

EUROPEAN OPTIONS
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND WESTERN EUROPE

by
WINFRIED BÖTTCHER
Center for European Studies, Aachen

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Introduction

Deliberations on the positions of Germany in Europe compel us to make a few introductory remarks on the concept of the state.

The state as a political organisation has over the last 250 years caused cooperation and conflict between the peoples. It was and still is the main obstacle in all efforts towards integration that have been undertaken throughout history.

I believe that we are currently in a transitional phase from state to a larger confederation and that we should strive for such a confederation in order to solve the major problems of our time, in order to survive.

From this supposition follow further points, as I describe in an exempla-

ry way political challenges of our time, which determine the future of the Federal Republic of Germany and Europe alike; in other words, the European options for German politics that will only stand a chance in an integrated Europe. In my final remarks, I shall allow myself to give a personal estimation whether and if so under what circumstances such options will have a chance.

The National State as an Obstacle to Integration

Whith the emergence of the modern age and the rise of capitalism, we see the creation of the state as a political organisation and up to the first World War all nations in Europe considered it their aim to establish independent states. The concepts that specify the state have induced in people who live within a defined geographical area with similar linguistic, ethnic, ethical, cultural and historical roots an element of solidarity which has frequently been inflated to excess proportions against neighbours in a war.

After the first major European war, the national states already had hardly any chance of survival, although this was then only recognised by few, like Von Coudenhove - Kalergi. But the power structures were different. The politicians of the time, particularly those of the victorious powers, believed in the superiority of their regimes and in the state as the highest level of development of human life. The League of Nations, as a careful attempt to introduce supra-national elements in national politics, suffered from its own principle of unanimousness. The Briand plan, influenced by Von Coudenhove - Kalergi, which was to unite the nations of Europe in a loose federation without, however, affecting the «sovereignty of any one nation», was also doomed to fail because of its basic contradiction: the creation of a federation without loss of sovereignty for its members. It was the second European conflict and the new division of the world in East and West, and the subsequent transfer of power from the national, formerly world - dominating states of Western Europe to the United States of America and the Soviet Union that initiated a process radical reconsideration.

After the destruction of the national states, the latter were rebuilt as quickly as possible. The idea that they were an anachronism was proved wrong to the extent that the states were capable of relieving distress and hunger and providing the basic needs within the shortest possible time. This way they proved their capacity to function. In spite of the fact that the states have gained strength since 1945 and we can witness certain trends towards an increased nationalism, an example of which can be found in the recent speech by Margaret Thatcher at the start of the academic year in Bruges, there are nevertheless limits to the state in an increasingly integrating world. The unification process

in the world has grown steadily since the discovery of America. This process is stimulated by the progress of technology, trade and economy. It is true that today, as before, there are deep - rooted political contrasts but it still seems likely that the search for spiritual, material and political unity will develop and will also result in some kind of unity in one or another form.

The necessity of world integration has rendered the political concept of sovereignty and the economic concept of autarchy obsolete.

The latter applies especially to Europe. The national states are unable to solve the basic problems that transcend the national borders. On the one hand these problems are supranational and on the other hand they have a great impact on the individual nations. Problems such as security, energy supply, supply of raw materials, population explosion, unemployment, environmental pollution, currency questions, North - South conflict, control of technological developments have both regional and continental aspects. These basic problems transcend national frameworks and render national states helpless and incapable of acting. This will not be contradicted by many and yet the Western European states will put the private national interest above the general European interest.

Options for the Federal Republic of Germany and Western Europe - common characteristics

In this section of my deliberation, I will discuss matters from the point of view of the Federal Republic of Germany. National interest cannot be separated from the European integration process, on the contrary, they constitute an integral part. On the one hand they act as impediments, on the other hand they provide impulses for the integration. They will act as impediments whenever the national interest cannot be integrated in the general interest and also cannot be defined in the lowest common multiple. However, when politicians have the impression that national interest can best be pursued within the general interest, progress towards integration can be made.

The West German interests that I will introduce below in especially Western European options, concern challenges of our time for which there is no single national solution. From a list of international problem areas I have selected four that will be illustrated as to their perspectives:

- fight against mass unemployment
- society's control over technological developments
- the right to nature — nature's own rights
- creation of a European awareness

The Fight against Mass Unemployment

In 1984, the European Community social report stated: «And also poverty, which has always existed, takes on a new proportion with the advance of the «new poor». The latter group consists of those who have been affected inordinately hard by the crisis»¹. The report confirms that in spite of increasing budgets for social security poverty is growing, in spite of the growth over the last few years. The young, women, unskilled labourers, immigrants and disabled people constitute the problem groups. Poverty causes bad health and bad housing conditions. Having once been forced into the vicious circle of poverty, it is almost impossible to get out by oneself. Poverty will increase. Nobody knows at what rate. Nobody knows the true extent of the real situation. One of the main causes for poverty is obvious: mass unemployment. Mass unemployment, the problem of this century, concerns the Federal Republic of Germany as much as it does the European Community. We distinguish three problem groups among the unemployed:

- the young
- women
- the long - term unemployed.

Before I discuss these problem groups in more detail, I would like to give a brief description of the developments on the labour market over the last 10 years².

In 1976, circa 50 % of all EC citizens was employed in the service sector, in 1986, this had gone up to 58 % (during this time Greece, Spain and Portugal became members of the EC). In the same period the percentage of people employed in industry decreased from 38 to 34 %. The most dramatic changes took place in the agricultural sector, where employment dropped from 11 to 8 %. Without the entry of the Mediterranean countries, the figure would have been halved.

Between 1970 and 1980, the population of the EC increased by circa 6 million, while the Gross Domestic Product for both prices and parities rose by about 191 per cent (from 992 billion ECU to 2883 billion ECU and the monetary reserves from circa 105 billion to circa 300 billion ECU). I have given these figures to illustrate that during the period in question of 10 years (1970

1. Report on Social Developments for the Year 1983, Brussels, Luxembourg 1984, p. 6.

2. Compare Eurostat, *Revue Rassegna* 1976 - 1985, Luxembourg 1987, in particular Chapter 3 «The Population and social Circumstances» pp. 92 - 136, here p. 105ff. and Eurostat 1978 - 1986 *ibid.*

to 1980), the EC has become richer, productivity has increased, average incomes have grown and at the same time poverty has expanded.

This last observation will be illustrated with the unemployment figures. During the same period in which the Gross Domestic Product increased by about 200 per cent, the number of people unemployed in the EC grew by 400 per cent, from 3 million to 12 million. We should note here that if members of the various families are included the number of people affected amounts to circa 36 million. By 1987 the unemployment figure had already risen to 17 million. Applying the factor two here as well will produce a total of 50 million people affected by unemployment. When having a job is not merely considered in material terms, but also seen as an important aspect of self - fulfillment as a human being, in terms of identification, then the term poverty presents itself in its full scope. The loss of social integration does not merely constitute restrictions in consumer behaviour, but also loneliness, humiliation and health risks.

The important social principle of equality, which in the capitalist system is always subordinate to individual freedom, does not apply to the unemployed, either. Here too some are more equal.

For example, in 1974 there were about one million unemployed women against two million men; by 1983 there were already five million unemployed women and «only» seven million unemployed men. Since 1973 unemployment amongst women has risen steadily by about 40 per cent, that amongst men by 17 per cent per year.

Even more ominous are the statistics for the young. Of all registered unemployed men in 1985, 37.4% were under 25 years old; amongst women the figure was 49.5%.

Structural problems affect the young in particular, such as:

- labour law regulations,
- little or no working experience,
- during a crisis companies will tend to increase working hours of the existing work force rather than appoint new employees,
- sociopolitically it seems more defensible to transfer the unemployment risks to the young,
- wrong qualifications as training/education and professional practice have drifted apart.

Amongst the young too, women are in a particularly disadvantageous position.

A third problem group consists of the long - term unemployed. The increasing length of the period of unemployment is directly proportional here to the chances of employment for people in this group.

In 1982, 33 per cent of unemployed men and 31 per cent of unemployed women had been unemployed for more than a year. The danger here lies in the fact that society is prepared to accept a high unemployment level and is accepting unemployment as a common phenomenon. The more widespread this acceptance is, the easier it is for governments to continue in the present vein.

The essential option for the future of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as Europe, to solve the problem of mass unemployment can be summarised in this thesis:

In the economical and socio-political discussion the concept of «qualitative growth» should become a dominant one.

As a foundation for this thesis, I would like to present a few basic points. The «traditional» growth type, based on the selfhealing powers of the market economy, presumes a steady economic growth and full employment together with monetary stability. Quantitative growth, characterised by a supply - side orientation, a quantitative expansion of production, the logic of profit which determines the production of goods, the preference of luxury goods over consumer goods, wage development in accordance with the market, will not suffice to solve the problems. We know now that the growth rates that can cause a distinctive reduction of unemployment can hardly be achieved.

The «qualitative growth type» is based on full employment and improvement to the quality of life; it starts from a reform concept which focusses on sectoral and regional structural development, with due consideration for the environment and the institutional reforms to translate the principles of a qualitative growth into economic reality. As many social groups as possible should be involved in the planning and execution of policies. Acceptance by the population will be greater when central functions will be decentralised to the district, municipal or regional level. This implies a greater municipal autonomy. Socioeconomic problems will be at the centre of social activity.

In such a growth type, even the idea of a 30 - hour working week should not be a taboo.

Society's control over technological developments

In 1750 the Academy of Dijon ran a contest, where the question was: «Has the recovery of the sciences and the arts contributed to a cleansing of morals?» Jean - Jacques Rousseau's answer was:

«... our souls have been spoiled to the extent that our sciences and arts have reached perfection».³

3. Treatise on the question whether the recovery of the sciences and the arts has contri-

Two hundred years later we are facing the same question, the only difference being that scientific production grows exponentially and its independence renders it no longer subject to human control.

Quantity of knowledge

When Rousseau received his award from the Academy, there were about six scientific journals in the entire world. The beginning is 1665, when the «Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London» was the first one. With great accuracy there has been a doubling of the number of scientific journals every 15 years, while the total number of publications has increased 10 - fold every 50 years since 1750⁴. There are no signs of a saturation point. At the moment circa six million scientific publications reach the market, which is over 17,000 per day. The latest studies estimate a growth rate for scientific and technical information of 13 per cent each year, i.e. a doubling every five - and - a - half year. Increasingly powerful information systems could make a doubling every twenty months possible in the near future.

This explosion of knowledge is even more clearly illustrated by the fact that 80 per cent of all scientists who have ever lived belong to our generation. Sixty per cent of all scientific and technical information in the world was produced after the second World War.

Quality of Knowledge

This breathtaking quantitative growth of knowledge was made possible by a qualitative change of knowledge during the last 350 years. This too can be dated. In 1620, Francis Bacon wrote in his *Novum Organum* the often read and cited phrase, which 250 years later became the issue of the working classes: Knowledge itself is power⁵. With this new awareness in the history of science, where knowledge obtains a meaning in terms of relevance to society, the nature of knowledge changes as well. The empirical - analytical method at the beginning of the modern age constitutes an important contribution to the industrial revolution. Labour and capital are still the main production factors. Science, technology and industrialisation become important and change into a large - scale industrial production process, culminating in a «practical» sense

buted to the cleansing of morals, By a citizen of Geneva, in: Jean - Jacques Rousseau, *Schriften*, publ. by Henning Ritter, Vol. 1, Munich, Vienna, 1987, p. 37.

4. For further reading on the quantity of knowledge, see especially: Derec de Solla Price, *Science since Babylon*, New Haven 1961; John Naisbitt, *Megatrends*, Bayreuth 1984.

5. Cf. R.L. Elles, J. Spedding and D.D. Haeth, *Francis Bacon, Seven volumes*, 2nd ed., London 1870, op. cit.: *Novum Organum scientiarum*, vol. 1, p. 124.

in the military sector at the beginning of this century. Technical progress gains a new dimension through the organisation principle in connection with the cybernetic approach to thinking and acting. The new magic word is information. Information generates itself permanently and independently. The theory of «Information transfer and control by man and machine»⁶ and the movement away from mechanistic thinking in the direction of purposeful system thinking create an atmosphere where the computer can become the technical representation of this thought process.

«This development creates the premise of entering, presenting and manipulating even highly complex natural and social systems and processes. In other words, it is the level of development in productive power, science and technology from which cognitive, sensitive and operative human functions can be replaced by intelligent technologies... Analogue computers and cybernetic control systems, digital computers and electronic data processing, computer - controlled tools and production processes, computer - supported information and communication systems and self - directing weapon systems are but a few of the results of this revolutionary methodological innovation in the forties».⁷

Progress towards what?

If we return to our contest from 1750 and expand on this with a thought from Bertolt Brecht, who in «The life of Galilei» makes those who are persecuted by the Inquisition think: «In time you may discover all there is to discover and yet your progress will only be progress away from humanity».⁸ Almost exactly 200 years later Bertolt Brecht therefore answers the question of the relationship between the scientific enlightenment of the mind and the development of humanity in equally pessimistic terms as Jean - Jacques Rousseau did. Today progress is associated with technical progress, it is linked to quantitative growth. The faith in the progress of the natural sciences and technology conjures up a picture where science and technology are capable of solving every problem. We cannot get any answers to such questions as: how should we behave, what should we do, how should we live in the future. No scientific discipline alone can answer the question how far we may pursue progress or allow it to go. This problem requires interdisciplinary integration. For the

6. Cf. Norbert Wiener, *Mensch und Menschenmaschine*, Frankfurt/Berlin 1952.

7. Rolf Kreibich, *Die Wissenschaftsgesellschaft, von Galilei zur High - Tech - Revolution*, Frankfurt 1986.

8. Bertolt Brecht, *Works in five volumes*, publ. by Werner Mittenzwei, 2nd ed., Berlin Weimar 1975, op. cit.: in Vol. 1, *Leben des Galilei*, pp. 564 - 695, p. 677

first time since Galilei i.e. since the transition from magic to functional thinking and from functional to experimental thinking, we are now facing a similar situation as 400 years ago. Today, as we did then, we need a new quality of thinking, a radical reconsideration.

«Every limitation is a negation of the whole». (Baruch de Spinoza). If we separate politics, history and philosophy from the natural and technical sciences and fail to address the former, we are excluding responsibility. It is the essential task of all research and development not to endanger but to safeguard life. At the moment we are approaching the point where we are endangering life.

From these considerations follows the European option, that the research and technology policy should not be pursued for itself or for quantitative growth, but one should always apply an integrative approach and study the compatibility of technological development with society. In this field the Federal Republic of Germany has already taken major steps towards initiatives.

Towards the Right to Nature — Towards Nature's own rights

Francis Bacon described nature as a «Department store of things».⁹ This is exactly how we have treated nature so far, as a self - service shop full of single interests. We have taken out loans and mortgages and we are now becoming acutely aware of the fact that we cannot pay the bill. The vision of a plastic forest has already become a reality in the mind. It is supported by terrifying figures:

More than 50 per cent of the German forests is sick, very sick or simply dead. Eighty per cent of all pine trees are affected. Not only the forests are dying, animals are too. Between 1600 and 1975 about 130 species of birds and mammals have become extinct, and at the moment we are losing about one species every day, by the year 2000 probably one species every hour. (Cf. Hubert Markl, *Untergang oder Übergang — Natur als Kulturaufgabe*, in *Mannheimer Forum* 1982/83). This way we can count when all species will have become extinct if we do not reconsider.

9. R.L. Ellis, J. Spedding and D.D. Heath, *ibid.*, op. cit. Letters, Vol. 1, p. 123. See for further details also: *Dialektik 9, Naturaneigung und Naturtheorie*, Cologne 1984. The following essays: Hans Heinz Holz, *Historischer Materialismus und ökologische Krise*, pp. 30 - 42; Gernot Böhme, *Die Reproduktion von Natur als gesellschaftliche Aufgabe*, pp. 73 - 83, Günter Altner, *Das Recht auf Natur und das Recht der Natur — Verpflichtung zur Dialektik*, pp. 228 - 231.

Exploitation of nature

For the first time in the history of mankind man has reached a point where as a species he can destroy himself as well as artificially create himself. We are about to cross a critical line and we must ask ourselves the question whether we want to irreversibly upset the balance between man and nature.

For 400 years we have exploited nature with the dominating power of the mind and have placed ourselves outside nature. The «free play of forces» advocates the individual interests, was expressed in the annual balance sheets and used nature as it pleased. Nature was a «neutral commodity» to be freely used by those who could always support their claim to nature with economic arguments. With the exploitation of nature man also became aware of this fact.

Return in history

Jean - Jacques Rousseau began his famous instructive novel *Émile* with the sentence: «All is well as it comes from the hands of the Creator of things; all disintegrates in the hands on man».¹⁰ That was in 1762. More than 100 years before the Jean Louis Guez de Balzac, member of the French Academy, wrote: «The world has already lost its innocence. We are now in the decline of the times and the decay of nature. All is weak all is sick in human society.»¹¹

The Romantic period voiced criticism on a European scale when it deplored the contradiction between true humanity and «the industrialised materialisation of man. «Resignation and escapism, internal reversion and redemption mysticism were the results (of the criticism on industrialisation and capitalism) and created until far beyond the Romantic period a philosophical component in people's consciousness during the 19th and 20th centuries, which developed alongside a positivist confidence in science and progress.

Private interest — General interest

The above - mentioned consciousness has taken on a more radical character after the second World War, and not without reason. Technical progress today not only threatens the entire ecosystem but also man himself as part of this system. The relationship between man and nature is no longer in equilibrium, as man has ruthlessly exploited nature for economic reasons, he has put private interest above general interest, an interest that does not compre-

10. J.J. Rousseau, *Emil oder Über die Erziehung*, translated with biography and annotations by Dr. E. von Sallwürk, 5th ed., 2 vols., Langensalzer 1907, op. cit.: vol. 1 p. 9.

11. Jean Louis Guez de Balzac, cited after J.J. Rousseau, *Emil*, Vol. I p. 9.

hend nature, and he sees himself as the centre of the world instead of as a part of it.

If we want to preserve the world as a place to live in forth coming generations, we must radically and globally adopt a new view. We must give nature its «own rights».

Until now we naturally assumed that man has a right to nature as the most important basis of human existence, in the true tradition of the 19th century.

The state guaranteed the right of access to nature, the pleasure of natural beauty and relaxation in a natural environment, as it says in the Bavarian constitution¹². This thought may have been progressive for 1946, but it will not suffice today to solve the problem of the destruction of the environment. It is not the unlimited use of nature as an individual right but the protection of nature that should determine constitutional views.

The United Nations environment conference of 16 June 1972 on the human environment has pointed the way¹³. The right to a «healthy environment» as well as the «right to peace» or the «right to education» reach far beyond the European classical rights of the individual towards a collective right.

While the basic principles mention the «basic right to freedom, equality and a proper living conditions in an environment», allowing a life in dignity and welfare and forcing upon man the duty to protect the environment, article 4 introduces a new idea. This article mentions the special responsibility of man «for the protection and diligent guardianship of the heritage ... the life of animals and plants and their living space». It calls for the rights of animals and plants, or in other words, the right of nature against man.

12. Cf. Bavarian Constitution of 1946, Art. 141, which says: ... die Landschaft genießen öffentlichen Schutz und die Pflege des Staates, der Gemeinden und der Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts. (2) Der deutsche Wald, kennzeichnende Orts — und Landschaftsbilder und die einheimische Tier und Pflanzenwelt sind möglichst zu schonen und zu erhalten.

In the revised version of 1984, it says:

Art. 141 (Natur—, Denkmals und Landschaftsschutz) (1) Der Schutz der natürlichen Lebensgrundlage ist, auch eingedenk der Verantwortung für die kommenden Generationen, der besonderen Fürsorge jedes einzelnen und der staatlichen Gemeinschaft anvertraut. Mit Naturgütern ist schonend und sparsam umzugehen. Es gehört auch zu den vorrangigen Aufgaben von Staat, Gemeinden und Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts, Boden, Wasser und Luft als natürliche Lebensgrundlage zu schützen, eingetretene Schäden möglichst zu beheben oder auszugleichen und auf möglichst sparsamen Umgang mit Energie zu achten, die Leistungsfähigkeit des Naturhaushalts zu erhalten und dauerhaft zu verbessern, den Wald wegen seiner besonderen Bedeutung für den Naturhaushalt zu schützen und eingetretene Schäden möglichst zu beheben oder auszugleichen.

13. UN environment conference of 16 June 1972; in: Europa Archiv, no. 18, 1972, D 437 — D 450.

Only when such ideas have become commonly accepted and are carried out as official policies, and when they have an influence on international discussions, we will have a chance of creating equal opportunities for nature and man.

The Federal Republic of Germany as one of the major polluters of the environment in the EC — in spite of the high environmental protection standards — has a special responsibility both towards its own environment and that of Europe.

The European environment option «No profit at the expense of the environment» should start in each country, with each individual.

Towards the creation of a new European awareness

«This old Europe bores me»¹⁴, is what Napoleon is supposed to have said at the height of his power. Perhaps in his megalomania Europe had become too small and conquering the world his ambition. Many who had become tired of Europe have repeated this phrase in one form or another over the centuries. Nearly 200 year later Europe is more exciting than ever, not in the last place because perhaps for the first time the peoples of Europe from East to West recognise that they only have a future by working together.

Climate of cooperation

The conditions for an international dialogue are more favourable than ever.

It is through the courage of the General Secretary of the CPSU, Michail Gorbatchev, that the economic and political system of the USSR may experience similar drive for change as the one that occurred about 25 years ago in the USA under John F. Kennedy. For the first time in its history the Soviet Union has set out to reform the system from the ground, without questioning the ideological principles. The Party Secretary, and with him the Soviet intelligentsia, know that only a technologically developed Soviet Union will be able to maintain its place in the world in the next millennium. Such a development, however, cannot take place without democratisation of science, economy, politics and culture. For over 60 years, the Soviet Union has spent most of its power on overcoming the losses resulting from the bureaucratic centralism. For too long have party officials prevented individual initiatives, responsibility and free discussions on mismanagement from emerging, because they serv-

14. Quoted from: J.G. Kohl, *Die Völker Europa's*, Hamburg 1860, p. 1

ed first and foremost their own interests. The one condition for a technological /economical and harmonious development of Soviet society depends therefore primarily on the internal relations in the Soviet Union itself.

External factors will also have an influence on the developments in the Soviet Union. It is only in a climate of cooperation with the Western world and not through confrontation that the technological / economical development may make adequate progress. This constitutes a double appeal to the Western world.

First it is the interest of the West to actively support the Soviet Union in its efforts, because individual Soviet citizens will benefit from this. Secondly, a climate of cooperation affects the interest of the West in two ways. During more than forty years we have experienced that the security of Western Europe is closely related to the security of Eastern Europe. From an economic point of view Eastern Europe offers the opportunity of an additional large market.

The formula of common interests and mutual benefits applies equally well to Western and Eastern Europe¹⁵.

I believe that this formula can also be applied to the relationship between the EC and the Comecon. This second condition for an international dialogue appears favourable too at the moment. Since the foundation of the EEC thirty years ago, the relationships between the two economic blocks were characterised rather by «non - relationship». The EEC was seen as an appendage of American capitalism and discarded as a temporary phenomenon. Today, however, it is an «objective process» and a reality. The agreements in the «Second Category» of the final act of Helsinki have opened the way for intensive cooperation between the EC and the Comecon as phrased in a common statement¹⁶.

A capacity for dialogue means a capacity for Europe

The exciting aspect of this new phase in East - West relationships consists primarily of the preparedness on both sides to break through established, oversimplified and therefore automatically incorrect patterns from the other side. Prejudices are put in perspective and feelings of hostility subside.

Especially the smaller nations are considering a new European awareness, Europe as an awareness of one's own uniqueness, as part and consti-

15. aus der Sicht der DDR die west - ost - europäische Kooperation in: IPW Berichte, 17th volume, Max Schmidt/Wolfgang Schwarz, Das gemeinsame Haus Europa — Realitäten und Herausforderungen, No. 9. pp. 1 - 10; Max Schmidt/Wolfgang, Schwarz, Das gemeinsame Haus Europa, No. 10, pp. 1 - 11/p. 64

16. Common Statement by EC and Comecon. in: Europa Archiv, No. 19, 1988. D 576ff.

tuent of the whole. This does not mean the exclusion of other nations, but rather a self - confident readiness for a dialogue amongst equals. A dialogue never has a linear progression and hence it breaks down the linear division of our continent: West — East / EC — Comecon / Warsaw Pact — Nato / Planned economy — market economy / Capitalism — socialism. A dialogue on the basis of equality offers small nations the opportunity to participate without losing their identity and without raising the issue of membership of a particular alliance. The term identity here means «that we start from certain common characteristics and presume that this common element also shapes our awareness». This is how Georg Lukàsc expressed it at a Geneva conference on the future of Europe in 1946.

Europe is rediscovering itself. Europe — both East and West — is becoming aware of its past and its position in the world. Europe remembers — one might almost say suddenly — its common history, its literature, its architecture and the visual arts, the music, but also its technological progress which changes everyday life. This way Europe gains some of that identity for the present and the future.

The traumatic war experiences that are inevitably associated with Germany, are fading and make room for a strong will to cooperate. This will to set up an East - West dialogue, in the field of economy, politics, science or culture brings the Europeans closer together. Western and Eastern Europe together must reflect on their Europeaness to avoid being excluded from history, to end up after the year 2000 as an appendage to a pacific community.

The contribution of the Federal Republic of Germany to the capacity for dialogue, which in our context always implies an ability for Europe, as central European option is therefore of vital importance, as both German states share elements of both systems.

Estimation

If one defines European options as objectives for future European policy with the potential strategies for realisation, this still leaves the question of possible realisation strategies open. The objectives include:

- the elimination of unemployment;
- social acceptability of technological development;
- priority to environmental protection over quantitative growth;
- ability to conduct a dialogue between Eastern and Western as an ability for Europe.

These objectivec constitute a selection from the basic options. As has been shown already, the above - mentioned challenges of our time can only

be approached successfully in a joint international effort, not on a national scale, although they manifest themselves equally on a national level.

The functionalist Ernst B. Haas describes political integration as a community awareness where people «shift loyalties, expectations and political activities forward to a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre - existing national states»¹⁷.

From these one may extract two elements for the creation of a community interest:

1. Outside or above the integrated states there should be a body as decision - making power, which has a certain degree of independence. The degree of independence will determine the progress of the integration process.

2. All national states alike must be prepared to transfer parts of their authority and certain loyalties of their citizens to the supranational body.

A third element must be added, if such an integration is to be successful and that is that no single state or group of states should dominate within the community of states.

If these criteria are applied to the evaluation of the Western integration efforts, particularly the European Community, one will note that there are three conflicting, sometimes also harmonious levels of interest, which depend on each other:

- the interests of the citizens of the individual states, who are at the same time citizens of the community;
- the national interest;
- the community interest.

Whenever national or vital interests of a state are at stake, these concern foreign policy. A state's identity awareness is affected. The stronger the sense in a state of belonging to a community, the more intensively the ideological principles coincide and the more manifest the external threats are, the more harmoniously will the various national interests match. When in a community such as the European Community the national interests have a high degree of coherence, then the sum total of the national interests or the sum total of parts of the national interests that coincide may become community interest.

A last important point in this context is the shifting of loyalty by the citizens of a national state to a supranational authority.

17: Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe — Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950 - 1957*, London 1958; p. 16: Political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities forward to a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre - existing national states.

I believe that this affects the very core of the national state. The change from a 19th century night watch state to a highly organised, high - technology intervention state involved a strong internal integration. The individual experiences increasingly more state at his own expense. State totalitarianism is growing. Dependence on the state is on the increase too. The result is a growth of the internal integration of a state which is an obstacle to integration between states.

1. Final conclusion of an estimation of a realisation strategy for the objectives:

The general interest of the community should precede over the individual national interest.

Besides a too strongly manifested defending of national interests there is another impediment to integration in the form of the emergence of a technological bureaucracy.

The danger of a supreme Brussels bureaucracy — even when this accusation is unjustified from an objective point of view — lies in the alienation between the peoples of Europe and a new European elite. In other words: imposed integration is harmful to the democratisation process. The European bureaucracy has few elements that constitute an individual identity. It is not the bureaucrats in Brussels, or the administration, nor the technocratic elite who make the European democracy, but the European life - style, participation in political, economic, social and cultural decision - making, which affect people's daily lives. The fascination of common European politics affects the specific combination of freedom, equality and solidarity.

An imposed Europe is prone to failure, as it lacks legitimisation by the Europeans. A Europe created from the bottom up will only have a chance if it addresses the people's needs as to education, culture, freedom and social security, if the individual employer also believes that he would be worse off without the European Community. First and foremost, the European Parliament, as the place where Europe is built up from the ground, must be made into a powerful promotor of the interest of the citizens of Europe.

2. Conclusion

A drive for unity requires legitimisation by the nations of Western Europe.