

Summary

Things are changing in Europe. New states arise and new relationships are being forged. In the EC, the powers that be intend to move towards a political and economic union, while others have visions of a completely new Europe in which the solution of economic, social, and environmental problems heads the agenda.

In the Social Democratic Movement, the EC-issue has been a difficult problem for a long time. But also for the rest of the left wing, the attitude to the EC has been a controversial issue. Paradoxically, the Labour Movement and the left wing with their time-honoured internationalist traditions, were among those who sounded nationalist chords in the debate on the EC from 1972 and onwards. Even if it is true that the European Community became the community of the capital, it remains a paradox that the capital drew the consequence of having turned international, while the opposite seems to hold true of parts of the Labour Movement. To this must be added the very real problems of such things as collective agreements with multinationals, protection of the working environment, and a number of other central issues that will not be solved merely by saying "No to the EC". Consequently, today's debate in the Labour Movement and on the Left also have to do with how far and in which direction European cooperation should go. The articles in the first half of the book treat various aspects of these issues.

The articles in the second half of the yearbook, directly and indirectly, discuss the consequences of the fall of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Although by the autumn of 1989, we had seen the collapse of East Germany and the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, the final break-down of the Communist regimes was definitely occurred – confirmed by the abortive coup in the Soviet Union of August 1991, an event just as astounding as the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The overwhelming role played by Communism, not only for the Labour Movement but also for the entire European history of the 20th century, lends to the period 1989-91 its turning point character. It causes us to look over our shoulder as well as ahead. The events of 1989-91 throw history into a new perspective. At the same time, the archives of the Communist parties are gradually being thrown open to historians, which enables them to write history in a new light.

Even though, so far, we can only begin to discern the contours of the inevitable impact of the break-down of Communism and even though,

in the first instance, it might look like the final victory for "the Free World", developments - perhaps even in the medium-short term - might leave room for the development of "a Third Road". The articles in the second half of the yearbook contribute to clarify the extent to which the entire post-war period was influenced by the conflict between East and West. It was virtually impossible to stay free of the dichotomy, even for those who tried to distance themselves from it or were consciously searching for "a Third Road".

Finally, we publish an article outside of the scope of this theme. Erik Schwägermann's article on "Politics and History in the Writings of E.P. Thompson" consists of a biography and a survey of his writings. E.P. Thompson's best known work is "The Making of the English Working Class". In our yearbook vol. 19, we published an article by the American historian, Joan Scott, on this central book - a classic both in labour and social history. However, Thompson has written a number of other central works, i.a. "William Morris. From Romantic to Revolutionary" which, like "The Making", was motivated by topical discussions on the left wing in which E.P. Thompson has been actively involved throughout his life.

One of the central issues in the debate on the stance of the Labour Movement vis-à-vis EC-cooperation is whether to maintain the Danish/Nordic welfare model which, of course, rests on the principle of off-setting inequalities by means of tax- financed income transfers, as opposed to the Continental welfare model based on the insurance principle. This discussion is taken up by Vibeke Sørensen and Anne-Lise Seip in their articles.

In her article Vibeke Sørensen treats the attitude of the Danish Social Democratic Party to Nordic and European integration in the post-war years. Vibeke Sørensen's article is based on her Ph.D.-thesis, the very first study of the motives and the changing political attitudes, nationally and internationally, which, in combination with the economic developments, serve to explain the seemingly rather vacillating Social Democratic policy vis-à-vis the EC.

To begin with, Vibeke Sørensen poses the question of whether small countries with open economies have any choice when it comes to adjusting to international developments and answers the question in the affirmative. During the 1950s and '60s it was, in fact, possible to create a Scandinavian model as an alternative to developments in the rest of Europe. Whether this feat can be repeated in the 1990s remains an open

question. With increasing interdependence during the 1980s and '90s, the West European economies, and thus also Denmark, are faced with adjustments to new international economic trends. In some ways, the situation is reminiscent to that of the 1950s, however, with the crucial difference that the number of options are limited or, to put it differently, the costs of staying outside the European integration process may turn out higher in the 1990s than in the 1960s.

In her article "The Welfare State – a Nordic Model?" Anne-Lise Seip views the possibilities of maintaining the Nordic Model more optimistically than does Vibeke Sørensen. On the basis of her own studies, and those of other researchers, on the emergence of the welfare state and the contribution of the Social Democratic Party towards this, Anne-Lise Seip discusses whether it is reasonable to speak of a special Nordic model. The question is whether in the Nordic welfare states, on the one hand, there are a number of similar internal features and, on the other hand, how these differ from other welfare states such as Germany or Great Britain. Anne-Lise Seip points out that in the individual countries there existed a number of differing historical circumstances that must be kept in mind when attempting to determine why countries opted for different welfare state models. Even though there are variations in the model as implemented in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, Anne-Lise Seip still thinks it justified to speak of a Scandinavian model which differs from the British or the Continental models, and it is a model which is worth fighting for. Why should we alone have to adjust, Anne-Lise Seip would like to know. Is it inconceivable that the rest of Europe could adjust to the Scandinavian model?

An other burning issue in connection with The Labour Movement attitude to the EC has been that of securing workers' rights. This is partly a question of the Social Dimension but also one that has to do with trade union strength and room for manoeuvre.

In his article, Richard Hyman gives us a survey of topical developmental trends in the European trade union movement. What is its direction? What will happen in the 1990s? How strong is solidarity and to whom does it apply: to your colleagues, to the members of your own trade union, to the working class? Richard Hyman makes his own assessment on the basis of a thorough knowledge of European trade union developments in the 1970s and '80s. Hyman repeatedly stresses the necessity of keeping the differing national experience in mind and be wary of generalisations. However, he does see one general trend towards

a weakened position for trade union centres and national unions and, thus, for central control over the national trade union movement both in the West and in the East. The question is what the effects of this will be in the '90s in a situation which – in addition to structural changes in business structures and cultural shifts – will be affected by developments in the Single Market and in Eastern Europe.

As far as the EC is concerned, Hyman does not think that, for the moment, the European Labour Movement has any chance of setting the agenda. This assessment is elucidated by means of the Social Charter (the Social Dimension) which, according to Hyman, has not moved beyond the stage of flowery speeches. Nor does Hyman see much cause for optimism on the part of the traditional trade union movement. Instead, hope attaches to a new type of trade union movement which Hyman calls "the undertaking trade union with a social conscience". He draws the conclusion that solidarity and collectivism must not necessarily be abandoned as we move toward the year 2000 despite the fact that it will be given a new organisational form.

As an official of the Danish trade union Federation, Preben Sørensen has an active role to play in trade union developments towards the year 2000. This gives his observations a different angle from that of the researcher. His article "From a Trade Union Iron Curtain towards a Market Strategy" describes the international cooperative relations since 1945, with special emphasis on Danish trade union attitudes to and specific experience with Denmark's EC membership. Preben Sørensen's article can be read as a commentary on the preceding articles made by somebody who was part of the development. As regards the EC Social Dimension and the possibilities on the part of the trade union movement of influencing events, Preben Sørensen is optimistic. He bases his optimism on the strength of trade unionism in Denmark as well as on the intensified cooperation within the EC over recent years as a broad consensus of trade union objectives has been reached.

Whereas Richard Hyman and Preben Sørensen discuss EC-developments at the general level, Sussi Handberg's point of departure is a specific case in point.

Since 1988 there has been a ban in Denmark on the production and use of asbestos (with some few exceptions). The question is whether Denmark can keep up such a ban after the completion of the Single Market by 1 January 1993. The article surveys in detail the decision-making process in the EC from 1985 and up to the present, through the Com-

mission, the Council of Ministers, the Danish Ministry of Labour, the European Parliament, and the EC Standardisation Committee where the actual decision is made.

In addition to the asbestos issue, Sussi Handberg, by way of another example, uses the organic solvents issue to elucidate the test of strength between the freedom of movement for goods and the working environmental considerations. Denmark was forced to comply with the EC labeling provisions for these substances. She draws the conclusion that even though environmental considerations are gaining ground in the EC, this institution still constitutes a conservative force in the field. If Denmark wants to give priority to environmental considerations, we need to form alliances both inside and outside the EC. Alliances which, in specific contexts, could be used to put pressure on the EC machinery. According to Sussi Handberg, this would be the most effective strategy, not only for ourselves but also for member states with less stringent environmental requirements.

The second part of this year's theme is opened by Gert Sørensen's article on the Italian Communist Party. The point he makes is that Euro-Communism never was a "Third Road". The myth of the superiority of the Soviet model survived all the way to the Polish Communist Party's assault on Solidarity in 1981. Not until then, did the Italian Communist Party break with the concept of the leading role of the CPSU. However, the problems of the Italian Communist Party did not diminish after 1981. The project of the "Historic Compromise" was wrecked, without this attempt having been replaced by a new strategy to gain a share in the power. Today's political crisis in the Italian Communist Party has the same roots as the crisis in the other West and East European Communist Parties: the heritage of the 3rd International. The PCI (reconstituted as the PDS in 1991) has, therefore, found it just as difficult to find its feet at the beginning of the '90s as any other past and present Communist Parties.

In his article "Communist Front Organisation or Custodian of the Western Social Order", Mikko Majander describes an important factor in the game which came to place Finland as a member of "the Free World" after World War II. During the years of the Cold War, the Finnish trade union movement was torn by internal power struggles between Social Democrats and Communists. Not only trade union policy was at issue, it was a full-blown social power struggle, in which the Finnish Social Democrats and the Communists had the, moral and material,

support of the West and the East (the Soviet Union), respectively. In addition to the failure of Communist tactics in connection with a major strike in the autumn of 1949, Mikko Majander attributes great importance to the relationship of the Finnish Social Democrats with its Scandinavian sister parties as a reason for Finland becoming one of the Nordic welfare states, despite its geographical location within the Soviet sphere of interest. At the same time, Mikko Majander's article describes the special Finnish conditions as a country between East and West, and how this influenced Finnish history throughout the post-war era.

In his article, "Danish 'Revisionism' and the SED in the 1950s", Michael F. Scholz describes developments in the SED of 1956 in the light of the impact of the break-up of the DKP in 1958 (the formation of the SF, the People's Socialist Party) on the internal party struggles of the SED.

Parallels can be observed between the discussions and the conflicts which took place in the SED and the DKP following Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress in 1956. In combination with the relatively close personal contacts between the SED and the DKP, the conflicts within the two parties had a reciprocal effect. At the same time, the DKP undertook the role of an "SED diplomat" on behalf of the SED, in order to promote Danish recognition of the GDR as an independent state by means of propaganda activities, etc.

For the anti-Larsenists in the DKP it was primarily moral support which could be found in the SED, but also financial support could be had. The Stalinist wing of the SED (with Erich Honecker and others in the lead) and the anti-Larsenists of the DKP mutually supported each other in the internal conflicts of the parties, and joined ranks internationally in the show-down with Tito, the revisionist. Thus, the DKP came to play an international role at a crucial point in GDR history.

Communist Eastern Europe no longer exists as a political concept, but we cannot simply leave history behind. Events in Germany show this very clearly. Germany has been formally united, to be sure, but in reality the two parts of Germany have had a widely differing history for 45 years, and this will leave its mark on the history of unified Germany for a long time to come.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991, the (West) German Labour Movement expected an election victory. Before 1933, the Social Democratic Party had its strongholds in what was to become the GDR, and, surely, the Communist Party could still count on some support. Things

went very differently. Unification, which might have been an opportunity to overcome old trauma and strife in the German Labour Movement, led to an election victory for the Conservatives, and the German Labour Movement was left with virtually no influence on the course of the unification process. How could that happen, asks Karl Christian Lammers in his article "1989 – a Historic Opportunity?"

It is Lammer's hypothesis that Communism never really became rooted as a popular movement. After the workers' revolt in 1953, the discrepancies between the official ideology and the attitudes of the GDR population increased. In his reasoning, Lammers makes use of the studies undertaken by Lutz Niethammer and others, who are collecting memoirs to illustrate the socio-history of the conflicts between East and West, i.e. how East Germans themselves experienced "Socialism Realised", and how East Germans found a *modus vivendi* with the GDR regime. As there was no real popular support for the regime, it tumbled like a house of cards in 1989. Consequently, the GDR was no longer a Labour Movement stronghold, their specific experience would tend rather to make GDR citizens apolitical. For the same reason, there can be no immediate hope of the German Labour Movement finding its former strength. It may be difficult to speak of Democratic Socialism in Denmark today. In Germany it is impossible, Karl Christian Lammers concludes.

We should like to add that in a Europe which has surprised us so many times during recent years, the possibility of Socialism surviving cannot, on the other hand, be excluded. Perhaps not under the name of Socialism, will democracy, solidarity and collective accountability, it is to be hoped, survive.

The Editors
(Translated by Lena Fluger)

