenne“ verhaftet (S.490). Ins Fadenkreuz seiner Kritik geriet damit auch Adenauer, der sich offenbar von de Gaulle umgarnen ließ und den früheren Idealen untreu wurde. Als Schuman am 4. September 1963 vereinsamt starb, blieb Adenauer den Beisetzungsfeierlichkeiten bezeichnenderweise fern – aus Rücksicht auf de Gaulle, der eine Demonstration für den „Vater Europas“ befürchtete.

Man kann Roths Urteil nur zustimmen: Der Mythos der Freundschaft Schumans zu Adenauer entspricht ebenso wenig voll der Realität wie die Europa-Propaganda, die Schumans Bild als „guten“ Europäer verklärt. Schumans historische Größe lag darin, der Idee eines anderen zur Umsetzung verholfen zu haben. Inspiriert von Monnet, transformierte er unter dem Druck akuter außenpolitischer Probleme mit Adenauer europäische Ideale ins Reelle. Dass seine Bewunderer den „homme à la soutane invisible“ (S.307), wie Vincent Auriol ihn einmal gewiss nicht nur freundlich genannt hat, heute als „heiligmäßigen Christ“ (Karl Heinz Debus) verehren und mit Verve Schumans Seligsprechung betreiben, sieht Roth durchaus kritisch. Eindringlich warnt er davor, die beiden Mythen vom „Père de l'Europe“ und „saint en veston“ (S.558) zu vermengen, „tant l'engagement chrétien avait été le fil directeur de la vie de Robert Schuman et lui avait donné tout son sens“ (S.559).

Einer Life-and-letter-Biographie englischer Geschichtsschreibung nicht unähnlich, beruht Roths Werk ganz überwiegend auf der französisch-sprachigen Literatur und dem schriftlichen Nachlass von Schuman. In der ausführlichen Wiedergabe seiner Briefe liegt denn auch ihr eigentlicher Reiz, der jedoch durch den Verzicht auf einen Anmerkungsapparat und die Nichtberücksichtigung grundlegender deutsch-sprachiger Studien nicht unerheblich geschmälert wird.

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John KRIGE, ***American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe***, The MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 2006, 392 p. – ISBN 978-0262612258 – 23,00 $.

Charles Maier a montré que l'inégalité des ressources entre les Etats-Unis et l'Europe à la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale favorisa la création d'une «international structure analogous to empire. Hegemony was in the cards». Il n'y avait pas seulement une «imbalance in economic and military strength», mais aussi dans les capacités technologiques et scientifiques. Ceci constitue en résumé

l'hypothèse du livre de John Krige, Professeur Kranzberg à la School of History, Technology, and Society du Georgia Institute of Technology, mais surtout spécialiste connu de l'histoire du CERN et de l'ESA, Professeur Charles A. Lindbergh d'Histoire aérospatiale au National Air and Space Museum à Washington DC., editeur de *History and Technology*, et membre scientifique des divers comités de rédaction, notamment du *British Journal for the History of Science*, de *Isis* et *Minerva*. Krige s'intéresse tout particulièrement à la science et à la technologie en tant qu'instruments de *soft power*, et il a co-édité avec Kai-Henrik Barth l'œuvre pionnière dans ce secteur *Global Power Knowledge. Science and Technology in International Affairs*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006.

En employant dans *American Hegemony* des archives européennes ciblées (OTAN, Niels Bohr Institute, CERN, Centre des Archives contemporaines de Fontainebleau), à côté des différentes sources américaines (NARA, Library of Congress, Ford, Rockfeller, MIT, Center for History of Physics), Krige se demande aussi si n'importe quel lien technologique ou scientifique entre les Etats-Unis et l'Europe était en réalité «also part and parcel of an "international structure analogous to empire"», et encore, si ceux qui désiraient reconstruire et réhabiliter la science européenne n'étaient pas eux aussi engagés dans le dessin hégémonique américain. Krige affirme que «in science too an enfeebled Europe became enrolled in a hegemonic postwar American project – and tease out "the degree to which the US ascendancy allowed scope for European autonomy"» (p.2), en citant *Alliance and Autonomy* de Maier.

Récemment seulement les historiens de la science se sont penchés sur la place de la science dans la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis, et tout particulièrement sur la question de savoir comment les physiciens ont été enrôlés dans le «national security system». Si de telles études se sont limitées à la confrontation avec l'Union soviétique pendant la Guerre froide, en ne se préoccupant guère de l'Europe occidentale, les tentatives d'interconnecter science et politique étrangère des Etats-Unis, telle que celles, remarquables, entreprises par Ronald Doel,[3] n'arrivent pas de l'avis de Krige à mettre suffisamment en exergue combien l'«internationalisme scientifique» représente à la fois une excellence arme pour défendre les valeurs démocratiques contre l'autoritarisme (p.12) et un instrument de politique étrangère grâce auquel les Etats-Unis poursuivent leurs intérêts en tirant parti de l'immense déséquilibre technologique et scientifique en leur faveur. Moyennant cette «asymmetry of power», des fonctionnaires, des hommes de science, des fondations (à l'exemple des fondations Ford et Rockefeller analysées par Krige dans deux études de cas proposées en plus de ses analyses consacrées au Plan Marshall, au CERN, au Comité scientifique de l'OTAN et de la tentative de créer en son sein une *Operations Research*) cherchèrent «to reconfigure the European scientific landscape» et à réaliser une communauté atlantique en syntonie

3. R. DOEL, *Scientists as Policymakers, Advisors and Intelligence Agents: Linking Contemporary Diplomatici History with History of Contemporary Science*, in: T. SÖDERQVIST (ed.), *The Historiography of Contemporary Science and Technology*, Amsterdam, 1997.

avec les valeurs et les pratiques américaines. Le livre veut en fait analyser comment la science fut instrumentalisée en connexion avec la force politique, économique et militaire américaine «to shape the research agendas of the institutions, and the allegiances» des hommes de science européens dans les deux décennies qui suivirent la fin de la guerre (p.3).

De l'application à l'histoire de la science du concept de l'hégémonie américaine élaboré par les historiens diplomatiques et économiques, et de la science pure en tant que clé de voûte («key node») autour duquel celle-ci s'articulerait, Krige fait ressortir le concept de «coproduction of hegemony», c'est-à-dire la collaboration ou la «collusion» avec les élites locales. Cet «indirect imperialism of America» évoqué par Tony Smith[4] s'applique aussi, selon Krige, aux relations techno-scientifiques. Le point fort d'un tel concept est la sélection et l'adaptation des objectifs américains par les partenaires européens. Jonathan Zetlin l'a d'ailleurs remarqué dans l'introduction à son *Americanization, and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-war Europe and Japan* (Oxford, 2000). «Coproduction» est un mot familier aux historiens de la science, et Krige cite Sheila Jasanoff[5] et un concept proche de celui de l'hégémonie consensuelle («empire to arise by consent») de Maier,[6] tout comme il reprend John Lewis Gaddis[7] et Geir Lundestad auquel il reproche toutefois de miser trop sur le caractère de l'invitation[8] qui aurait risqué de diluer la notion même de hégémonie. En réalité, le concept de «coproduction of hegemony» dépasserait selon Krige celui de Maier car il se focaliserait sur la créativité de deux partenaires en considérant aussi la «relative plasticity» des décideurs américains face à des européens jouissant d'une marge de manœuvre qui leur permet de laisser leur empreinte sur le système hégémonique lui-même (p.6).

La «coproduced hegemony» dénouerait la complexité des mécanismes qui ont amené des européens influents à accepter, en les modifiant selon les différentes situations locales, le but hégémonique américain (p.8). Les protagonistes des *case studies* en seraient la preuve: le président du Joint Research and Development Board Karl Compton, Warren Weaver, directeur des Sciences naturelles à la Rockfeller anticipaient le Plan Marshall avec leurs aides fournies au CNRS français; Shepard Stone de la Fondation Ford et Isidor I. Rabi, prix Nodel de la Columbia, auraient fait autant en faveur du CERN et de l'Institut Niels Bohr; enfin, en ce qui concerne l'OTAN, James Killian a fourni «trained manpower for

4. T. SMITH, *Making the World Safe for Democracy in the American Century*, in: *Diplomatic History*, 2(1999).
5. S. JASANOFF, *States of Knwoledge: The Co-Production of Science and the Social Order*, Routledge, London, 2004.
6. C. MAIER, *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987.
7. J.L. GADDIS, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2004.
8. G. LUNDESTAD, *Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952*, in: *Journal of Peace Research*, 3(1986); Idem., *Empire by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.

freedom» et Philip Morse promu les «Operations Research». Ils étaient libéraux, internationalistes, profondément engagés pour l'Europe et en faveur du respect de sa culture et ses traditions, mais aussi «quintessentially American»: anticommunistes, mais non populistes; nationalistes, mais non chauvins; fermement convaincus du rôle des Etats-Unis dans la défense du monde libre et de ses valeurs; enfin déterminés à mettre la science au service de leurs idéaux (pp. 257-258). En fait, et ceci est à nos yeux le point le plus fort du livre de Krige, tous ces Americans agissaient «as formal or informal representatives of their government». S'ils n'étaient pas des employés du Département d'Etat ou de la CIA, ils partageaient néanmoins les valeurs des «liberal internationalist wings» de ces organismes et «widely shared, though not universal, conception at home of America's role and responsibilities in the postwar world order» (p.258). Leurs interlocuteurs européens, même s'il ne s'agissait que d'une poignée d'hommes, représentait une fraction significative de la «transnational elite» dont les réseaux formaient le «backbone of the hegemonic project» (p.259).

En proposant une analyse interconnectée entre histoire diplomatique et histoire de la science qui s'intéresse notamment aux premières étapes de la structuration de l'Europe occidentale sous l'emprise des choix américains dictés par le début de la Guerre Froide, Krige participe à une réflexion déjà entamée sur la double voie entre les expériences intergouvernementales et les réalisations intégrationnistes. D'un autre côté, il ouvre la piste à une approche encore nouvelle pour l'histoire de la construction européenne: l'interconnexion entre l'histoire de la politique étrangère et l'histoire de la science et de la technologie, du croisement des sources en provenance de différents pays et de différentes institutions et enfin, du rôle des réseaux et de leurs animateurs. D'autres historiens ont d'ailleurs entamé de labourer ce champ: Lorenza Sebesta[9] y travaille depuis un certain temps déjà; plus récemment quelques contributions parues dans *European Community, Atlantic Community?*[10] et dans le *Journal of European Integration History*[11] se sont également attelées à la tâche. Combien une approche pareille peut être féconde pour les réflexions sur l'historiographie de la construction européenne ressort des premiers travaux d'historiens de la technologie Johan Schot,[12] Frank Schipper et

9. L. SEBESTA, *Alleati competitivi. Origini e sviluppo della cooperazione spaziale fra Europa e Stati Uniti (1957-73)*, Laterza, Bari-Roma, 2003.
10. V. AUBOURG, G. BOSSUAT, G. SCOTT-SMITH (eds.), *European Community, Atlantic Community?*, Soleb, Paris, 2008.
11. Cf. notamment le numéro thématique dédié aux coopérations européennes pour la recherche scientifique et technique, 2(2006), les articles de F. LYNCH, L.J. LEWIS, *Technological Non-Co-Operation; Britain and Airbus (1965-69)*, in : *Journal of European Integration History*, 1(2006) et H. ZIMMERMAN, *Western Europe and American Challenge: Conflict and Cooperation in Technological and Monetary Policy (1965-73)*, in: Ibid., 2(2000).
12. J. SCHOT, *Transnational Infrastructures and the Origins of European Integration*, in: A. BADENOCH, A. FICKERS (ed.), *Europe Materializing? Transnational Infrastructures and the Project of Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, Houndsmill, à paraître 2009.

Erik van der Vleuten.[13] En analysant dans la longue durée le développement et la gouvernance des infrastructures européennes, ils se sont aperçus que le processus de construction européenne a commencé bien avant l'après-Deuxième Guerre mondiale et qu'il s'agit d'un procès fragmenté au sein duquel bien d'autres acteurs transnationaux ont agi à côté voire au-delà des Communautés. De quoi développer et passer au crible des analyses croisées entre différentes branches de l'histoire dont *American Hegemony* est une étape précieuse.

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Gabriele CLEMENS (ed.), Die Türkei und Europa (Studien zur Neueren Europäischen Geschichte 1), LIT Verlag, Hamburg, 2007, XIX and 279 p. – ISBN 978-3-8258-0782-5 – 26,15 €.

Negotiations on the entry of Turkey into the European Union have reached an impasse. The governments of many member nations clearly fear that Turkish entry or even a clear acknowledgement of such a goal for negotiations could further intensify the already widespread Euro-phobia of their voters. In such a situation, it would be helpful to become acquainted with the historical background of the project for Turkish entry to the EU. This volume of essays edited by Hamburg historian of Europe Gabriele Clemens provides the necessary information to do so.

First of all, the contributions to this volume make clear that the culturally-based thesis of an insurmountable gulf between Turkey and Europe, a thesis that opponents of Turkey's entry like to bring forward, is based on a remarkable ignorance of historical connections. The ancient historian Jürgen Deininger notes that the focus on the free individual, which is usually regarded as marking the beginning of European civilization, first appeared in history in the cities of the western Anatolian coast before reaching the Greek mainland. Likewise, Asia Minor played an important role in the spread of Christianity and remained under Eastern Roman/Byzantine rule until the eleventh century. Rome, Byzantium, and traces of early Christianity live on in Turkey today. The early-modern historian Wolfgang Burgdorf makes clear that prestigious representatives of the Enlightenment regarded the Ottoman Empire as part of Europe. The cultural exchange between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europeans was intensive. As part of the "Tanzimat" Reforms, fundamental rights such as security of life and property as well as equality before the law were guaranteed by the state from 1839 onward, that is, earlier than in many other states that would later automatically be regarded as membership candidates for the European Communities. The political scientist Dietrich Jung characterizes the "Tanzimat" Reforms as modernization

13. F. SCHIPPER, E. van der VLEUTEN, *Trans-European network development and governance in historical perspective*, in: *Networks Industries Quaterly*, 3(2008).

under authoritarian auspices, which brought forth a liberal as well as a subsequent national movement. The emergence of modern Turkey could thus be read as a variant of European state formation. The art historian Burcu Dogramaci illustrates the conscious turn of the young Turkish Republic under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to Western modernity with the rebuilding and expansion of the new capital Ankara into a modern European metropolis.

On the other hand, numerous contributions to the volume note that the association of Turkey with the EEC, requested by the Menderes government in 1959 and finalized in 1963, was clearly linked with the prospect of future membership. Based on her dissertation on the association agreement with Greece and Turkey,[14] Sena Ceylanoglu demonstrates that the European identity of Turkey was explicitly emphasized in negotiations. Turkey's inclusion in Europe was highlighted by the European Commission and also by the West German government. For the Christian Democrats of that era, with Konrad Adenauer at their head, the full membership of Turkey played an important role in integration policy. At the signing of the association agreement in Ankara, Commission president Walter Hallstein spoke of an "essential relationship" of the Turkish reforms "with the most modern European development: European unity". Gabriele Clemens reports that Turkey was portrayed as "Europe beyond the Bosporus" in a documentary film sponsored by the Press and Information Office of the European Commission.

We learn little from this volume about the motives behind the Turkish government's application for association or about the internal Turkish discussion of the membership project. Harun Gümrükçü points only to the general Western orientation of Turkish policy during the Cold War, and Sena Ceylanoglu cites the rivalry with Greece, which had submitted its own application for association shortly before the Turkish one. Further research on the Turkish side is needed here. An especially important topic is how the entry project was connected to the process of overcoming the gulf between modern elites and Turkish society. A fundamental contribution to the social history of modern Turkey could be made by examination of that conflict-laden development.

Altogether, this volume offers an impressive refutation of the thesis expressed by the former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing that acceptance of Turkey into the EU would mean the end of the Europe dreamed of by the founders of the European Communities. On the contrary, it becomes clear that those leading the EU today would be very remiss if they no longer regarded the entry of Turkey into Europe as one of their tasks.

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14. S. CEYLANOGLU, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft, Griechenland und die Türkei. Die Assoziationsabkommen im Vergleich (1959-1963)*, Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2004.

Verena SCHÖBERL, *'Es gibt ein großes und herrliches Land, das sich selbst nicht kennt… es heißt Europa.' Die Diskussion um die Paneuropaidee in Deutschland, Frankreich und Großbritannien 1922-1933*, LIT Verlag, Berlin, 2008, 404 S. – ISBN 978-3-8258-4404-4 – 34,90 €.

This book, based on Verena Schöberl's PhD dissertation, is an account of the reception of the idea of 'Paneuropa' in Germany, France and Britain. The study is based on publications by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the founder of Paneuropa, articles in newspapers and magazines, parliamentary debates and documents from the archives of the German, French and British foreign ministries. The description of the discussion is divided into three parts, treating the years 1922-1926, 1926-1930 and 1930-1933 as separate periods. The first part largely concerns the discussion in Germany, the second part is the most extensive comparison between the three countries, while in the third part Schöberl argues that the debate around Paneuropa came to an end.

Each chronological section deals with specific themes. The first analyses the relationship between Paneuropa and competing (German) ideas for Europe such as 'Abendland', 'Mitteleuropa', and Austro-German 'Anschluss'. This part is heavily concentrated on the debates in Germany, which follows from the nature of most of the topics treated.

The second and largest section starts with an overview of the comments and criticisms levelled at Coudenhove personally and at the membership of Paneuropa. Schöberl comes to the conclusion that the pliability of Coudenhove and the heterogeneity of the Paneuropean idea had an adverse effect on Paneuropa, and played into the hands of its critics. Schöberl moves on to examine the debate on what constituted 'Europe'. She does this by addressing some of the big European themes of the day: the crisis of European civilisation; the question of whether Paneuropa should be achieved through political or economic cooperation; Paneuropa's geographic extent (to include Britain and Russia); the role of Germany and France and the influence of the Locarno agreement and the Briand plan. Schöberl concludes this subsection by arguing that while after Locarno the Paneuropean idea made great strides propagandistically, it failed to take root intellectually. The failure of the Briand plan brought Paneuropa down further.

The overview of Paneuropean developments in other countries adds some context. At the same time, it is striking that – to take a single example – for Belgium no reference is made to Geneviève Duchenne's book, *Esquisses d'une Europe nouvelle* or that in the paragraphs on the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries and their neutral status no mention of the Oslo agreements (1930) is made.

A separate section is reserved for the relation between Paneuropa and the nation and national sovereignty. Schöberl argues that at the time, the concept of multiple identities was not generally understood. She comes to the conclusion that the national question played an enormous role in the discussion of the Paneuropean idea. For Germany the critical point was the revision of the Versailles Treaty, for

Britain the touchtone was its Empire. For France however, Schöberl claims that 'die innere Konsolidierung des Landes und die Errichtung eines eigenen Empire' were important points of discussion.

The last subsection addresses the question of Paneuropa and the world. Examining the relationship with the League of Nations, Schöberl shows that Coudenhove's plan for reform of the League had an adverse effect on Paneuropa, confirming its image as competition for the League. The two other themes treated here – fear of intercontinental war and the relation with the US – confirm that the discussion of Paneuropa's 'foreign relations' did not further the Paneuropean cause.

The last part of the book deals with the years 1930-1933 in a chapter called 'A quick end'. While the discussion about Paneuropa undoubtedly diminished in this period, according just nine pages to these years might be a little too quick. An epilogue regarding the developments (or lack thereof) in the years after 1933, when Paneuropa continued to exist, would have been interesting. It is a pity that again little reference is made to economics; the Paneuropean economic programme for example, launched in 1933, goes unrecorded in Schöberl's study.

In her conclusion Schöberl shows that in all three countries the debate on Paneuropa crossed social and political boundaries. The reaction of politicians in France and Germany was quite similar. The political extremes rejected Paneuropa. Socialists and left liberals were quite positive; the further to the right of the political spectrum, the more emphasis there was on the national question and less enthusiasm for Paneuropa. Some important economic players were quite positive, but in these circles in Germany, the idea of Paneuropa faced serious competition from the idea of Mitteleuropa. The discussion in Britain was far less widespread than in Germany and France and it depended almost solely on a handful of individuals.

Schöberl goes on to explain why the idea of Paneuropa did not catch on among the general public. She points out that Coudenhove promised too much. This made his ideas overly broad, which in combination with trying to be non-partisan, made Paneuropa vulnerable to attack from all sides. His financial dependency on conservative sponsors lost him support from the left. In addition, Coudenhove's social elitism, which was directly reflected in Paneuropa, was anachronistic in an age of mass movements. As a result of these factors, Coudenhove's propaganda policy, appealing to public opinion to force governments into a Pro-European mould, failed. While he succeeded in starting the discussion on Paneuropa, the idea of Paneuropa was too heterogeneous and the primacy of the nation too strong. As a result, governments felt little or no pressure to adopt pro-European measures.

It is unfortunate that Schöberl treats Europe essentially politically and does not fully engage with economic conceptions of Europe. While the relation between Paneuropa and the Zollverein as a model is examined extensively, contemporary (French) ideas about cartels, for example those by the chairman of the French Paneuropa branch, Louis Loucheur, are left aside almost entirely.

Like Coudenhove himself – who used the terms '(con)federation', 'union' or 'United States of Europe' rather indiscriminately – and perhaps as a result of this, Schöberl is not very rigorous in her terminology. She acknowledges that while many people subscribed to 'Europe', they did not necessarily support Paneuropa. However, she does not consistently make this distinction in discussing individuals.

For her research Schöberl examined an impressive number of journals. However, to properly value this work a more detailed explanation of the choice of the journals in combination with some statistical data would have been helpful.

Schöberl suggests that during the entire period under consideration, the reception of Paneuropa was most vigorous and profound in Germany- and her book's main strength lies in its treatment of the German case based on German sources and literature. Schöberl is less persuasive in her examination of the discussions about Paneuropa in the French and British context. A genuinely transnational history of the Paneuropean debate in these countries therefore remains to be written.

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Peter KRÜGER, ***Das unberechenbare Europa. Epochen des Integrationsprozesses vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Europäischen Union***, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 2006, 390 S. – ISBN 978-3-17-016586-1 – 29,80 €.

There are not so many books on European integration that cover such a long period starting with the 18th century and that nonetheless provide the reader with a detailed history of major political decisions, a lot of unusual and stimulating interpretations and explanations. Peter Krüger, professor emeritus at the University of Marburg, has written such a book. Based, of course, above all on the relevant literature, but sometimes on published and unpublished sources too, Krüger analyses the process of European integration over more than two centuries. He takes a positive view of European integration on the whole, but shows undisguised sympathy with the nations states as (most) important actors.

Krüger distinguishes two major phases on the long way to the European Union of nowadays: The first one, "integration before integration", starts with the era of the Enlightenment, that helped to establish a "new European space of communication" (p.19). The next chapters deal with the failure of Napoleon's hegemonic attempt to unite Europe, with the treaties and the establishment of constitutional principles that followed, and with the effects of free trade on the integration of the European economies. The "Great War" strengthened the forces of disintegration, and even the partly very sincere and promising projects and plans of the interwar period – for example the International Steel Cartel in the economic

and the Briand Plan in the political field – failed in the end. "Integration", seen in this broader sense, nevertheless was something "fundamental" to European history.

The various European initiatives, movements and pressure groups of the post World War II-period only helped to prepare the ground for the Schuman Plan, in Krüger's words the starting point of "*real*" European integration, characterized by willful political decisions and permanent – at least ideally – supranational institutions. The "rest" of the book, about 200 pages, is devoted to the description and investigation of the ups and downs of the integration process up to the – still unresolved – problem of a European constitution. Its focus, however, is on the 1950s and 1960s and on the politics of the German and the French governments. This may be seen as a reflection of the important role these countries played during this period. As far as the future of "Europe" is concerned, Krüger stresses the importance of "efficiency" and "variety" but rejects a "streamlined" and "functioning" European Union – and, by the way, the necessity of the fashionable search for some kind of "European identity" to put the integration process on a more stable basis, too.

Krüger's book is a substantial contribution to our understanding of the historical roots and the numerous problems of European integration. His findings especially concerning the "integration before integration"-period and his broad understanding of the integration process including also the "examination of opportunities, the collection of experiences and the discussion of ways and means" of co-operation (p.164) help to avoid to focus on the "successful" European initiatives alone. And it may serve as stimulus to reconsider the foundations, the various manifestations, and the perspectives of European integration.

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Sara BANCHI, ***Le Nazioni Unite alla soglia degli anni '70: la sfida della cooperazione allo sviluppo*** – Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa (Naples) – Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane
supervisor: Antonio Varsori, University of Padua
jury: Carla Meneguzzi Rostagni, University of Padua; Elena Aga Rossi, Scuola Superiore di Pubblica Amministrazione; Agostino Ziino, University of Rome Tor Vergata
date of the exam: 23/06/2008
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In the thesis "The United Nations at the threshold of the 1970s: the development cooperation challenge" the UN is chosen as a privileged point of observation to analyse international economic and social cooperation. Official UN documents naturally tend to focus on achievements and on agreements reached. Meanwhile, national records reflect the real position of governments and show the existence of different opinions and points of view. Hence, only by considering these two sides of the same coin, can we fully understand all aspects characterising cooperation in a multilateral context.

The thesis is centred on an analysis of the documents produced by the preparatory committee for the Second Development Decade (1968-1970), which worked towards creating the first international strategy of action against underdevelopment. In order to establish a framework that allows for a better understanding of how and why agreements were reached or failed to come about, the initial chapters of the thesis focus on the UN system, Economic and Social Council activities and the evolution of cooperation theories. As the UN is mainly a

forum for intergovernmental debate, the positions of member states involved are analysed in a long term perspective. The last chapter is dedicated to UNICEF which represents a small-scale model of the entire organisation and provides us with some insight into the complexity of the system.

The thesis shows that the possibility of influencing decisions of the UN General Assembly, mainly constituted of developing countries, depended on member state commitment in the field of economic and social cooperation. The United States did not seize the important opportunity to untie aid from Cold War dynamics and, thus, lost the leadership in the UN.

This finding invited the evaluation of the international role of the European Economic Community. Those years had been fundamental in the definition of Community cooperation policies, the first international community to implement a non reciprocal, generalised system of preferences for industrial products. A progressive harmonisation and coordination of national and Community policies for development became necessary, as member states still managed financial and technical aspects of cooperation while the Community managed trade policy.

Therefore, this thesis addresses not only a central issue in the North-South confrontation, but also a fundamental aspect in the definition of national foreign policies and of East-West relations.

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Cristina BLANCO SÍO-LÓPEZ, ***The Illusion of Neutral Time: Myths and Perceptions of the Eastward Enlargement of the European Union, 1990-2004*** **–** European University Institute (EUI), Florence
supervisor: Pascaline Winand, EUI and Monash European and EU Centre, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia
jury: Kiran Patel, EUI; Ariane Landuyt, University of Siena; Mercedes Samaniego Boneu, University of Salamanca
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Whenever I had access to EU documents from the 1990s concerning Eastward Enlargement, I could always observe a pronounced emphasis on "making history". Such perspective highlighted the apparently special historical implications of the end of the Cold War and its "inherent" possibility of reconciling East and West to finally make "European politics match with European geography" through the "Return to Europe" of the Central and Eastern European countries. This was a discourse which concerned the new definition of a European identity, a narrative that aimed at giving new momentum to the creation of a European political community and at constituting a new guiding myth for European integration in a time of radical change.

The main objective of my thesis is to study, by means of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the induction of historical transition-type time perceptions and turning points contextual expectations by institutional actors to implement long-term political and economic projects through internal and external communicative actions. The thesis presents two main sections: The first section analyses the conceptual tools of the EU's institutional communication strategy on Enlargement during the decade of the 1990s, focusing on two main myths created during this period: The "Return to Europe" slogan in the first conceptualisations of the Eastward Enlargement of the EU (elaborated both by the EU institutions and the candidate countries' new elites) and the arguments in favour of the need to configure a common European identity and citizenship. The second section aims to determine to what extent Germany, chosen as the image in the mirror for the mentioned EU conceptual tools, reacted against or accepted the EU communication and discursive guidelines during the 1990s. This is analysed through two main perceptions: German perceptions of the use of the "Return to Europe" slogan in the prospects of Eastward Enlargement of the EU and their reflection upon the meanings and potential of an inclusive European identity in a "reunified" Europe.

Last but not least, my objective was to shed light on the influence of individual and collective time perceptions in policy decision-making at the EU level and in the design of EU communication strategies focused on the generation of a consensus among European citizens in the specific case of the Eastward Enlargement project.

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Brigitte LEUCHT, ***Transatlantic policy networks and the formation of core Europe*** – University of Portsmouth
supervisor: Wolfram Kaiser, University of Portsmouth
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The doctoral thesis is an original study assessing the role of transatlantic policy networks in the formation of core Europe at the Schuman Plan conference based on extensive archival research in governmental records and private papers in twelve archives in five countries. Informed by the innovative combination of the concepts and methodological tools of 'networks' and 'cultural transfer', the thesis sheds new light on how the process of European integration was triggered after 1945. The thesis reconceptualizes the negotiations on the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community in a long-term historical perspective as the outcome of the co-operation of transatlantic policy networks reflecting the interaction of American and European ideas, politico-legal concepts and preferences. It thus makes a significant contribution to overcoming the limits of the traditional

diplomatic history approach to inter-state bargaining of 'national interests' in the very conventional historiography of the present-day European Union (EU).

Against the backdrop of Franco-German rapprochement and the emerging Cold War, transatlantic policy networks of a variety of academic and other experts, civil servants and state and non-state actors, assumed a vital function in determining the negotiation objectives and tactics of various stakeholders at the Schuman Plan conference, 1950-51. Mediating between American and European ideas and politico-legal concepts, these networks crucially contributed to shaping the first supranational European institutional framework and anti-trust law. The institutions that transatlantic policy networks helped to establish are the precursors of the institutions of the present-day EU. The anti-trust provisions, in turn, provided one important model for the competition rules of the European Economic Community, which ultimately played a crucial role in the European integration process and in the construction of a common market. Thus, transatlantic policy networks helped to create important path dependencies for the process of European integration with crucial long-term effects.

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Katja SEIDEL, ***Administering Europe. Community officials and the bureaucratic integration of Europe (1952-1967)*** – University of Portsmouth
supervisor: Wolfram Kaiser, University of Portsmouth
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This thesis makes a significant contribution to the historiography of the European integration process by combining the study of the origins of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Commission of the European Economic Community with an analysis of the biographies and careers of European civil servants. The study is based on extensive archival research in ten archives in seven countries and on semi-structured interviews with former officials of the High Authority and the Commission.

The thesis covers three main themes. It firstly sheds new light on how the European administrations emerged and which structures, staff recruitment mechanisms and working methods they adopted. The recruitment patterns in particular invite the analysis of the role of external influences of member state governments and interest groups on the European administrations which could undermine their independence. The thesis thus unfolds the conflicts and difficulties faced by the High Authority and the Commission and their officials. It reveals that many decisions concerning the administrations and staff recruitment were guided not by considerations of practicality and pragmatism but by the aim of gaining legitimacy for the supranational administrations. Secondly, the study examines the

biographical background of the first European high officials. Here, the concept of generations helps to highlight and put into perspective similarities and differences between officials and contributes to explaining why these individuals chose to invest their careers in the European integration process. The thesis also studies socialisation mechanisms within the administrations which facilitated a European identity formation among the civil servants. By focusing on administrative cultures that emerged in the Commission, the third theme combines the study of administrative structures with that of individuals. The thesis examines the examples of the common agricultural policy and competition policy and shows how administrative cultures and actor socialisation can impact on preference formation and ultimately influence the shape of Community policies. It thus demonstrates that analysing administrative cultures and socialisation processes are crucial for understanding Community policies.

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Nils Christian WENKEL, ***Auf der Suche nach einem anderen Deutschland. Die Beziehungen Frankreichs zur DDR im Spannungsfeld von Perzeption und Diplomatie / A la recherche d'une autre Allemagne. Les relations de la France avec la RDA entre représentations et diplomatie*** – Institut d'études politiques de Paris / Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (co-tutelle)
supervisor: Horst Möller, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; Maurice Vaïsse, Institut d'études politiques de Paris
jury: Etienne François, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne; Joëlle Timsit, ministre plénipotentiaire, ancienne ambassadrice en RDA; Andreas Wirsching, Universität Augsburg
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Les rapports entre la France et la RDA ont été particulièrement intenses si on les compare avec ceux qui ont pu exister entre d'autres Etats occidentaux et la RDA. La thèse s'interroge sur l'intérêt français pour le deuxième Etat allemand, en retraçant la genèse des relations franco-*est*allemandes sur la base d'un vaste dépouillement d'archives françaises. Elle part à la fois d'une analyse des origines historiques d'une perception française de l'Allemagne qui faisait de la RDA cette «autre Allemagne», une meilleure Allemagne par rapport à la République fédérale et d'une étude du principal acteur dans les relations avec la RDA, l'association des Echanges Franco-Allemands. L'importance de ce réseau a été d'autant plus grande, que ces relations se sont développées dans presque tous les domaines à partir des contacts privés: dans le domaine économique, ceux-ci ont été établis à la foire de Leipzig, dans le domaine culturel, le Théâtre des Nations à Paris fournissait le cadre pour une amorce de relations. Dans le domaine politique, les premiers contacts ont été établis par des parlementaires en quête d'un rapprochement Est-Ouest.

Mais contrairement aux relations économiques et culturelles, il n'y a jamais eu de vraies relations politiques. La thèse démontre en effet que l'ouverture de relations diplomatiques est restée sans effet sur l'évolution des relations franco-*est*allemandes en général, puisque la France n'a jamais admis la division de l'Allemagne. Et la continuité frappante de la politique étrangère française des années 1950 aux années 1980 s'explique à cet égard en bonne partie par la conception française de l'Europe. Du fait de son double appartenance à l'Allemagne et à l'Europe de l'Est, les relations avec la RDA se situaient pour la diplomatie française au croisement de la guerre froide et de l'intégration européenne (qui ne se limite pas a priori à la partie occidentale de l'Allemagne). Il en résulte leur caractère fortement contradictoire, mais elles servent également d'excellent objet d'étude pour le rapport entre la guerre froide et l'intégration européenne.

4th RICHIE conference: "National cultures and European common identity: A challenge for the European union" (11-13 December 2008)

Marie Julie CHENARD and Marloes BEERS

In the middle of December, the European identity was focus of discussion during the 4th international RICHIE conference in the Paris region. The event was organised by the international research network of young historians of European integration (RICHIE) in cooperation with the research centres CICC (Université de Cergy-Pontoise) and UMR IRICE (Paris I - Paris IV), and the German historical institute in Paris. The papers had been studied and selected by a scientific committee including well established professors of different European universities. Young researchers, members of the scientific committee and other interested scholars came together during three days to tackle questions on the European identity, especially the relation of a European public space to a greater sense of common identity.

The topic of identity and European conscience has often been approached by historians from the angle of civilisation, historical heritage and shared culture. Since 1993 the Pierre Renouvin institute (University Paris 1), the network of European historians «Les chemins et les temps de l'Europe» and the Europe liaison committee of historians have developed several research tracks (with conferences organised in Salamanca, 1997 and Paris, 1999). The RICHIE conference followed in the footsteps in this line of research while focusing on the theme of the European public space.

In the morning of 11 December, the participants gathered at the German historical institute Paris where a key-note speech was delivered by Krysztof Pomian, scientific director of the Museum of Europe in Brussels. Beginning in ancient Greece he gave a historical perspective on the European identity and thereby breached on different themes in the field of European identity while giving a historical perspective on the European identity, beginning in ancient Greece. In the afternoon, the first session took place at the University of Cergy-Pontoise, after the opening address of professor Gérard Bossuat. The European identity, he said, is difficult to define. Only few are capable of translating into words the meaning of being European. Since 1950 a "new" common identity is continuously in formation. It requires a redefinition of our relations with cultural values which however are often dominantly national. Bossuat distinguished fundamental aspects of this identity and several of its current representations, stimulating debates throughout the conference.

During the first session six papers focused on the nature of the common identity. Iris Glockner approached the subject through an analysis of the fault-line

of exclusive versus compatible identities by using cultural and political identity approaches. Krzysztof Iszkowski elaborated on the cultural and political sides of the development of a European identity. Political integration would have more impact on the emergence of this identity than the creation of symbols. Political aspects were also discussed by Sara Lamberti who has undertaken research on the common European position at the CSCE conference. This coordinated European position possibly served as advantageous means to West-German foreign policy. In his paper on the development of European monetary politics, Frédéric Clavert concluded that the emphasis on identity aspects have been abandoned to the benefit of a more technical bankers' vision. The European identity in foreign policy towards the Maghreb region was the subject of the paper of Houda Ben Hamouda. She investigated the role of the European identity in these politics and if this identity was a pragmatic, artificial construction or if it had a more ideological basis. The last paper focused on the Baltic states. Philippe Perchoc analysed the development of a European common identity in these states whose history "has always been a history of frontiers".

In the morning of 12 December, the participants discussed the role of the European institutions in the formation of a common identity. David Trefas opened the session with an analysis in six European media arenas focussing on national newspapers. Trefas findings suggested that European identity references replace those to the Cold War bloc formation. National references however still dominate the European media. Oriane Calligaro investigated the EU actions in the field of heritage. She argued that the European Parliament played a leading role. The EU action in the realm of 'identity politics' are of incremental rather than intentional dimension. Moreover, Calligaro found that within the EU institutions the concept of European heritage is neither centralised nor monolithic and possibly even contradictory. Valentina Vardabasso's paper dealt with the first European Conference of Culture in Lausanne, December 1949. She asserted that the originality of the conference lay in its capacity to bring together intellectuals. The conference highlighted the intellectuals' responsibility to promote the cultural dimension in the construction of Europe. Julien Gueslin concentrated on the common information politics in the 1960s. In France, these politics would have been less effective than in Germany and Italy because of a lack of cooperation of the French administration. Muriel Bourdon analysed the efforts of the Commission to promote the formation of a European identity at the universities from the 1960s onwards. Her research focused on the developments at the Grenoble University of social sciences (renamed in 1991 as the University Pierre Mendès France). The session concluded with Emma de Angelis' analysis of the emergence of a coherent historical narrative of Europe within the European Parliament aimed at the construction of a collective European identity.

The third session focussed on the symbols of the common identity. Daniel Habit selected the three examples of Patras, Sibiu and Luxemburg in 2006/7 to examine the implementation of the EU concept of 'European Capital of Culture' within the urban local context. According to Habit the vague guidelines issued by

the Commission gave much room to individual interpretation of the cities. How schoolbooks of secondary teaching in Spain, France, England, Italy and Portugal treat the cultural and historical construction of Europe was Clara Serrano's focus. Apart from the diversity in European history presentations, she found a recurrent stress on the national dimension, which in her opinion reinforces national rather than a common European identity. Laurence Saint-Gilles's topic was the role of the French language and a European cultural identity between 1958 and 1974. She found that Georges Pompidou launched an offensive to maintain French as working language in the Community institutions at the time of the first enlargement. The French strategy was to show the importance for Europe as a whole to affirm its identity on the international scene in distinction to the United States. The role of those responsible for the history syllabus in France in the formation of a European identity was Patricia Legris' subject. She adopted a methodology linked to historical sociology of public school politics. Essential in relation to the theme of the conference, she found that the European identity is depicted as one in continuation of the suggested French identity, instead of being in opposition to it.

The final session took place at the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. It focussed on the role of other actors in the formation of a European identity. Eight participants presented research on national cases in the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Serbia, Greece and Italy. Robin de Bruin examined the images of a future federal Europe and the effects of these on a transformation of Dutch politics in the years from 1948 to 1958. He analysed the debate of European integration within the ARP and the Dutch Labour Party. Lise Rye and Kristian Steinnes identified how ideas of national culture and Europe played out in the campaign leading up to Norway's 1994 quest for EU membership. They found that the cultural arguments are much more important than the economic ones to explain the rejection of EU membership. Fabio Calugi examined in his paper the distrust and opposition of the Communist movement to the first steps of the new Europeanist project. He highlighted the outstanding communication strategy and the capacity of the Communist movement to turn anti-European rhetoric into practice. The ambassador Calvet Magalhães's contribution to the building process of a European identity in Portugal was Isabel Valente's subject. His efforts put him at odds with supporters of Portugal's imperial role. Claske Vos discussed in her paper the main rhetoric used with regard to a cultural heritage programme carried out in Serbia by the EU and the Council of Europe. She suggested that the success of the programme was primarily related to the preservation of 'sites' and 'practices' whose identification has been left to the individual member states and their specific national concerns. Heritage is still seen as primarily a technical matter. Eirini Karamouzi focused on the political discourse within the EC institutions from June 1975 when Greece lodged its application up to February 1976. She argued that in the course of discussing Greece's application for membership, the norms of liberal democracy became central aspects of the European identity. Dag Axel Kistoffersen's paper discussed how the Norwegian Labour Party changed its

European policy in the late 1960s. This party perceived the EC more and more as an important instrument in international politics to help overcoming the North-South and East-West divide. In domestic politics the EC became a useful tool to enhance social equality.

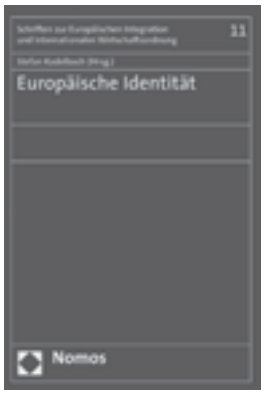
In his concluding remarks, professor Robert Frank reflected on three major aspects of the European identity. First, while focussing on the state of the European identity, he noted that although Europe has not entered in a post-*national* era, it has entered in a post-*nationalist* era. The distinction between patriotism, implying self-love, and nationalism, implying hate of the other, is imperative to be distinguished. Frank considered the common identity as a construction which needs active building. Therefore the role of the historian is to study the subject of European identity in its chronological evolution. Second, Frank considered the dynamics of European integration questioning the idea of "spill-over". The question was for Frank, whether the economy is the way to construct such a European identity as Monnet suggested. In 1950 a federation was expected as a result of economic integration and the spill-over effect. But in 2008 a federation still does not exist. Frank also wondered whether a cultural Europe produces automatically a political Europe. The Council of Europe has started constructing a cultural European identity. However it is not because one feels more European that consequently one wants a Europe which is politically more integrated. Third, while focusing on political aspects of the process of European integration, Frank noted the fundamental contradiction between the demand for more democracy at the same time as the refusal to relinquish parts of national sovereignty. He also noted the influence of democracy and social identity. Since the beginning of the 1970s, economic and financial crises have destabilised the social basis of European societies which produced on their turn identity crises and provoked a fear of Europe. Interestingly, as some papers showed, enthusiasm for Europe has always showed when states emerged from a dark period in history such as the Second World War. According to Frank another important subject discussed was migration because identity rests upon a *political* choice of heritage, which by definition are often contradictory. A further aspect of democracy in respect to Europe is the creation of a public sphere, which can come about either through a bottom-up or top-down approach to political decision-making. Unfortunately to date the decision-making realm in Europe remains on national level. Frank concluded that Europeanisation is a difficult process, and requires enthusiasm. For him this is why RICHIE is important.

In future research professor Bossuat wished to see an examination of concepts not just of sovereignty but of sharing sovereignty, for example a study of the Socialist internationalist movement. What was supposed to stay, what was supposed to be shared in political decision-making are central questions. He also stressed the significant role that the older generation of historians and researchers have in transmitting knowledge to the younger generation. He then emphasised the relevance of the younger generation to take into account the findings and discussions which have been going on prior to their research. Young researchers

need to build upon those and engage with these findings. Finally, Bossuat remembered Monnet's words that 'Europe will form through institutions'. Indeed, the conference has shown again that the diversity itself is not sufficient to create a European identity. Institutions are necessary to bring about and foster such identity.

The proceedings from the conference will be edited by Jenny Raflik and Marloes Beers to be published by the Peter Lang Publishing Group in Bruxelles.

Europäische Kultur und Identität



Europäische Identität

Herausgegeben von Stefan Kadelbach
2008, 67 S., brosch., 19,– €, ISBN 978-3-8329-3533-7 (Schriften zur Europäischen Integration und Internationalen Wirtschaftsordnung, Bd. 11)

Gibt es europäisches Zugehörigkeitsgefühl, oder handelt es sich lediglich um ein politisches Konstrukt?

Der Tagungsband enthält die Referate des 6. Walter Hallstein-Kolloquiums. Die einzelnen Beiträge analysieren aus interdisziplinärer Perspektive die Grundlagen und Facetten der europäischen Identität.

Europa im Spiegel der Kulturwissenschaften

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Jaeger und Hans Joas
2008, 334 S., brosch., 45,– €, ISBN 978-3-8329-3414-9 (Denkart Europa. Schriften zur europäischen Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur, Bd. 7)

Europa ist in den letzten Jahren zu einem Leitthema der Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften geworden. Wer sich über die zu diesem Thema wichtigsten Forschungen und Diskussionen in den verschiedenen Disziplinen informieren möchte, findet im vorliegenden Band eine aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und eine zuverlässige Orientierung.

Kulturelle Konflikte seit 1945

Die kulturellen Dimensionen des globalen Konfliktgeschehens

Von Aurel Croissant, Uwe Wagschal, Nicolas Schwank und Christoph Trinn
2009, 288 S., brosch., 49,– €, ISBN 978-3-8329-4296-0 (Weltregionen im Wandel, Bd. 6)

Die Studie präsentiert ein theoretisch fundiertes Konzept kultureller Konflikte. Sie bietet eine umfangreiche Erfassung des weltweiten Konfliktgeschehens im Zeitraum 1945 bis 2007. Schließlich liefert sie im Rahmen von Fallstudien und statistischen Analysen gewonnene Erklärungen für das Auftreten von kulturellen und nicht-kulturellen Konflikten.

Abstracts – Résumés – Zusammenfassungen

Mario Del Pero
A European Solution for a European Crisis. The International implications of Portugal's Revolution

Using new and recently declassified documents, the article examines the European repercussions of the Portuguese revolution of 1974 and the chaotic transition that followed. It discusses the different responses of the United States and Western Europe to the crisis and the interaction between domestic and international factors during the post-revolutionary transitional period. The article shows that Western European governments, particularly those led by Socialist parties, did not share Washington's mistrust of Portuguese Socialists and left of centre groups, feared a possible authoritarian (i.e.: "Chilean") outcome of the Portuguese crisis and came to view it as a crucial test of Europe's ability to offer an inclusive model of democracy and modernization.

Une solution européenne pour une crise européenne. Les implications internationales de la révolution portugaise

Fondé sur des documents nouveaux récemment déclassés, l'article traite des répercussions internationales de la révolution portugaise de 1974 et de la transition chaotique qui s'ensuivit. Il examine notamment les différentes réponses que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et l'Europe occidentale donnèrent à la crise d'une part, et d'autre part l'interaction entre les facteurs intérieurs et internationaux durant la période transitoire post-révolutionnaire. La contribution dégage ainsi que les gouvernements de l'Europe de l'Ouest, en particulier ceux dominés par les partis socialistes, ne partageaient guère ni la méfiance de Washington à l'égard des socialistes ou autres groupes politiques du centre gauche du Portugal ni la peur américaine devant une issue «chilienne», c'est-à-dire autoritaire, de la crise. Leur démarche reflète au contraire la faculté de l'Europe de proposer un modèle global de démocratisation et de modernisation.

Eine europäische Lösung für eine europäische Krise. Die internationalen Implikationen der portugiesischen Revolution

Dank neuer, erst kürzlich freigegebener Dokumente, behandelt der Artikel die internationalen Auswirkungen der portugiesischen Revolution von 1974 und der sich daran anschließenden chaotischen Übergangszeit. Besondre Berücksichtigung finden dabei einerseits die verschiedenartig gestalteten Reaktionen Europas und der Vereinigten Staaten und, andererseits, die Wechselbeziehung interner und internationaler Faktoren auf die Geschehnisse während der post-revolutionären Übergangsperiode. Der Beitrag verdeutlicht somit wie die westeuropäischen Regierungen, insbesondere diejenigen die von Sozialisten beherrscht waren, sich

deutlich von Washington abgrenzten mit Blick sowohl auf Amerikas Misstrauen gegenüber den portugiesischen Sozialisten bzw. anderer Mitte links Gruppierungen, als auch bezüglich der amerikanischen Angst vor einem «chilenischen», d.h. autoritären Ausgang der Krise. Ihre Vorgehensweise spiegelt in sofern Europas Fähigkeit wider, ein durchaus globales Demokratisierungs- und Modernisierungsmodell aufzuzeigen.

Ana Monica Fonseca
The Federal Republic of Germany and the Portuguese Transition to Democracy (1974-1976)

The Portuguese transition to democracy was the first in the third wave of democratization, which would reach not only Greece and Spain, but also Latin America (in mid-1980s) and Eastern Europe (in the beginning of 1990s). As the Portuguese transition went towards the empowerment of Communist forces, the Federal Republic developed a wide strategy of engagement in order to keep the country within the Western alliance. This strategy employed different instruments to be successful. Most important was the contribution of the political parties and their foundations, which helped to organize the Portuguese political parties, most of them being formed during this period. Focusing on the activities of the government and the SPD's leader, Willy Brandt, this article analyses the role of the West German actors during the Portuguese transition to democracy and its contribution to the development of a Western-style democracy in Portugal.

La République Fédérale d'Allemagne et le passage du Portugal à la démocratie (1974-1976)

Le passage du Portugal à la démocratie fait partie de la troisième vague de démocratisation qui ne touchait pas seulement la Grèce et l'Espagne, mais qui s'étendait également à l'Amérique latine (à partir du milieu des années 1980) et à l'Europe de l'Est (au début des années 1990). Parce que les événements au Portugal allaient de pair avec un renforcement des forces communistes, la RFA déploya la stratégie des obligations multiples dont le but déclaré était de solidement ancrer le pays dans l'alliance occidentale. Pour aboutir à une fin heureuse, cette stratégie se servait de plusieurs instruments. Le plus important consistait en l'action des partis politiques. Ils ont aidé les partis portugais, nés presque tous durant cette phase de 1974 à 1976, à s'organiser. En se référant à l'intervention du gouvernement de Bonn et du président du parti social-démocrate, Willy Brandt, l'article analyse le rôle joué par les acteurs ouest-allemands dans le développement au Portugal d'une démocratie de type occidental.

Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Einführung der Demokratie in Portugal (1974-1976)

Der Übergang Portugals zur Demokratie war der erste in der dritten Welle der Demokratisierungen, die nicht nur Griechenland und Spanien berührte, sondern auch Lateinamerika (in der Mitte der 1980er Jahre) und Osteuropa (am Anfang der 1990er Jahre). Weil die Ereignisse in Portugal auch zugunsten einer Stärkung der kommunistischen Kräfte verliefen, entwickelte die Bundesrepublik eine Strategie der vielschichtigen Verpflichtungen, die darauf abzielten das Land fest ins westliche Bündnis einzubinden. Diese Strategie bediente sich verschiedener Instrumente um erfolgreich zu sein. Am wichtigsten war der von den politischen Parteien geleistete Beitrag. Er half den portugiesischen Parteien, die fast alle in diesem Zeitraum entstanden, sich zu organisieren. Ausgehend von den Tätigkeiten der Bundesregierung und des Vorsitzenden der SPD, Willy Brandt, analysiert der Ausatz die von den westdeutschen Akteuren in Portugal gespielte Rolle und deren Beitrag zur Entwicklung einer Demokratie nach westlichem Muster.

Elena Calandri

A special relationship under strain: Turkey and the EEC, 1963–1976

As a member of the Western security community through the OECE and NATO, Turkey became the second country to establish a political link with the EEC, signing an association treaty in 1963. Five years later, despite Turkey's extraordinary growth, its economy was not in a position to deal with European competition, and doubts about the viability of the association were widespread in Community circles. However, political reasons secured a step forward in the association path.

Drawing on national and Community archival resources, the article provides an account of how during the following decade the enlargement and the deepening of European integration impacted on Turkey's position as a privileged partner: Britain's membership, political cooperation, institutional developments, the Mediterranean policy, and a new dynamism in external relations left Turkey behind. Under the effect of the international recession and of domestic economic and social problems, the Nine balked at extending economic privileges to the country, and even stepped back from commitments that had already been taken. But they also resisted using the new European Political Cooperation machinery as a framework for binding Turkey into Europe. Politics and the economy intersected and clashed in the EEC-Turkey relationship and the Nine appeared to be increasingly unable to conceptualize the EEC-Turkey relationship in clear terms. Turkey's problems were seen more and more as an external relations question, while identity emerged as a discriminating concept as nationalist and Islamic movements grew in Turkey, the role of the military was enhanced, and the economy remained closed to EEC interests.

**Une relation spéciale à l'épreuve:
la Turquie et la CEE, 1963-1976**

Pays membre de la communauté de défense de l'Occident par suite de sa participation à l'OECE et à l'OTAN, la Turquie était devenue en 1963 le second pays à établir un lien politique avec la CEE à travers un traité d'association. Cinq années plus tard, malgré des taux de croissance remarquables, son économie n'était cependant toujours pas en état d'affronter la compétition avec les Six. Aussi les doutes quant aux chances de réussite d'une association menant à l'adhésion étaient-ils largement répandus dans les cercles communautaires. En raison de considérations politiques, la solution de l'association fut pourtant maintenue.

En exploitant les archives nationales et communautaires, l'article rend compte de la manière dont l'élargissement et l'approfondissement de l'intégration européenne au cours des années 1970 influencèrent la position de la Turquie en tant que partenaire privilégié: l'entrée de la Grande-Bretagne, la coopération politique européenne, les développements institutionnels, la politique méditerranéenne, et un nouveau dynamisme dans les relations internationales laissèrent la Turquie en arrière. Sous l'emprise de la récession internationale et des problèmes socio-économiques internes, les Neuf commencèrent à marchander les concessions économiques qu'ils faisaient au pays. Ils revinrent même sur certains engagements déjà pris et refusèrent à employer le nouveau mécanisme de la coopération politique comme cadre pour associer la Turquie à la construction européenne. Le heurt entre le politique et l'économique empêche finalement les Neuf de formuler clairement leurs rapports avec la Turquie à tel point que les problèmes à l'instar du développement des mouvements nationaliste et islamique, du rôle croissant joué par les militaires et la protection du marché turque contre les importations en provenance de la CEE sont de plus en plus perçus comme des questions ordinaires de politique internationale.

**Eine Sonderbeziehung auf dem Prüfstand:
die Türkei und die EWG, 1963-1976**

In ihrer Eigenschaft als Mitglied der westlichen Verteidigungsgemeinschaft, sowohl der OECD als auch der NATO, wurde die Türkei 1963 zum 2. Land das eine politische Bindung an die EWG durch einen Assoziierungsvertrag erlangte. Trotz beachtlicher Wachstumsraten war die türkische Wirtschaft fünf Jahre später allerdings immer noch zu schwach, um im Wettbewerb mit den Sechs bestehen zu können. Folglich kamen in den einschlägigen europäischen Kreisen Zweifel auf, ob eine Assoziierung mit dem Ziel einer späteren Vollmitgliedschaft überhaupt haltbar sei. Aus rein politischen Erwägungen wurde die Assoziierung allerdings beibehalten.

Ausgehend sowohl von nationalen als auch von gemeinschaftlichen Archivquellen behandelt der Aufsatz die Art wie die Erweiterung und die Vertiefung der europäischen Integration im Laufe der Siebzigerjahre die Position der Türkei als privilegierter Partner beeinflusst hat: der Beitritt Großbritanniens,

die europäische politische Zusammenarbeit, die institutionelle Entfaltung, die Mittelmeerpolitik und die neue Dynamik der internationalen Beziehungen ließen die Türkei arg ins Hintertreffen geraten. Unter dem Einfluss der weltweiten Rezession und schwerster sozialer und ökonomischer Probleme bei sich, begannen die Neun nun mit ihren wirtschaftlichen Zugeständnissen an das Land am Bosporus zu feilschen. Einzelne bereits gemachte Zusagen wurden sogar zurückgestellt, bzw. weigerte man sich die neuen Mechanismen der politischen Zusammenarbeit als Rahmen für die türkische Beteiligung am Aufbau Europas einzusetzen. Die Spannung zwischen Politik und Wirtschaft hinderte schließlich die Neun daran, ihre Beziehungen mit der Türkei klar zu formulieren, so dass letztlich verschiedene Problemkreise wie zum Beispiel die Entwicklung der nationalistischen und islamistischen Bewegung, der steigende Einfluss der Militärs oder die Abschottung des türkischen Markts vor Importen aus der EWG als bloße Fragen der auswärtigen Politik abgetan wurden.

Antonio Muñoz Sánchez
A European Answer to the *Spanish Question*: The SPD and the End of the Franco Dictatorship

The article deals with the position of the SPD vis-à-vis Franco's Spain since the mid 1960s, and explains it in the context of the party's foreign policy agenda aimed at promoting European détente. It is argued that SPD leaders backed Madrid's intention to get closer to the EEC because this would, in their eyes, boost the modernization of Spain and strengthen pro-European and pro-democratic tendencies in the country, leading to the self-dissolution of the dictatorship after Franco's death. It also examines the scarce influence of the left wing of the party in its claim of putting effective pressure on the regime to force its democratisation. Finally, it shows how the fear that the Portuguese revolution after 1974 could alter the expected peaceful transition in Spain moved the SPD to strongly support Spanish socialists unwilling to join the democratic front leaded by the Spanish communists.

Une réponse européenne à la question espagnole: Le parti social-démocrate allemand et la fin de la dictature franquiste

L'article retrace l'attitude du SPD à l'égard de l'Espagne franquiste à partir du milieu des années 1960. Il explique la position du parti à travers le contexte plus global de sa politique étrangère ciblée sur la promotion de la détente en Europe. Aux yeux des leaders sociaux-démocrates allemands il s'agit d'encourager l'intention de Madrid de se rapprocher de la CEE parce que cette démarche constitue le meilleur moyen de promouvoir la modernisation de l'Espagne et de fortifier les tendances pro-européennes et pro-démocratiques en espérant qu'elles aboutiront à l'auto-dissolution de la dictature après la mort de Franco. La contribution souligne du coup l'influence réduite exercée par l'aile gauche du SPD

qui avait exigé d'exercer une pression sérieuse afin de forcer le régime à se démocratiser. Elle montre finalement aussi comment, après 1974, la peur devant une altération de la transition pacifique en Espagne par suite de la révolution portugaise amena le SPD à renforcer son soutien aux socialistes espagnols qui refusaient de se joindre au front démocratique dirigé par les communistes espagnols.

Eine Europäische Antwort auf die *spanische Frage*: die SPD und das Ende der Franco Diktatur

Der Artikel behandelt das Verhältnis der deutschen SPD zum frankistischen Spanien ab der Mitte der Sechzigerjahre. Er erläutert die Position der Partei aus ihrem globalen außenpolitschen Streben heraus, sich für mehr Entspannung in Europa einzusetzen. In den Augen der SPD-Führung gilt es die spanischen Bemühungen um eine Annäherung an Europa zu fördern, weil man darin das geeignetste Mittel sieht die europafreundlichen und demokratischen Tendenzen in Madrid zu stärken und die Selbstauflösung der Diktatur nach dem Tode Francos vorzubereiten. Die Darstellung unterstreicht auch den geringen Einfluß des linken Parteiflügels der vergeblich gefordert hatte, man müsse größeren Druck auf Spanien ausüben um das Regime zu demokratisieren. Schließlich zeigt der Beitrag auch wie, nach 1974, die Angst vor einer Infragestellung des friedlichen Übergangs durch die portugiesische Revolution die Sozialdemokraten dazu veranlasste, die spanischen Sozialisten tatkräftig zu unterstützen weil letztere der von den Kommunisten geführten demokratischen Front nicht beitraten.

Giovanni Bernardini
Stability and socialist autonomy.
The SPD, the PSI and the Italian political crisis of the 1970s

The present essay aims to investigate the influence that the German Social Democracy (SPD) exerted over the development of the Italian political system during the 1970s. Although recognizing the promising evolution that the Italian Communist Party (PCI) had undertaken under the leadership of Enrico Berlinguer, the SPD esteemed its participation to the government as especially dangerous for international reasons. The legitimization of "Western communism" would have raised the prospect of an international "frontist" cooperation between socialist and communist forces, thus jeopardizing the "autonomist" course that the SPD strove to spread through the whole Western European socialist movement. The appointment of Bettino Craxi as secretary of the PSI (Italian Socialist Party) in 1976 offered to the SPD the opportunity to cooperate in "Europeanising" the profile of the Italian socialism, questioning at the same time the democratic credentials of the PCI and challenging its "cultural hegemony" over the Italian left. The ultimate return of the PSI to a coalition of government with the moderate Christian Democracy (DC) was estimated in Bonn as the direct result of the renewed cooperation between German and Italian socialists.

Stabilité et autonomie socialiste
Le SPD, le PSI et la crise politique en Italie pendant les années 1970

Le présent article analyse l'influence exercée par le Parti social-démocrate allemand (SPD) sur le développement du système politique italien pendant les années 1970. Malgré le fait que le SPD reconnut les progrès prometteurs réalisés par le Parti communiste italien (PCI) sous la direction d'Enrico Berlinguer, il jugeait dangereuse une participation des communistes au gouvernement pour des raisons internationales. Une légitimation du «communisme occidental» aurait accru le péril émanant d'une coopération «frontiste» entre les forces socialistes et communistes. Elle aurait en outre compromis l'orientation «autonomiste» que le SPD s'efforçait de propager au sein du mouvement socialiste européen. La nomination de Bettino Craxi au poste de secrétaire du Parti socialiste italien (PSI) en 1976 offrait finalement au SPD une excellente occasion pour «européaniser» les socialistes italiens. Simultanément le SPD mit en question à la fois les références du PCI à la démocratie et l'«hégémonie culturelle» de la gauche italienne. Aussi le retour du PSI dans un gouvernement avec la Démocratie-chrétienne (DC) modérée fut-il interprété à Bonn comme le résultat direct du renouvellement de la coopération entre les socialistes allemands et italiens.

Stabilität und sozialistische Autonomie.
Die SPD, die PSI und die politische Krise in Italien während den Siebzigerjahren

Der vorliegende Aufsatz untersucht den Einfluss der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SPD) auf die Entwicklung des italienischen politischen System in den Siebzigerjahren. Obwohl die SPD die vielversprechende Entwicklung der Kommunistischen Partei Italiens (PCI), unter der Leitung von Enrico Berlinguer anerkannte, schätzte die SPD ihre Teilnahme an der Regierung aus internationalen Gründen als sehr bedrohlich ein. Die Legitimation des "Westlichen Kommunismus" hätte die Gefahr einer "frontistischen" Kooperation zwischen sozialistischen und kommunistischen Kräften gesteigert. Die "autonomistische" Richtung, um deren Ausbreitung die SPD sich sehr in der sozialistischen Bewegung ganz Westeuropas bemühte, wäre dadurch gefährdet worden. Die Ernennung Bettino Craxis zum Sekretär der Sozialistischen Partei Italiens (PSI) im Jahr 1976 bot daher der SPD die Gelegenheit engerer Zusammenarbeit, um das Profil des italienischen Sozialismus zu "europäisieren". Gleichzeitig bezweifelte die SPD die demokratischen Referenzen der PCI und stellte ihre "kulturelle Hegemonie" über die italienische Linke infrage. Die Rückkehr der PSI in eine Regierungskoalition mit den gemässigten Christ-Demokraten (DC) wurde schliessliche in Bonn als direktes Ergebnis einer erneuerten Kooperation zwischen deutschen und italienischen Sozialisten gewertet.

Wahlkampf

Programmfabrik gegen Medienimperium

Neue Kampagnenstrategien im italienischen Wahlkampf 2006

Von Sophia Burkhardt

2008, 130 S., brosch., 19,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-3308-1
(Münchner Beiträge zur politischen Systemforschung, Bd. 2)

Italiens Parteienlandschaft befindet sich in ständiger Unruhe. Dieser Band untersucht die in den letzten Jahren bestimmenden politischen Kräfte Italiens: Berlusconis Forza Italia und das von Prodi geführte Bündnis Ulivo. Beide sind nicht traditionell strukturiert. Wie sich das auf die italienische Politik auswirkt, zeigt exemplarisch der Wahlkampf 2006.

Die Strategie der NPD

Regionale Umsetzung in Ost- und Westdeutschland

Von Robert Philippsberg

2009, 122 S., brosch., 19,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-4842-9
(Münchner Beiträge zur politischen Systemforschung, Bd. 5)

Erscheint ca. August 2009

Seit Jahren steht die NPD in der politischen und öffentlichen Diskussion. Die vorliegende Untersuchung analysiert die Strategie der rechtsextremen Partei anhand einer umfangreichen Quellenauswertung und zahlreicher Interviews mit NPD-Spitzenfunktionären, mit wichtigen Aussteigern aus der NPD und mit renommierten Experten aus der Extremismusforschung.

Deutschland zwischen Reformstau und Veränderung

Ein Vergleich der Politik- und Handlungsfelder

Herausgegeben von Uwe Wagschal

2009, 304 S., brosch., 39,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-3638-9
(Münchner Beiträge zur politischen Systemforschung, Bd. 4)

Erscheint ca. August 2009

Wie schneidet Deutschland im Reformvergleich mit anderen Ländern ab? Antworten auf diese Frage liefert das international vergleichende Benchmarking. Die Autoren untersuchen, welche politisch-institutionellen Faktoren die unterschiedliche Erfolgsbilanz der Reformen seit 1990 erklären.

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Are the Keys to the Past the Keys to the Future?

Experiencing Europe

50 Years of European Construction 1957-2007

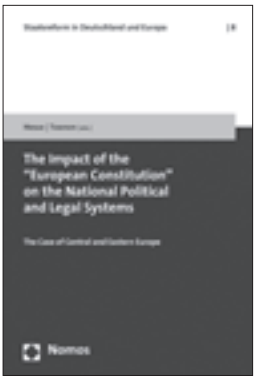
Edited by Wilfried Loth

2009, 362 pp., pb., € 59.00,
ISBN 978-3-8329-4124-6
(Publications of the European Union Liaison Committee of Historians, vol. 12)

In order to evaluate the perspectives of deepening and widening of the EU it is necessary to review what happened in the several fields of European integration so far. How did the EC/EU change from its beginnings, and in which respect is the present situation different from the past? Which trends of evolution can be observed, and which factors may influence the future evolution?

In this volume, 19 historians from seven countries, all of them well known experts of the field, are balancing the different aspects of the European experience. Based on broad archival research, the volume offers a comprehensive look on the history of European integration and a discussion of the present situation and possible developments in the light of this balance. All chapters were discussed in international teams and written by co-authors from different member states. Thus, they will represent not only the current state of knowledge, but for the first time also a coherent European perspective on the history of European integration. Experiencing Europe is seen as a response to the challenges Europeans have to meet in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Importing and Exporting the European Union



Reasonable Europeans

Determinants of citizens' support for the delegation of competencies in 29 countries

Von Thomas Christin

2008, 138 S., brosch., 29,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-3561-0
(Nomos Universitäts-schriften – Politik, Bd. 153)

In an innovative and detailed manner, this study analyses the intensity of, and the reasons for, public support for the delegation of competencies to Europe in 29 European countries. Using recent survey and contextual data, the author reveals those political and identity mechanisms that influence public opinion towards the European Union.

The Impact of the "European Constitution" on the National Political and Legal Systems

The Case of Central and Eastern Europe

Herausgegeben von Joachim Jens Hesse und Theo A. J. Toonen

2009, ca. 316 S., brosch., ca. 59,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-3375-3
(Staatsreform in Deutschland und Europa, Bd. 8)
Erscheint ca. September 2009

In interdisciplinary case studies, this volume analyses how the political systems and legal orders of the new EU member states in Eastern Europe will be challenged by the EU Reform Treaty in specific ways.

Die Europäische Union als Regelexporteur

Die Europäisierung der Energiepolitik in Bulgarien, Serbien und der Ukraine

Von Stephan Hofer

2008, 206 S., brosch., 39,– €,
ISBN 978-3-8329-3499-6
(Internationale Beziehungen, Bd. 9)

Die Europäische Kommission argumentiert, dass durch internationale Regeln auf Grundlage der EU-Regulierung die Versorgungssicherheit in der Energiepolitik verbessert werden kann. Der Autor untersucht, mit welchen Instrumenten und Strategien es der EU gelingt dass ihre politischen Regularien auch jenseits ihrer Grenzen verwendung finden.

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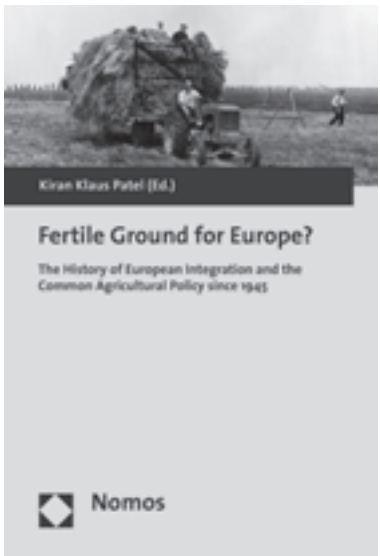
How the CAP became the Green Heart of Europe



Fertile Ground for Europe?

The History of European Integration and the Common Agricultural Policy since 1945

Edited by Kiran Klaus Patel

2009, 302 pp., pb., € 39,00,
ISBN 978-3-8329-4494-0

The Common Agricultural Policy was the most important policy for the longest duration of the European Economic Community's existence. Apart from subsidizing and modernizing European agriculture and securing supplies for its consumers, this policy was meant to be the beacon of European integration. However, it also became the most controversial policy of the EU – symbolized by subsidized overproduction, bureaucracy, and burgeoning farmers' protests.

This volume provides the first archive-based assessment of its history in the age of the Cold War and beyond. Its chapters deal with the wider context of agricultural integration since the 1920s; with the basic ideas that drove this policy; with the negotiations and controversies that went along with it as well as with its economic effects and global impact. Apart from its empirical findings, this book offers new ways of linking EU history to larger trends of contemporary history.

The editor of this volume, Kiran Klaus Patel, is Professor of EU history and transatlantic relations at the European University Institute in Florence.