Political and Societal Leadership in Encouraging Reconciliation A Comparison of Japanese and German Foreign Policies in their Neighborhoods

> AICGS, Johns Hopkins University Tuesday, October 22, 2013, Hilton Berlin

Young leaders in processes of reconciliation and friendship politics: socio-historical lessons from the Franco-German case

Antoine Vion Aix-Marseille Univ. LEST (UMR CNRS 7317) LabexMed antoine.vion@univ-amu.fr



Background

Franco-German reconciliation is a central process in the EU History

- It has ensured the building of the European Communities
- It has been a driving force behind European integration
- It has ensured the Franco-German Border after 1955

Franco-German reconciliation is a long-standing process

- Post-war reconciliation took nearly 20 years (1945-1963)
- Friendship building has been achieved:
 - through bilateral institutions
 - through city twinnings
 - through civil society initiatives (teachers, trade-unions, Bars, Chambers of Commerce, etc.)

Franco-German friendship remains fragile

- Leaders have got older and transmission is sometimes difficult
- The decrease of linguistic abilities fragilizes relations by making them more banal
- Nationalism is back in the context of the Euro crisis

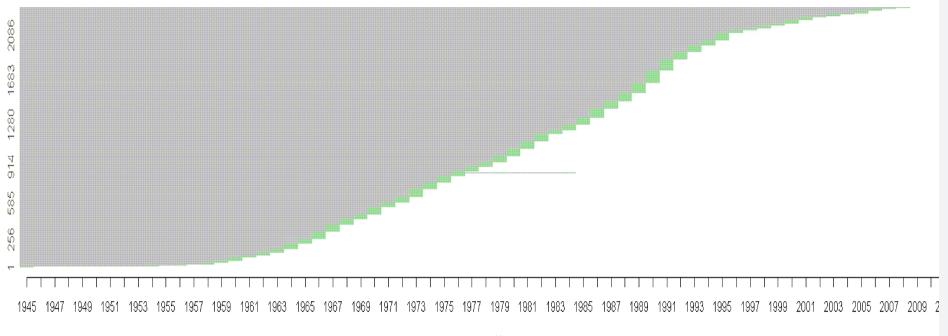
Leadership. Three assumptions

- History matters. Leadership emerges in social contexts which determine its orientation and its type.
 - European context. Free cities were melting pots of modern rights at the end of the Middle Age (Weber). The European Council of Communes made use of the past => city twinnings
 - Post WWII context. Cold War clivages pushed for a democratic process of reconciliation. This was achieved through cultural diplomacy (Defrance), including the Congress for Cultural Freedom (Grémion)
- Generations matter. Leadership is mentored: it is framed into generations (Mannheim) and intergenerational relations
 - e.g. new young mayors in German cities in the 1950s (role of the International Union of Mayors for Reconciliation/Swiss intellectuals)
 - Young journalists and intellectuals influenced by people like Joseph Rovan, Margaret Buber-Neumann, Raymond Aron, etc.
- Memory matters. Leadership is sensitive to the social framing of memory (Halbwachs), which has to be examined closely at each period (new agenda in Historical Research)

Bilateral institutions matter

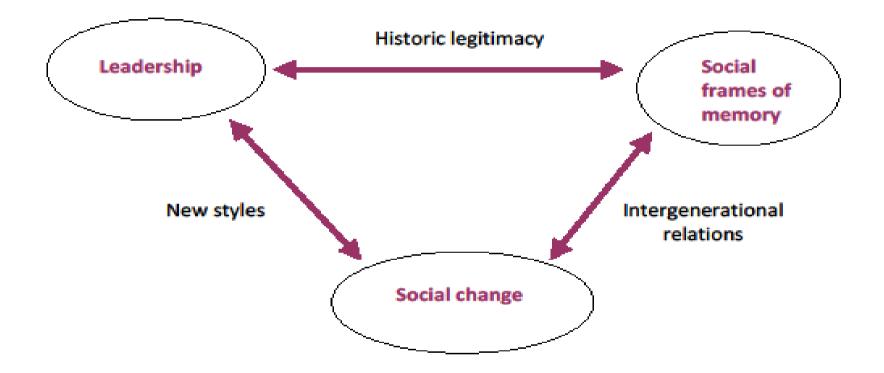
Year	Name	Domain	
1945	BILD	Youth and popular culture	
1948	Ludwigsburg Institute	Culture	
1949	Internationaler Bund	Social work – Training	
1958	Franco-German Research Institute of Saint-Louis	Research in Science and Defence	
1963	Franco-German Youth Office	Youth	
1968	Troup Exchange	Military cooperation	
1972	Abibac	Education	
1978	ISFATES Sarreguemines	Higher Education	
1981	Entente franco-allemande	Reparation of Alsacians' forced work and mutual understanding	
1986	PROCOPE	Research (all domains)	
1987	Franco-German College for Higher Education	Higher Education	
1988	Defence and Security Council	Military Cooperation	
1988	Cultural High Council	Culture	
1988	De Gaulle-Adenauer Prize	Mutual Understanding	
1989	French-German Council for Environment	Ecology	
1989	Franco-German Brigade	Military Cooperation	
1992	Marc Bloch Center	Research in Humanities	
1997	Franco-German University	Higher Education	
2001	French-German Film Academy	Film Production	

Chronology of Franco-German City-twinning agreements



Years

German reunification also matters



Societal conditions of leadership renewal

Historic legitimacy of leading Friendship initiatives

- French-German Friendship today has a strong historic legitimacy from an institutional perspective.
- But there is a difference between benefitters of bilateral and European youth policies and the rise of new young leaders
- We need to understand changes in intergenerational relations and the need for new styles of leadership

Born in	1930-1950	1950-1970	1970-1990	1990-2010	2010-2030	2030-2050
1910	Inherited Nationalism	Peace-building	Active Europeanism	2	_	
1930		Inherited peace- building	Managing European integration with a democratic and anti- communist background	Managing European enlargement with an optimistic background		÷4
1950			Inherited Europeanism	Managing European enlargement with a strong corporatist background	Getting back to national selfishness when retiring ?	
1970				Experimenting the distorsion between political values and economic realms of the enlarged EU	Exit-Voice-Loyalty dilemmas	?
1990					Experimenting work migrations in the context of the crisis	?

Generations of leaders and intergenerational issues

New styles and social frames of memory

Young leaders who emerge:

- 1/ Have been poorly mentored by the 1970 generation who has itself been poorly mentored, as it has been conceived as a generation of policy-users
- 2/ Have to face the growing skepticism towards the EU (which reframes the memory of reconcilation)
- 3/ Have to think of how not to throw the baby of Franco-German friendship with the bath water of the European crisis
- 4/ Have to face the question of work migration
- 5/ Have to invent new forms of trust-building and new styles of community-building

Conclusion: 4 lessons of Franco-German Friendship

- Franco-German reconcilation has somehow succeeded on the basis of active commitment and inter-generational support to it => Main lesson for today's Europe
- Franco-German Friendship is a non-linear process
- Uncertainties may affect the level of trust and friendship but not the security community brought out from the reconcilation process
- Security concerns imply strong commitment in Friendship initiatives