



Bundeskanzler
Helmut Schmidt
Stiftung



Europa
Kolleg
Hamburg
Institute for
European Integration

Worlds together, worlds apart?

Assessing the interplay between European integration and German unification

Hamburg, 23–25 September 2021

The period from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s witnessed a convergence of sorts. As well as the peaceful revolution in the GDR, which led to German unification, those years saw a massive acceleration and deepening of the European integration process, with the Single European Act, the Single Market Programme, and the Maastricht Treaty as the most important milestones. The two processes intersected most visibly on 3 October 1990 – the day of German unification, but also the day on which the former GDR became part of the European Communities, the predecessor to today's European Union.

There is already a substantial body of research on the history of German unification, not least due to the early opening of certain archives. There is much less historical research, by comparison, on the history of European integration during the period under discussion. And, more importantly: existing studies in both fields stop short of relating these two processes to one another. The same holds true for most published research on these issues in the social sciences.

This conference assesses the intersection and interplay between the processes of European integration and German unification in the decade from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. It seeks to improve our understanding of how the two processes dynamized, accelerated, and informed each other and to identify where interpretations of causality might need to be reassessed. It will also examine the logics specific to each of these two processes, and the ways in which path dependencies and other factors isolated them from one another. Concretely, the conference will build on case studies and highlight a set of issues that were particularly pertinent. Monetary integration is an obvious case in point, given the key economic and symbolic role of the

deutschmark for German unification, but also in light of parallel debates on creating a common European currency.

The conference will be held in association with Kiran Klaus Patel's term as scholar-in-residence of the Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt-Stiftung and the Europa-Kolleg Hamburg, with generous support from both institutions and funded by the City of Hamburg. It will explore issues that are central to Helmut Schmidt's political legacy and to the work of the Europa-Kolleg Hamburg, such as monetary policy, international relations, European integration and German unification.

The conference is scheduled to take place in Hamburg on **24–25 September 2021**. The conference language will be English. Travel and accommodation costs for speakers and discussants will be reimbursed. For the moment, we are planning to hold the conference as a face-to-face, on-site event. A switch to an online format obviously remains a possibility depending on Covid-19 developments in the interim.

To make the meeting as productive as possible, we intend to pre-circulate papers, which should be submitted no later than **10 September 2021**. You do not need to prepare a separate presentation; the conference will fully focus on the debate. Each panel will be opened by the respective discussant with a statement of some 15 minutes. Subsequently, we will first discuss the individual papers before bringing them together in relation to the conference's overarching topic. Ultimately, the plan is to publish the conference findings as an edited volume with a leading Anglo-American publisher.

This conference is connected to a **public event** that will take place in Hamburg on **23 September 2021**. Here, writer Ingo Schulze will present his views on the interplay between German unification and European integration, along with its long-term consequences, and Kiran Klaus Patel will discuss the same issue from the perspective of a historian. This public event will take place in German. You are all warmly invited to travel to Hamburg in time for this event.



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23. September 2021

Abendveranstaltung mit Ingo Schulze und Kiran Klaus Patel

Die Geschichte der deutschen Einheit und der europäischen Einigung haben mehr miteinander zu tun, als man meinen mag. Der 3. Oktober 1990 brachte nicht nur das Ende der deutschen Teilung. An dem Tag wurde das Gebiet der vormaligen DDR auch Teil der damaligen Europäischen Gemeinschaft als Vorläuferin der heutigen EU. Dennoch wissen wir bislang auffallend wenig über das Wechselspiel zwischen den beiden Prozessen, inklusive der Langzeitfolgen bis in die Gegenwart. Haben die Probleme zwischen Ost und West in Deutschland mehr mit Europa zu tun, als wir gemeinhin glauben? Welche Auswirkungen hatte der Beitritt der DDR zur BRD und damit zur EG am Ende des Kalten Kriegs für die Bevölkerung des verschwundenen Landes? Welches Interesse bestand überhaupt, das „neue Denken“ von einer Welt ohne Blockkonfrontation, aber auch ohne Sieger und Besiegte der Geschichte in Europa und in der Welt durchzuführen? Wurde die Chance des Umbruchs in Osteuropa auch für eine Revision westlicher Positionen überhaupt diskutiert? Welche Angebote hätten der Osten bereitgehalten?

Der Historiker Kiran Klaus Patel und der Schriftsteller Ingo Schulze diskutieren Belastungen und Chancen, die sich aus dem damaligen Prozess doppelter Einigung ergeben, für eine Gegenwart, in der die Post-Cold-War-Ära ihrerseits an ihr Ende gekommen ist.



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24 September

9.00-9.15 *Welcome Coffee*

9.15-10.00

‘Welcome’ by Markus Kotzur, Europa-Kolleg Hamburg

‘Welcome’ by Meik Woyke, Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt-Stiftung

Ggf. Noch Vertreter/in der BWFG/Stadt Hamburg?

Kiran Klaus Patel, LMU Munich

Welcome, Introduction: On the Interplay between European Integration and German Unification

10.00-12.00

1: The intersection between European integration and unification I: Germany as part of 'the West'

Mathias Häußler, University of Regensburg

Worlds together, words apart? The German question and the British inability to give a European answer

Hélène Miard-Delacroix, Sorbonne University

France's European response to the challenge of German reunification

Gabriele D'Ottavio, University of Trento

German Reunification and European Integration: Deconstructing the Italian Trade-off Narrative

Victor Jaeschke, Potsdam University

"Un phénomène globalement positif". The European Commission, German unification and the Future of Europe 1989-1992

Panel Discussant: Wilfried Loth, University of Duisburg-Essen

12.00-14.00 *Lunch Break*

14.00-15.40

2: The intersection between European integration and unification II: Germany as part of East Central Europe

Philipp Ther, University of Vienna

Cotransformation since 1990: A German Path and Perspective, with European Ramifications

Ferenc Laczó, Maastricht University

The Long Revolution and Hungary's "Return to (Central) Europe": Ideas on and Policies towards Ending the Cold War, German Unification and European Integration in Hungary from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s

Elena Dragomir, Valahia University of Târgoviște

Romania's Position on the 'German Question' and the Deepening of Western Integration

Panel Discussant: Michael Gehler, Hildesheim University

15.40-16.15 *Break*

16.15-18.00

3: Monetary integration and business actors: Making the Euro, unmaking the deutschmark?

Harold James, Princeton University
Germany between Deutschmark and Euro

Andreas Wirsching, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
A Question of Temporality. The Strasbourg EC-Summit and the acceleration of the Maastricht process

Heike Wieters, Humboldt University, Berlin
European Strategies of the German Insurance Sector

Panel Discussant: Laura Rischbieter, University of Konstanz

19.00 **Conference Dinner**

25 September

9.00-11.30

4: Integration beyond the Euro and its Intersection to German Unification

Gabriele Clemens, University of Hamburg

A Crucial Step towards Europeanization? The Creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the 1990s

Eva Oberloskamp, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich

German Unification and the Intensification of European Police Cooperation

Dominik Geppert, University of Potsdam

Parliamentary Debates on German Unity and European Unification in Bonn and Berlin in 1990 (and 1991)

Guido Thiemeyer, Heinrich Heine University, Düsseldorf

German Unification, the Länder and the Europeanisation of the Political System of Federal Germany

Keith Allen, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Berlin

State Aid to Eastern German Shipbuilding and Steel: European Dimensions

Panel Discussant: Frank Bösch, Leibniz Center for Contemporary History / University of Potsdam

11.30-12.30

Conclusion, Next Steps