EARLY POST-WAR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND YOUTH POLICIES: EXPLORATION OF THE EUROPEAN YOUTH CAMPAIGN AND YOUTH INITIATIVES IN THE COMMON ASSEMBLY OF THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

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Paper focuses on two relevant post-war frameworks for early European integration processes in the field of youth: the European Youth Campaign initiated by the European Movement in the 1950s and the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community and its youth-related discourses and initiatives. Using a policy analysis approach based on Foucault's concept of the dispositif, the paper aims to critically interpret and compare the intricacies and dynamics of these specific settings at the European level, thereby providing insights into the early stages of youth policies in post-war Europe. By analysing the early configurations in a particular historical context in which certain problematisations of youth emerged, and in an interplay and dynamics of power between different actors, including the emerging European movements and institutionalised forms of intergovernmental cooperation at the European level, we critically interrogate the formations of strategic and conceptual frameworks through which young people in Europe were addressed.

Key words: youth; policy; post war Europe; European Youth Campaign; European integration.

1 INTRODUCTION

Youth policy at European Union level has gained recognition and importance in recent years. To address the needs, difficulties, and opportunities of young people across Europe, the EU has been actively working on numerous youth-

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related initiatives, activities and policies. For example, the European Youth Strategy, which covers the years 2019 to 2027, outlines the EU's youth policy objectives and implementation mechanisms. The EU's commitment to the needs and concerns of young people is also illustrated by the designation of 2022 as the European Year of Youth. As the relevance of youth policies continues to grow, it has sparked scientific debates concerning the development and evolution of this policy field (Williamson 2007; Wallace and Bendit 2009; ter Haar and Copeland 2011; Dibou 2012; Banjac 2014). Much of this discussion has focused on official EU documents and the period since 2000 (ter Haar and Copeland 2011), following the publication of the Commission's White Paper "A new impetus for European youth" (European Commission 2001) and the subsequent adoption of the European framework for cooperation in the youth field (Council of the European Union 2002). Some scholars, however, have taken a more historical view and traced the roots of youth policy back to earlier periods and the adoption of relevant treaties, such as the 1957 Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (Dibou 2012; Williamson 2007). Further, for instance, Pušnik and Banjac (2022, 5–6) argue that youth policies at the European level emerged in response to the social and political challenges posed by young people in the 1960s, especially in the context of the student protests of 1968.

However, the early years after the Second World War, which are relevant to understanding the emergence of youth policies in Europe, have received limited attention in the debate (for notable exceptions see Roos 2021b; Norwig 2014). This paper focuses on two relevant post-war frameworks for early European integration processes in the field of youth: The European Youth Campaign initiated by the European Movement in the 1950s (Richard 1982; Aldrich 1999; Norwig 2014) and the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community and its youth-related discourses and initiatives (Shaev 2019; Roos 2021b). By unravelling the complexities and dynamics of these historical frameworks, we aim to provide insights into the early stages of youth policy at the European level in post-war Europe. The aim is not to identify the exact starting point of a coherent policy framework, but rather to uncover and compare initial formations of discourses, actions and interventions within two different institutional settings aimed at addressing and tailored to young people. These early developments laid the foundations for the later development of an increasingly comprehensive policy framework at European level.

To address this, I adopt an approach inspired by Bailey (2013), who proposes a method of policy analysis based on Foucault"s concept of *dispositif*. Foucault (1980) employed the term to describe a heterogenous range of institutional, physical, and administrative mechanisms, as well as knowledge structures, that serve to reinforce and sustain the exercise of power within society. As Peltonen (2004, 206) clearly states, for Foucault, *dispositif* is a kind of amalgamation of "historically specific [...] discourses and practices." By analysing youth policy as *dispositif*, the paper aims to address the ways in which various power relations between different actors and institutions have contributed to novel perceptions about youth and to measures targeted at them. In addition, we examine the early formations of youth policies via production and dissemination of knowledge and discourses about young people and their needs and identities. Our understanding of policy extends beyond formal legislation and institutional frameworks to encompass a broader range of processes, such as policy enactment, advocacy, influence, and heterogenous political practises. This approach allows us to examine how policy is enacted and carried out in diverse and contingent ways in a variety of historically specific discursive and material sites.

The structure of this article consists of five sections. The first section elaborates Foucauldian *dispositif* framework for policy analysis and methodology used. The second section provides a contextual background to 1950s Europe. It includes an overview of the post-war reconstruction efforts, the evolving perceptions of youth, the geopolitical tensions of the Cold War, economic cooperation and European integration processes in which youth played significant part. This framework helps to understand the socio-political climate in which youth-related discourses, strategies, actions and practises have evolved. The third section looks at the European Youth Campaign in the 1950s. It examines the aims, strategies and initiatives of the campaign and highlights specific approaches that addressed the needs and aspirations of European youth in the post-war period. This analysis offers insights into the early perceptions and approaches that addressed youth at the European level after the World War II. The fourth section focuses on the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community in the 1950s. It examines the Assembly's actions and initiatives that addressed youth concerns and aspirations. By examining specific measures, programmes and strategies, this section demonstrates the emergence of youth policy within the early institutional governing framework and formation at the European level. The conclusion summarises the findings of the study, highlighting and comparing insights from the analysis of the European Youth Campaign and the European Assembly youth policy in the 1950s. It reflects on the broader implications of the study and emphasises the importance of understanding the historical origins of youth policy in shaping contemporary discourse and practises related to European youth.

2 THEORETICAL-METHOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF POLICY FORMATIONS

Within political science, policy analysis as a field of inquiry is, broadly speaking, prevailingly applied as a supposedly objective study of government activities and policy decisions (Fischer et al. 2015). It deals with the complexities of the policy process, including its formation, implementation and evaluation (see Goodin 2009). Moreover, it investigates the organisations and structures that provide the framework within which policies are defined and policy decisions are made (Orsini and Smith 2011, 4).

However, traditional policy analysis is constrained by its narrow focus on actors, institutions, and documents. It implies a research focus on state institutions, the laws and other forms of state regulation, the actions of political and institutional actors, and the elements of the policymaking and implementation processes (deLeon and Vogenbeck 2007; Orsini and Smith 2011; Antwi-Boasiako 2017). This focus tends to overlook the multiple influences of social and political relations on policy that go beyond the immediate political arena (Thissen and Walker 2013, v). It also neglects the historical dimensions of policy formations, which are not static or fixed, but rather dynamic and contingent.

Therefore, critical scholars have proposed alternative perspectives and approaches that go beyond traditional policy analysis (see, inter alia, Ball 1993; Hawkesworth 1994; Rizvi and Lingard 2009; Fischer et al. 2015). Among these, an approach that is particularly sensitive for historical examination of policy formations is proposed by Bailey (2013), who draws on Foucault"s concept of the *dispositif* to conceptualize an approach to policy analysis. According to Foucault

(1980, 194), a *dispositif* is "a heterogeneous ensemble of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements and philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions" that shape and regulate human behaviour. Foucault (1980, 194–95) additionally argues that *dispositif* has a dominant strategic function since it is a "formation which has its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need" (Foucault 1980, 195). From this perspective, the *dispositif* is a specific and concrete response to a particular socio-political issue or problem that exists in a specific historical formation and combines "very heterogeneous elements" whose interplay "produces both power structures and knowledge" (Kessler 2007, 2–3). Bailey (2013, 811) emphasises that the dispositif is at the same time a broader heterogeneous productive formation of discursive and non-discursive elements at the level of structure but is also formed by and through "individual mechanisms, such as organisations, programmes or events, within this ensemble" (P. L. J. Bailey 2013, 811).

Foucault's approach to *dispositif* can therefore serve as an interpretive key to understanding the historical dimensions of policy analysis. Namely, it allows us to consider policy formation as always in a process of becoming, constituted in different ways at different times according to the differential multiplicity of forces, discourses and knowledges that act upon it and constitute it both as an idea and as a material and governable field of practices, culture and meaning (P. L. J. Bailey 2013). In our case, then, the emergence of youth policy at the European level is not a clear, fixed event or setting defined by documents, established institutional frameworks, centralised policy makers, and so on. Its logic, meaning, and materiality are all a construction and product of reciprocal articulations that have emerged historically between discursive and non-discursive practises in response to problematisations. This does not mean that there are no consistencies, overarching trajectories and commonalities of meaning and practice in framing youth and policy related to young people over periods of time. Policy frames, including those related to youth, can become relatively stable formations. However, our point is that youth policy both depends on a range of forces and is always a contested space of meaning, practice, and the exercise of power through which young people are governed in a particular way.

Following the orientations of the approach, the analysis of two formative frameworks of youth policies at the European level, the European Youth Campaign and the Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community consisted of several methodological procedures. The analysis included a baseline analysis of secondary sources that offered insights into the broader socio-political and economic landscape of post-war Europe as "conditions of possibility in which knowledge" (McLeod 2001, 97), narratives and discourses about youth are produced. This preliminary research provided a contextual understanding of the historical period under study and laid the groundwork for a more informed and nuanced analysis of early formations of youth policies at the European level. To explore the European Youth Campaign and the European Coal and Steel Community Assembly as frameworks and formative venues of youth policy at the European level, the research draws from historical archives that contained relevant documents. Specifically, the Historical Archives of the European Union (EUI 2023) and the Archives of European Integration (AEI 2023) were consulted. These online archives are recognised repositories of historical materials that shed light on the development of European policies and initiatives (Wilkin 2009; Audland 2007). The archival research involved identifying and locating documents and a systematic approach was used to find primary sources directly

related to the youth policies studied. A thematic approach (Wilbraham 1995) to "analyse classifications and present themes" (Alhojailan 2012, 10) related to youth was adopted, which made it possible to further identify the main narratives, discourses and actions related to youth policies. Furthermore, attention was drawn to the different definitions of "youth" in the documents, reflecting the evolving understanding of youth in the European context. The documents studied were examined along with existing interpretations (Preda 2014; Palayret 1995, 2014; Norwig 2014; Shaev 2019; Roos 2021b) of both frameworks, the European Youth Campaign and the Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community to identify the strategic and conceptual dimensions that have been developed and used to deal with young people in Europe.

3 RESHAPING NARRATIVES: YOUTH IN POST-WAR EUROPEAN SOCIETY, THE ONSET OF THE COLD WAR, AND THE EVOLVING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The end of the Second World War brought profound change to European societies as nations faced the consequences of immense devastation and loss. The destructive effects of war became a catalyst for post-war ideas of unity and cooperation aimed at ensuring lasting peace and stability in Europe (Milward 1984).

In rethinking Europe, its status, orientation, and its identity, young people have often been a reference for what Europe essentially is. Young people emerged as a powerful force symbolizing renewal, progress, and the way forward. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, various European countries began to talk of the "younger generation" playing an important role in the reconstruction and spiritual renewal of post-war European societies (Wienand 2016). These discourses were partly in line with traditions and concepts already developed by youth movements but were also the result of the specific post-war situation. As all of Europe rebuilt, young people as a group were the object of countless debates and government policies as they represented the "hope of the future" (Wienand 2017). This discourse was aligned with existing traditions and concepts developed by youth movements, but it was also a response to the specific post-war situation. Young people became a focal point around which elements of the new society were built, and which came to the fore in social and political discussions (Jobs 2007) and practices. This was visible through youth's cultural internationalism in the form of mobilities, backpacking (Jobs 2015), while another relevant example of transforming youth's attitudes in the post-war period is the profound and philosophical movement of Lettrism, which emerged in France and stimulated the artistic expression and imagination of the youth (Jobs 2007).

Young people were also active in European movements for European unity (Preda 2014). These movements, at least most of them, were inspired by the vision of a united and peaceful Europe that would overcome the nationalist divisions (Boer, Wilson and Dussen 2005). As such, they received support from the United States, particularly through the implementation of the Marshall Plan. The latter, formally known as the European Recovery Program, was a U.S.-sponsored program that "transferred $13 billion in aid from the United States to Western Europe in the years from 1948 to 1951" (De Long and Eichengreen 1991, 2; see also Holm 2016). The USA supported the idea of a united Europe for both economic and political reasons (Rappaport 1981; Lundestad 1986).

Economically, the US wanted to help rebuild Western Europe as a market for American goods and services and as a source of raw materials and trading partners. Politically, the US aimed to prevent the spread of communism in Europe, especially after the Soviet Union established its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe (Messenger 2014). In this state of geopolitical tension and ideological rivalry between the United States and its allies, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its allies, on the other, the Cold War context further heightened the significance of European movements that sought to stimulate, promote, and advance the idea of European unity (Schwabe 2001; Rappaport 1981). Thus, the movements, not just those supporting the European unity, but in movements general, became part of the wider ideological battlefield (Kotek 2004). Both sides involved in the Cold War financed youth organizations, utilizing them as platforms to disseminate their own value systems among young people while discouraging alternative perspectives (ibid.).

The European Unity Movements, in which young people played an active role, made various attempts to shift the institutionalization of cooperation at the European level (CVCE 2016a). The International Committee of the Movements for European Unity, arising from the Union of European Federalists and other related movements, surfaced as the predominant organization in Europe. This committee played a pivotal role in orchestrating the influential Congress of Europe, held in 1948 in the Hague (Guerrieri 2014). This congress deliberated on various possibilities of European cooperation.

For our purposes, it is important to emphasise that the Hague Congress stimulated more concerted efforts to organise and deepen European cooperation. As a result, "the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity [...] became the European Movement on 25 October 1948" (CVCE 2016b). The European Movement, under the leadership of influential politicians like Robert Schuman and Paul-Henri Spaak, was instrumental in advancing the political process of European integration and swaying public opinion in favour of a united Europe. As Aldrich (1995) points out, the movement received considerable support from the United States, both financial and otherwise: "Substantial campaign funds to promote the message of unity in Europe" (ibid., 159) were directed at various audiences, including youth.

Another significant push for European cooperation and deeper integration arose from the relationship between France and Germany. One of the major obstacles to Franco-German reconciliation after the war was the question of coal and steel production (Petzina, Stolper and Hudson 1981; Gillingham 1991). Coal and steel were the two most vital materials for developed nations; the backbone of a successful economy. Coal was the primary energy source in Europe, accounting for almost 70% of fuel consumption. Steel was a fundamental material for industry and to manufacture it required large amounts of coal. Both materials were also needed to create weapons (NEU 2018).

In response to this pressing issue, the Schuman Plan, originally proposed by the President of the European Movement and French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, was designed to promote deeper European integration (Alter and Steinberg 2007). Although a political initiative, the Plan was also driven by significant material and economic factors. Its outcome was the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1951, which established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (Gillingham 1991). The ECSC consisted of the six countries, including France, Italy, the Benelux and West Germany, and was intended to

create a unified framework for producing and trading coal and steel (Mason 1955). The United Kingdom, however, decided not to participate in the ECSC because it opposed a supranational authority (Blair 2005, 22). The institutional structure of the ECSC was centred around the High Authority, the forerunner of today's European Commission, which was responsible for carrying out the Community's tasks. The Council of Ministers represented the governments of the member states, with the presidency rotating between states every three months. In addition, the Common Assembly, which later became the European Parliament, consisted of representatives elected either by national deputies or by directly elected individuals who had the power to supervise the activities of the executive (Gillingham 1991).

The Common Assembly, as Rittberger (2005) shows, was established based on very diverse ideas about whether and how to include a parliamentary body should be included in the ECSC's institutional framework. It became clear that its inclusion in the institutional structure served the purpose of ensuring democratic accountability (Rittberger 2005, 98). Consequently, the Treaty of Paris states that "The Assembly, which shall consist of representatives of the peoples of the States brought together in the Community, shall exercise the supervisory powers" (European Coal and Steel Community 1951, 30). Obviously, the assembly was intended to provide a democratic counterweight and act as a check on the High Authority, possessing formal powers to remove the High Authority from office following investigations of abuse (Polin 2014). Basically, there was a common agreement that "a parliamentary assembly was considered an acceptable part of the Community's institutional architecture as long as it did not cause any form of interference with domestic economic objectives" (Rittberger 2005, 104) of member countries. From this position, with a rather weak role from the outset, it has managed to develop into a relevant institution, helping to identify various relevant issues and formulating ideas, initiating plans, programmes and projects in various fields that are also relevant to young Europeans (Guerrieri 2008).

4 FRAMEWORK FOR CHANGE: EUROPEAN YOUTH CAMPAIGN AND SHAPING YOUNG PEOPLE'S SUBJECTIVITIES

The post-war European society was characterized by a rich diversity of social, confessional, and political backgrounds among the youth population (Wienand 2016, 57). This diversity was reflected in various forms of collective organization adopted by young people. For instance, the establishment of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), a left-leaning organization founded after the Second World War, provided a platform for youth with shared ideologies to come together. As Kotek (2004, 169) explains, through the WFDY and the International Union of Students (IUS), another similar international youth organisation, "the Soviets had a monopoly in international youth and student affairs. […] [A]s they were led by the communists, this meant that from 1945 to 1950 the representation of young people at the international level was a Soviet monopoly; and it was exercised along Stalinist lines, attacking the Marshall Plan and the European movement […] and so on." One of the events under the auspices of the Soviet regime that particularly caught the attention of Western governments, officials and the United States amidst the escalating Cold War tensions was the 3rd World Festival of Youth and Students organized in Berlin by the WFDY in 1951 (Kotek 1996). This youth festival, which was exceptionally

well attended, served as a wake-up call, highlighting the potential influence and appeal of socialist values among young people (ibid.).

For liberal Western governments, two significant problematizations emerged in relation to the youth organising in Europe, requiring strategic intervention in the form of governmental responses at various levels including European. The first was the urgent need to reduce the spread of socialist ideas and Soviet influence, which was a critical concern for liberal Western governments and US officials. Recognizing the necessity to redirect young individuals away from these ideological frameworks, efforts were made to address this issue effectively. The second challenge was to create a strong sense of European identity despite the ongoing process of European integration through different movements, political actions and discourses. Young people were identified as a pertinent target group because of their perceived receptiveness to different ideas, necessitating initiatives to promote a cohesive European identity among them.

One important framework through which these youth-related challenges were addressed, and solutions were sought was the European Movement (Hick 1991; Preda 2014; McKenzie 2016). As already shown, the European movement had a strategic objective to "inform and mobilise public opinion in favour of European integration" (CVCE 2016b) and brought together influential elite figures such as Winston Churchill, Paul-Henri Spaak, Duncan Sandys, Joseph H. Retinger, and Major Edward Berrington-Behrens (Aldrich 1999). In the summer of 1948, the European movement's international executive arrived in New York to advocate for the formation of an American committee to support their efforts for European unification. This mission was led by Duncan Sandys, the president of the European movement's international executive, and Joseph H. Retinger, the Secretary-General, among others (Aldrich 1997, 190).

To facilitate support and assistance from the United States, the American Committee on United Europe (ACUE) was established. Directed by prominent figures from the American intelligence community, including Allen Welsh Dulles and William J. Donovan, the ACUE was organized as a fundraising and lobby organization in New York (Aldrich 1995, 160). It presented itself as a group of "private citizens in the United States" who are "devoted to aiding groups of private citizens in Europe working for unity, informing Americans of progress toward European unity, and achieving a better understanding of the common responsibilities shared by the peoples of free Europe and the United States" (American Committee on United Europe 1953, 3), a significant number of ACUE"s leading members were affiliated with U.S. intelligence services (Aldrich 1995). The ACUE covertly provided financial contributions to the European Movement, injecting over three million dollars between 1949 and 1960, primarily from U.S. government sources (Aldrich 1997, 185).

Regarding youth, in 1949, the ACUE initiated discussions with the leaders of the European Movement, particularly Paul-Henri Spaak and Joseph Retinger, "assuring their support for initiatives aimed at sensitizing young people to the European ideal" (Preda 2014, 78). These talks about potential cooperation in this respect led to the establishment of contacts between the European Movement and various youth organizations, including international youth movements tied to political parties and the World Assembly of Youth (Palayret 1995, 48; Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1949). As a result, and as a response to the Berlin Youth festival, the organization of the Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse in 1951 was established. The central coordination office of the

Campaign was based in Paris and staffed by an international team with experience in youth work (Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1951b; see also Preda 2014).

Initially intended to last for one year (Palayret 1995, 48), the campaign's scope expanded, resulting in the establishment of national secretariats in the 15 member countries of the European Council, under the coordination of an international secretariat, as already mentioned, in Paris (Preda 2014, 79; Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1952). The ACUE provided significant financial support to the campaign, with costs reaching $200,000 per year by the end of 1953. While the exact impact on mass opinion is difficult to determine, senior Europeans credited the campaign's mass outreach efforts for their successes (Aldrich 1997, 208). As Norwig (2014, 255–56) argues, the campaign focused on sustained educational programs, avoiding grandiose mass events initially proposed by the ACUE. In this regard, director Jean Moreau stated: "[I]f if we wanted to focus our attention on youth because it represented the future and because it could be won over to the idea of European unification more easily than the older generations, which are fixed in their habits, we could not think about making youth play the role that is usually assigned to them by anti-democratic regimes like Nazism or Communism" (Moreau in Norwig 2014, 256).

Instead, therefore, the campaign aimed to increase the knowledge of young people about Europe, the objectives of the European integration and efforts for the European unity (Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1951a). As Palayret (1995, 50) explains, the programs were designed with a specific focus: to study the economic, social, political, and cultural challenges that European countries were facing, the solution of which would determine their future. For the leading persons behind the campaign, it was important to ensure that young people understood that the establishment of Europe represented progress and a chance for peace. The focus on promoting European unification amongst the youth was mirrored in the development of the idea for the bulletin: "After the special emphasis on European propaganda, we will not forget to give this publication an educational aspect and an interest in the problems of young people's lives, an aspect that can be the best way to interest our public" (Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1951a, 20).

Between 1952 and 1954 The Campaign also promoted the plan for a European Defense Community (EDC) (Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1953), which envisioned the creation of a common European army as a starting point for supranational European authority (Norwig 2014, 256–257). The European Movement advertised the EDC as a crucial step towards a more integrated Europe, gradually extending its competencies to political, economic, and social domains. To garner support for the EDC among young people, the Campaign launched "special actions known as operations de pilonnage" (Norwig 2014, 257). As organisers themselves explain: "By this name we mean incursions into gathering points for workers (factory exits), students (universities and schools) and places where people meet, markets, fairs, church exits etc. These groups of young people go to these places in a spectacular way (flag-bearers, small processions) and put-up posters and billboards with European propaganda and distribute leaflets and flyers" (Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1953, 35). Young ambassadors organized spectacular promotional events advocating for the European Defense Community, acting as advocates among their peers. Furthermore, the Campaign, from 1952 onwards, took a more political direction organising various events and activities, such as "demonstrations during major

events, the setting up of internships and camps for the selection and political training of future cadres [...]" (Preda 2014, 79). The campaign, especially in 1954 and 1955, also focused on fostering a European civic spirit (Preda 2014).

Looking at the European Youth Campaign of the 1950s from the perspective of policy as a *dispositif*, it can be interpreted as an elite multifaceted project that was at least partly intended as a reaction to the spread of socialist values among youth in Europe. Furthermore, during this period, youth across Europe demonstrated agency and actively participated in political activities (Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse 1953). They formed collectivities and expressed their political will and established themselves as a political force. Youth's active behaviour is crucial to understanding why they became the target of various incentives such as the European Youth Campaign. The campaign received political backing from the United States and, more importantly, financial support that enabled its various strands of activities.

At the European level, the European Youth Campaign proved to be a form of power that permitted, stimulated, and produced desirable behaviour among young people. The discourse used in the campaign took a dual form. On the one hand, it aimed to capitalize on the perceived malleability of postwar youth and position them as the vanguard of a new political generation capable of overcoming hostility, prejudice, and nationalism. On the other hand, pro-European activists of the time strategically employed nationalist terms and references to mobilize support. It is difficult to assess the impact of the campaign during its existence until 1959. However, it can be stated that in its composition, structure, and configuration, it responded to the specific problematizations at the European level concerning youth. Young people became the target of interventions, and concerted efforts, including financial and human resources, were made to shape them. The ultimate goals of the campaign transcended national boundaries and political divisions and aimed at the integration of all European countries and the formation of a European generation (Palayret 1995, 59–60).

5 COMMON ASSEMBLY'S COMMITMENT TO YOUTH: NARRATIVES AND FIELDS OF ACTION

In September 1952, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Common Assembly convened its first meeting in the distinguished Palais de l'Europe in Strasbourg (CVCE 2014). Despite its initially modest powers, the Common Assembly demonstrated a desire to assume a more prominent role (Guerrieri 2013). It surpassed the Treaty's prescribed procedures, which primarily involved a posteriori control through the, as already indicated, examination of the High Authority's annual report. Instead, the Assembly adopted a proactive approach: "It set up a system of standing committees: four large committees with 23 members (common market; investment, financing and development of production; social affairs; political affairs and external relations), and three small committees with nine members (transport; accounts and administration; rules of procedure, petitions and immunities)" (Guerrieri 2008, 185). In addition to ordinary sessions, the Common Assembly conducted extraordinary sessions to delve into pressing matters and engage in in-depth discussions. This dynamic structure facilitated a continuous and constructive dialogue with the High Authority. For our discussion, it is relevant that the Assembly influenced Community's "policy on a broad range of issues" (ibid., 186). In this sense, the

committees played a pivotal role in shaping initiatives, providing a platform for parliamentarians to express their observations, criticisms, and proposals. Members of the High Authority frequently attended these committee meetings, presenting the Community's programming lines and actively seeking input from parliamentarians (Guerrieri 2008).

Of all the committees, the Social Affairs Committee assumed particular significance, especially concerning youth-related issues (Shaev 2019, 11). While the ECSC primarily focused on economic objectives, aiming to boost productivity, the Social Affairs Committee members, as Shaev (ibid.) argues, expressed divergent views that challenged the governing "productivity-focused" rationale of the ECSC. Thus, in the early meetings, committee members recognized that neglecting social policy could undermine the legitimacy of the European project. They therefore sought to increase the weight and importance of social policy within the ECSC framework. By actively participating in discussions and advocating greater emphasis on social policy, the Common Assembly's Social Affairs Committee played a crucial role in shaping the ECSC's youth policy (ibid., 12).

In their work and discussions in the 1950s, the committee members delved into specific topics related to youth, recognizing that young people represented a vital segment of society with unique needs and aspirations. As highlighted by Roos (2021b, 30–31), the Assembly recognised the need to gain the support of the public and to identify with the Community project and devoted much time and effort to promoting community action for young people. The aim was to foster a sense of belonging and a pro-European attitude among young people, with the ultimate aim of raising generations who would actively participate in efforts towards closer integration (Roos 2021b).

The Assembly already focused on youth issues in 1953, just one year after its foundation. During a joint meeting of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Common Assembly of the ECSC on 22 June 1953 (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1953), the unification of Europe was discussed. Mlle Klompe, a member of the Common Assembly of the ECSC, expressed concern about the uncertain political situation in Europe and stressed the responsibility to work together for the development of the Community: "In doing this, we shall contribute tremendously towards bringing peaceful conditions to the world. We shall thus live up to the standard which we set ourselves of bringing to our peoples, especially the younger generation, peace, prosperity and freedom" (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1953, 17). This quotation shows the deep concern of the Assembly member for the unification of Europe. It signifies the Assembly's recognition of existing obstacles that hindered the unification process. Moreover, the quotation underlines that the goal of unification was important not only for the broad European population, but also for the young generation.

Another Assembly member, Gunter Henle from the Federal Republic of Germany, addressed the Community's external relations, particularly with the United Kingdom (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1953, 49). He metaphorically referred to the Community as a young man being courted by older rivals. This metaphorical use of youth underlines the status of the community as a relatively new formation, showing both uncertainty in relationships and a determination to build new ones.

Moreover, in the Assembly's discussions youth-related issues were intertwined with significant matters such as the European Defence Community. Pierre-Henri Teitegen (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1953, 103–4), an Assembly member, highlighted the importance of the Italian younger generation's support for the European cause. In his statement, Teitegen highlights the important role that young people must play in reaching a consensus on the European Defence Community in Italy. However, he notes that the younger generation does not sufficiently recognise the importance of European integration. Teitegen identifies one of the reasons for the reluctance of Italian youth: the slow pace of European integration. There is thus a cyclical relationship in which the lack of youth commitment to Europe hinders progress, while the slow progress itself contributes to the lack of youth commitment to the European project.

The Social Affairs Committee of the Assembly served as a platform to address various areas of potential cooperation, and one important area that received attention was vocational training. It is widely acknowledged, as stated in Luce Pépin's frequently cited paper (2007), that a common vocational training policy at the European level emerged in 1957 with the establishment of the Treaty that formed the European Economic Community. However, this statement is problematic as it overlooks the proactive efforts undertaken by the Assembly, particularly the Social Affairs Committee, as early as 1954, to explore and promote vocational training opportunities for young individuals.

The committee engaged in discussions, research, and exploration of various possibilities to enhance vocational training opportunities. For example, the Social Affairs Committee's Report on labour issues (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1954a) highlighted the lack of mutual learning and benefit from vocational training experiences among the countries. It called for greater emphasis on systematic vocational training and comprehensive basic education with special attention to young people in the coal and steel industries.

Additionally, the Committee acknowledged and supported the European movement's organization of courses for young steelworkers and miners from the Community's six countries (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1954a, 18). Vocational training remained a consistent policy focus for the committee during the entire decade of the 1950s (see Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1955a, 1957). However, the Assembly focused its attention on young people not only in the context of vocational training, but also, via its discussions, plans and initiatives, in other fields. For example, the members of the Social Affairs Committee actively addressed young individuals in relation to crucial matters such as work safety, occupational diseases (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1955b), and the issue of worker housing (Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel 1954b).

Interpreting the activities of the Assembly, with a particular focus on its Social Affairs Committee, through the lens of the concept of *dispositif* sheds light on a complex network of interrelated elements that contribute to the shaping and management of youth-related issues. In this context, the Assembly's approach to young people demonstrates a dynamic engagement with the concept of youth in multiple dimensions. A core aspect of this is the Assembly's efforts to address the multiple challenges faced by young people in society. These challenges are

approached through different segments or socio-political problematisations, illustrating a deliberate attempt to categorise and target different concerns affecting young people. By segmenting youth-related issues, the Assembly demonstrates its awareness of the need for specialised interventions. Youth are portrayed as a powerful force with the potential to influence social progress and change. This narrative, however, is coupled with the recognition that youth need continuous guidance and training.

Although concrete programs and policy orientations were not yet fully developed during this period, the Assembly's engagement with youth issues underscored their recognition of the importance of constructing a specific approach to youth within the European society. The Assembly's focus on youth policy aligns with the notion of policy as a *dispositif*, wherein policy formations are never fully complete and evolve through multiple sources and heterogeneous lineages (D. J. Bailey 2006). In this context, the Assembly's initiatives and discussions surrounding youth policy can be seen as part of an ongoing process of shaping and refining the policies and programs aimed at young people.

6 CONCLUSION

A comparison of the European Youth Campaign of the 1950s and the commitment to youth of the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community in the same decade, in particular the Social Affairs Committee, sheds light on the intricate dynamics of actors, approaches, principles, discourses, and strategies at play in the early formations of youth policy in post-war Europe. By analysing the early configurations in a particular historical context in which certain problematizations regarding youth emerged, and in a complex interplay and dynamic of power between different actors, including the emerging European movements and institutionalised forms of intergovernmental cooperation at the European level, we were able to identify the formations of strategic and conceptual frameworks through which young people in Europe were addressed.

The European Youth Campaign, initiated by the European Movement with a strong financial and political support from the US, emerged as a multifaceted undertaking aimed at countering socialist values circulating among younger generation, fostering a unified European identity, and shaping the attitudes and values of young individuals as European subjects (Norwig 2014). The European Youth Campaign and its leaders envisioned, organised and implemented highly diverse strategies among which an important one is to consider youth not as a passive target of initiatives, programs, etc. but as active agents. Thus, the Campaign actively involved young people as agents of change and positioned them as vital contributors to political objectives (Palayret 1995). Simultaneously, the ECSC Common Assembly went beyond its formal tasks and prescribed responsibilities, proactively addressing youth concerns through discussions and initiatives. Comparing Assembly's attitude and strategy towards youth in Europe with that of the Campaign, Assembly members also addressed young people as the bearers of Europe's future and pursued the goal of youth recognising themselves as Europeans (Roos 2021a).

Furthermore, it is important to note that both the ECSC Assembly and the European Youth Campaign addressed youth issues in the broader context of various initiatives to deepen European integration, including a plan for a European Defence Community. The EDC was an ambitious initiative aimed at

creating a supranational European defence structure. By including youth in the narratives about the importance of the EDC and seeking support among young people for this particular European project, the ECSC Assembly and the European Youth Campaign recognised the crucial role that young people play in shaping the future of European defence and security. By involving youth in discussions about defence and security, the ECSC Assembly and the European Youth Campaign fostered a sense of ownership and responsibility among young Europeans, instilling in them a commitment to collective defence and a shared European identity (Norwig 2014; see also Dean 2010).

By deconstructing these historical contexts, we have gained valuable insights into the intricate mechanisms through which power relations, knowledge production, and discursive practices influenced the perceptions, needs, and identities of young people in postwar Europe. The youth-focused responses at the European level in the post-war period, both by the European movement through the Youth Campaign and by the ECSC Common Assembly, must be therefore understood as a strategic and deliberate response to certain problematisations, albeit with rather contingent results. As Lövbrand and Stripple (2015) argues, such "situated historical analyses of the specific dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functioning through which power operates […]" can gives us an insight into how these have "multiple, relational and pervasive effects" (Lövbrand and Stripple 2015, 95). The analysis allows us to see that contemporary forms of arrangements of youth field at EU level have not always emerged through deliberate, strategic and predetermined shifts and the adoption of measures and policies within a given framework. These youth policy frameworks are at once coherent and permeable, and the actions taken within them are at once deliberate and contingent. If anything, even at present we can observe (ter Haar and Copeland 2011, 2) a series of interactions between heterogeneous actors, the introduction of a range of instruments ranging from regulations and directives to new forms of governance, responding to specific problems related to young people identified by actors at local, national and European levels. This, according to Rose and Miller (1992, 182), is exactly how modern government at different levels, including European, functions. Government is a problematising activity through which objects or subjects of intervention are not pre-existing but are imagined, performed, articulated and constructed. In this way, youth as a strategic policy objective and object of intervention is not only addressed as an end point but articulated in a specific way. As we have shown, the Youth Campaign as well as the narratives of the Assembly and the proposed lines of intervention in this field already addressed youth in the 1950s as bearers of the European future, but at the same time not yet ready-made persons whose attitudes, comportments, values and norms can and must be shaped and formed.

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◉

ZGODNJE POVOJNO EVROPSKO POVEZOVANJE IN MLADINSKE POLITIKE: ŠTUDIJA EVROPSKE MLADINSKE KAMPANJE IN POBUD NA PODROČJU MLADINE V ENOTNI SKUPŠČINI EVROPSKE SKUPNOSTI ZA PREMOG IN JEKLO

Članek se osredotoča na dva pomembna okvira zgodnjih povojnih evropskih integracijskih procesov na področju mladine: Evropsko mladinsko kampanjo, ki jo je v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja zagnalo Evropsko gibanje, in Enotno skupščino Evropske skupnosti za premog in jeklo ter njene diskurze in pobude, povezane z mladimi. Prek pristopa analize politik, ki temelji na Foucaultovem konceptu dispozitiva, prispevek kritično interpretira in primerja kompleksnosti in dinamiko teh specifičnih okvirov na evropski ravni ter tako omogoča vpogled v zgodnje faze mladinskih politik v povojni Evropi. Z analizo zgodnjih konfiguracij v določenem zgodovinskem kontekstu, v katerem so se pojavile različne problematizacije mladih, ter v medsebojnem vplivu in dinamiki moči med različnimi akterji, vključno z nastajajočimi evropskimi gibanji in institucionaliziranimi oblikami medvladnega sodelovanja na evropski ravni, je kritično naslovljeno oblikovanje strateških in konceptualnih okvirov, prek katerih so bili mladi v Evropi obravnavani.

Ključne besede: mladi; politika; povojna Evropa; Evropska mladinska kampanja; evropsko povezovanje.