

Abstracts

Michael Gehler: From the Nouvelles Equipes Internationales to the European People's Party: Constraints and Opportunities of Transnational Cooperation Between Parties after the Second World War until the End of the Cold War in Europe

In this article single stages of transnational cooperation between catholic-conservative and Christian-democratic parties are traced, starting from the secret gatherings of the „Genfer Kreis“ (1947–1956), over the cooperation of the „Nouvelles Equipes Internationales“ (NEI) that were found in 1947 and their renaming into „European Union of Christian Democrats“ (EUCD) in 1956, finishing with the successional European People's Party (EPP) (1976) and the European Democrat Union (EDU) (1978). Taking these party formations as an example, constraints and opportunities of source specific, content related and methodological questions regarding the single development stages are depicted. On top of that, a forecast of the further development of the EPP is given.

Guido Thiemeyer: The Cooperation of Liberal Parties in Europe: Features and Driving Forces 1945–1979

The focus of this article is set less on organizational forms of transnational cooperation of liberal parties but rather on the motives that lead to transnational integration of liberal parties. To identify those, three political scientific models are selected that trace the genesis of national political parties back to different key aspects: to the personalities of leaders and founders of these parties, to the political system in which they developed or to their representation function of socially groups with different worldviews. After a concise description of different transnational organizational forms of liberal parties until the year 1979, different political scientific models of national range are analyzed with regard to their explanatory power for the transnational cooperation of parties on the basis of this example.

Jürgen Mittag: Concepts of Social Democratic Party Cooperation and the European Politics of the SPD in the Age of Dislimitation

From the first programmatic declarations of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein (ADAV) until the presence of the Party of European Socialists (PES) confessions on the importance of transnational party cooperation can be considered as a programmatic core principle of social democratic and socialist politics in Europe. However, beyond the general commitment to cooperate the party cooperation of „left“ parties has always been characterized by latent skepticism and by constraints in view of the perspectives of transnational party activities. Despite the European, transnational and international rhetoric statements of „left“ parties their references to national policy objectives and a striving for expediency can be identified. The contribution points out basic features of social democratic and socialist party

cooperation in Europe, it illustrates developments and watersheds and it analyses the impact of the European idea in this political spectrum.

Janosch Steuwer: Transnational Cooperation of Rightwing Extremist Parties in the Second half of the 20th Century

Until now, European integration studies have paid great attention to the political center. Extremist parties, however, made efforts to conceive and develop own models of European integration and tried to cooperate with parties from different European countries. This article argues that a view from the margins of the political spectrum offers interesting insights and important findings about the relationship between European Integration and undemocratic parties as well as about the political center itself. It presents a general view of the development of the cooperation of extreme-right parties by identifying three different phases. The most intensive attempts to cooperate on European level can be found in the 1950s and early 1960s. At this time several European organizations were founded by extreme-right parties from different European countries to coordinate political actions and manifestos. All these attempts were based on an own vision of an undemocratic European Integration, but for all that they weren't successful. In a second phase the work of extreme-right parties shifted from action to debates on own ideas of European Integration, that were attended by extreme-right politicians from all over Europe. Until the first direct election of the European Parliament, which marks the beginning of a third period, there weren't any attempts to coordinate politics through formal party cooperation. In this third phase, however, we can observe a comparatively continuous cooperation of extreme-right parties on European level. In contrast to the 1950s, the cooperation of extreme-right parties in the 1980s and 1990s did not ground on an own idea of European integration. All in all, the cooperation of extreme-right parties are characterized by an opposing trend compared to the parties of the political center. But this history also belongs to the history of European Integration.

Christoph Zöpel: Transnational Party Cooperation and Political Practice: The Socialist International in the 20th and 21st Century

International cooperation of left parties has been developed in the 1860s due to the international agenda of the parties. In the 20th century the conflict between Communist and Social Democratic parties became more and more important. In 1951, in opposition to the Soviet dominated Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), the Socialist International was reestablished by 34 predominantly European member parties. Links to non-European parties, mainly incurred in joint efforts to decolonization. Since 1976, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, the SI expanded purposefully in all regions of the world. The SI was a key player in the cold war – both due to the conflict with communist parties, as well as by the opposition to right-wing authoritarian systems and through contacts with the KPDSU. After the implosion of the communist parties in Eastern Europe, the SI supported the formation of social-democratic parties and fostered their integration into the social democratic party family, but failed to establish strong non-European member parties in the US, in India

and in Brazil. Ideologically, the SI is focused on the post-1989 democratic and social globalization, on conflict mediation and on disarmament. Institutionally, the SI primarily becomes active in its bi-annual meetings of the Council which were attended by over 100 parties. The Council meetings are nodes in a network that can be used continuously for mutual assistance in case of elections, in national or international conflicts or even in preparing negotiations for the UN Security Council. The article examines in how far the international features of transnational party cooperation are shaped by peculiarities and specifics – also in comparison to the European wide party cooperation.

Carolin Lanzke: The Direct Elections as a Watershed of Transnational Cooperation? Chances and Limits of Transnational Program and Election Campaign Cooperation in view of SPD and FDP

The article deals with the potentials and limits of transnational party cooperation in the context of the first European Elections in 1979. It focuses on two German parties, the Sozial demokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) and the Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP). It examines the role these parties played in the founding of the transnational party confederations and the creation of their first programs and campaigning elements. Then, it looks at the respective German campaigns, programs and realization. By consulting primary documents of the respective party archives, the author explores the degree to which the German parties participated on the European level, and the degree to which the transnational cooperation reflected upon the German campaign. Despite their strong involvement within the party confederations, the parties' use of transnational elements in their national campaign is surprisingly low. It is argued that particularly the SPD only resorted to them if it was in line with their nationally focused agenda. The FDP can uphold the claim of a transnational campaign more credibly through the constant reference to their party confederation.

Christian Salm: „Come Together“: Transnational History and Network Research in Political Science in View of Political Parties and European Integration

In the „new“ transnational history of European integration, conceptual tools from political science, notably policy network analysis, have increasingly been used to inquire into transnational cooperation as an important characteristic of European integration. One of the aims of this research agenda was to engage in truly interdisciplinary cooperation. However, in their empirical work, historians have adapted policy network concepts to the conditions of archive-based historical research in a variety of ways. While many simply used network as a fashionable descriptive metaphor, others took the concept more seriously as to a theoretical tool, based on the most recent debates in political science. Against this backdrop, this article revisits one of the key issues of the conceptual debate: What exactly is the analytical and heuristic potential of political science policy network concepts for historical research on transnational cooperation in European integration? Drawing on research on the history of transnational party cooperation in Europe, this article outlines important challenges, but also key benefits.

