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LISBOAN

**Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Academic
Network**

**Report from the Workshop
“European Integration in a Globalizing World 1970-1985”**

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In cooperation with the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut Essen

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Synopsis

Research on international history agrees that international relations entered a new phase during the 1970s. World politics underwent fundamental transformations on at least three realms. First, the rapprochement between the US and China, the deterioration of the relations between the SU and China and détente between Washington and Moscow altered security and peace policy. Second, with the oil shock of 1973 the post-war economic world order broke down and changed the character of trade and other economic affairs. Third, social welfare and human rights as new policy fields arose on an international level against the background of a growth of civil society in the nation states. Low politics became of greater importance for political decision making: human rights within the CSCE process, development assistance or environmental protection.

Whereas the fact of international transformation is undisputed, the nature of this transformation is not completely understood. Whereas in the post-war period since 1945 the nation states established structures of international cooperation, the process of what we call globalization had just started in the 1970s. At the same time, for Western Europe the 1970s marked a decisive turning point in the process of integration. Since 1957 the European construction was restricted to economic affairs and the external dimension of the integration process was economic. The Hague Summit of 1969 marked the starting point of the EC's search of its adequate role as a global actor. Economic strength and meaning were held as reason for resuming more responsibility in world politics. With the economic crises of the 70s and the challenge of détente the EC emerged as an actor on the security and international stage – a process that went parallel with the emancipation from the US leadership in world politics. Whereas the external personality of the Common Market in the Western world was uncontested, EPC was for the moment a new European experience. EPC was a successful actor in security and human rights questions (CSCE). On the economic realm new foreign trade relations were established between EC and the Eastern States (COMECON), with China and Japan. Furthermore, cooperation with the Mediterranean states and the less developed countries appeared on the European agenda. By that, Europe was to help to integrate different parts of the world.

As the EU of today is on the first place an EU in a globalized world, the most urgent historical question from the perspective of the present state of affairs is how the EU became a global actor and how this changed the nature of European institutions and policies. Therefore, the LISBOAN team at the University of Duisburg-Essen (PD Dr. Claudia Hiepel, Prof. Dr. Wilfried Loth, Prof. Dr. Christoph Marx, Dr. Henning Türk) invited 23 further historians from 8 countries, all of them distinguished specialists in the field, to present the results of their research on the role of the EC in the network of multilateral politics in the 70s and early 80s when today's globalization was in its "take-off" period.

A first session of the conference discussed the starting relations between the EC and the Soviet Bloc in Europe and its role in the process of détente. The second session dealt with EC's role in North-South relations and development aid. In the third session contributions on the development of EC's relations with Asian countries were discussed. Session IV was focused on EC's neighboring politics towards the Nordic states, the Southern enlargement candidates, and the Mediterranean area. In the fifth session contributions on EC's role in the global economy and the International Monetary System were presented. The sixth session discussed the enlargement of

EC's policy agenda on "global" themes as the "limits of growth", the environmental policy, and the foundation of the International Energy Agency.

The innovative contributions and the vivid discussions resulted in the general view that globalization cannot be understood as an anonymous process. Rather, it was a process formed by actors, and the EC/EU was one of them. Several contributions stressed that this was a political bottom-up process: not starting with fixed aims but developing by confrontation with external stimuli. Despite the shortcomings of EPC the Europeans were remarkably successful in maintaining détente, promoting democracy in Southern Europe and overcoming trade conflicts with the emerging competitors in Asia. Not in every field the success was reached at short distance. Nevertheless, the 70s can be seen as starting point of a true global role of the EC/EU. The so-called "Eurosclerosis" notwithstanding there emerged during the 70s and early 80s a broader discourse on solutions for common problems of the Europeans and thus an identification with a "European model" of civilization in a global age.

After revision, the 20 contributions on the conference will be published in a conference volume at NOMOS (Baden-Baden, Germany).

Workshop Programme

Date: 22-23 March 2012

Venue: University of Essen-Duisburg, Germany

Thursday, March 22

02.00 pm Introduction

02.30 pm **Session 1 – Eastern Europe and the Process of Détente**

Chair: *Jost Dülffer* (University of Cologne)

Angela Romano (London School of Economics): Defensive and Transformative: the European Community's Policy towards Comecon since the early 1970's

Sara Tavani (University of Perugia): The Crisis of Détente and the Emergence of a Common European Foreign Policy. The "Common European Polish Policy" as a Case Study

Veronika Heyde (Institut für Zeitgeschichte, München): France and the Crisis of Détente

Wilfried Loth (Duisburg-Essen University): Helmut Schmidt, Germany and the Crisis of Détente

04.30 pm Coffee Break

05.00 pm **Session 2 – North-South Relations and Development Aid**

Chair: *Christoph Marx* (Duisburg-Essen University)

Guia Migani (Università di Padova): The Lomé Convention and North-South Relations 1975-1985

Giuliano Garavini (Università di Padova): The European Community during the Long Energy Crisis (1971-1981)

Lili Reyels (BMZ Berlin): France, Germany and the Lomé Convention

07.00 pm Dinner

Friday, March 23**09.00 am Session 3 – A New Global Actor: Asia**

Chair: *Wolfram Kaiser* (University of Portsmouth)

Tomoya Kuroda (Université de Cergy-Pontoise): EC's ASEAN Policy

Hitoshi Suzuki (University of Niigata Prefecture): Negotiating the Japan-EC Trade Conflict: The Role and the Presence of the European Commission, the Council of Ministers and Business Groups in Europe and Japan 1970-1986

Marie Julie Chenard (London School of Economics): European Community and the People's Republic of China, 1970-1980

10.45 am Session 4 – The EC and its Neighbouring States

Chair: *Antonio Varsori* (Università di Padova)

Robin Allers (Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS), Oslo): The EC and its Nordic Neighbours in International Politics

Bernd Rother (Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung, Berlin): Exporting Democracy? European Social Democrats and the EC's Southern Enlargement

Elena Calandri (Università di Padova): The EC's Mediterranean Policy

12.30 pm Lunch

10.45 am Session 5 – Global Economy and International Monetary System

Chair: *Sylvain Schirmann* (Université de Strasbourg)

Lucia Coppolaro (Universidade de Lisboa): EEC and Tokyo Round

Guido Thiemeyer (Université de Cergy-Pontoise): Europe and the Collapse of the IMS

Claudia Hiepel (Duisburg-Essen University): The European Management Symposium – a Non-State Actor and the European Community

03.30 pm Coffee Break

04.00 pm Session 6 – A New Policy Agenda

Chair: *Kiran Klaus Patel* (Maastricht University)

Johan van Merriënboer (Nijmegen University): Sicco Mansholt and 'The Limits to Growth'

Thorsten Schulz-Walden (Cologne University): Between National, Multilateral and Global Politics: European Environmental Policy in the 1970s

Henning Türk (Duisburg-Essen University): EC and the Foundation of the International Energy Agency (IEA)

05.30 pm Conclusion: Wilfried Loth / Claudia Hiepel

07.00 pm Dinner