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Statements & Speeches



Federal Republic of Germany

Volume XIV, No. 8

The Future of Europe

Speech by

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in the Palacio das Necessidades,

Lisbon, July 12, 1991

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

Looking into the future, the minister said that Europeans have the opportunity to make the 21st century a "truly European" one through a "new culture of the coexistence of nations." He acknowledged that the path to "a single and free Europe" is fraught with danger, but said that this could be overcome with "a good, future-oriented policy eager to seize opportunities."

In the Europe of the future, Genscher said, the United States of Europe, with a common constitution, a single economy and currency and a common foreign, security and defense policy, will be complete; eastern Europe will have succeeded in the transition to democracy and will have achieved economic progress; the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) will provide a solid framework for the whole of Europe; and a new, multipolar world order will emerge. He called on Europe to recognize its responsibility to help form this future peace order and ensure that it is guided by the principles of peaceful conflict resolution, harmonization of interests, cooperation and equal rights instead of hegemony.

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Ladies and Gentlemen,

Five hundred years ago, the great Portuguese seafarers swept Europe out of its medieval straits and boldly extended its horizons. They were thus the initiators of the European age. Europe ruled and shaped the world - with all that this entailed, for good and ill.

The European age was also an age of constant wars among the nations of Europe, wars which we now recognize as European civil wars. At the end - in 1945 - Europe had destroyed itself; it seemed to have no future.

Today, five hundred years after the beginning of the European age and five decades after the catastrophe of 1945, we Europeans are being given a historic new opportunity.

The peaceful revolutions for freedom in the nations of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe have radically altered Europe. In this process Germany regained its national unity.

The vision of a Europe whole and free, united by the great European concept of freedom and democracy, of the dignity and uniqueness of each individual, rises before us.

We are experiencing a new domino effect of freedom. Old structures and ideologies collapse as a result of their inability to meet the challenges of modern society, the challenges of the present. Collectivism has failed; the future belongs to individuality.

We have the opportunity to make the 21st century a truly "European century": no longer by means of war and conquering, but through a new culture of the coexistence of nations.

However, the European century of peace, freedom and prosperity will not fall into our lap. The crisis in Yugoslavia, whose significance extends far beyond that country's borders, is at the forefront of our minds at present.

No other state, no European institution - neither the EC nor the CSCE - can, or must, tell the peoples of Yugoslavia how to organize their future. Only they themselves can decide their future. This was the conclusion reached by the 35 foreign ministers at their meeting in Berlin.

But what the new Europe of the Charter of Paris can, and must, demand is that this decision be made through a process of dialogue and negotiation, without coercion or force, in which human rights and minority rights, democracy and the right of self-determination must be respected and realized.

The EC and the CSCE have no magic wand with which to solve the centuries-old problems of the Yugoslavian peoples overnight - problems which are exacerbated by ideological antagonisms between old power structures and the new democratic forces in the republics.

The path to the single, free Europe is still fraught with danger:

- the danger that the old demon of violent nationalism and nationality conflicts in Europe will re-emerge,

- the danger that we are underestimating the major challenge posed by the economic development in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, and that for a long time Europe will remain divided into rich and poor countries,

- the danger that old modes of thinking seek to solve the problems by power politics, thus running counter to human rights, minority rights and self-determination, and finally

- the danger that an inward-looking Europe will no longer have the energy to help shape the new, multipolar world.

These dangers, however, must not blind us to the opportunities. Pessimism, faintheartedness and despondency are

incompatible with a good, future-oriented policy eager to seize opportunities.

No one can say for sure what Europe will look like in the first decade of the new millenium. But we must illustrate the prospects.

1. The United States of Europe will be completed.

The European Community is politically and economically on the way towards European Union, and thence to the United States of Europe. Our guiding principle is a Europe with a common constitution, a single economy and currency, and a common foreign, security and defense policy.

The twin conferences on economic and monetary union and on political union, which are currently underway, will be concluded before the meeting of the European Council in Maastricht in December. We will present the results of this meeting to our national parliaments at the beginning of 1992, so that they can enter into force by the completion of the single market in January 1, 1993.

During this decisive phase, Portugal will assume the presidency of the European Community for the first time. Portugal's partners recognize its constructive commitment since its accession. This increases our confidence.

The large European single market, open to the outside world, is on the point of being completed. Many essential elements of our program for a Europe without borders have already been realized. The citizens of the Community will measure the success of the internal market program first and foremost by the degree of free movement achieved for the individual. I am particularly gratified, therefore, that Portugal, too, has now acceded to the Schengen Convention. The creation of economic and monetary union is the logical extension of the single market. It will be a big step



along Europe's path toward unity.

We are creating political union parallel to economic and monetary union. There are two prime objectives to be attained first and foremost:

Firstly, we must clear the way for a truly common foreign, security and defense policy. Only thus will the Community be able to shoulder the political responsibility appropriate to its economic weight and contribute to stability and peace in the world in this time of upheaval.

Secondly, we must strengthen the role of the European Parliament in the European decision-making process and thus give European union greater democratic legitimacy.

Our affirmation of a democratic Europe also means that we will preserve the equilibrium between the institutions and states within the Community. The rights of smaller member states must be observed and institutionally safeguarded. There must and will be no "directorate", no dominance on the part of the larger member states.

Franco-German cooperation, which is so important for the future of Europe, acts as a driving force behind European integration. I support the French proposal that national parliaments be more closely involved in the Community decision-making process.

The United States of Europe will be a federal Europe. As we understand it, federal means the rejection of a centralist Europe.

We promote the concept of a federal Europe of subsidiarity, a Europe of regions and a myriad of national and regional traditions. We want to exploit the creativity afforded by this European diversity, because it is a prerequisite for Europe's vitality, now as in the past.

In the current discussion about political union, therefore, we Germans are

calling for the establishment of a regional committee, in which the regions can have their say in shaping Europe.

The nation-state alone is no longer able to meet the challenges posed today by the global tasks and problems affecting all of us across boundaries.

This is true in the spheres of economics, environment, technology, infrastructure, energy, internal and external security, migratory flows, the fight against international crime, and many others.

This is the deeper reason underlying the need to create the United States of Europe.

2. The United States of Europe will reach from the North Cape to Sicily, and from the Atlantic to the East of our continent.

The European Community does not yet have a common foreign policy. But nonetheless it already plays the central role in shaping the new Europe, thanks to the ever-closer dovetailing of the external policy formulated in the EPC with the policy of the Community.

It shapes the face of the new Europe in the European economic area being sought together with the EFTA states through its forward-looking association agreements with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe; through its cooperation with the Soviet Union and its role as the driving force behind Western support for these countries, including the Soviet Union; as an active partner in the creation of the pan-European peace order, the pan-European energy area, the pan-European infrastructure area, the pan-European economic area and the pan-European environmental area within the CSCE framework; and, in relation to its southern neighbors, by reviewing its common policy on the Mediterranean.

The ever-increasing association of

the EFTA states and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with the Community points beyond the goal of a large, pan-European economic area. In the longer term, most if not all of the EFTA states will join the Community. The prospect of accession must also be open to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The present Community of Twelve will thus grow into a federation of some twenty states, closely linked with the United States of America and, in an ever-closer relationship, with a Soviet Union united by voluntary cooperation, as sought by President Gorbachev with his Union Treaty.

For the Community, this is only the logical follow-up to the end of the division of Europe. It has never considered itself to be a Western European organization or a closed society.

There is no political discussion in Poland, Hungary or Czechoslovakia today in which the magic word "Europe" does not occur. The Community is the source of hope which gives the people there the energy to see through these difficult times.

We take the fears that have been expressed by a few of our partner countries seriously, namely, that accession of new members would burden the old ones, and that the Community's efficiency could suffer. These fears will prove to be unfounded:

Firstly, any country wishing to join the Community must meet the political and, especially, the economic conditions for entry. For this reason alone there will be no over-hasty accessions.

Secondly, in strengthening the Community on its way to European Union, we will also create the necessary instruments and decision-making structures. This is another reason for making every possible effort to bring the inter-governmental conference to a successful conclusion.



Thirdly, we will increase economic and social cohesion within the Community.

And fourthly, the Community's extension southwards through the accession of Portugal and Spain showed once again what positive, dynamic effects new accessions can have for the further development of the Community.

In the end, we will realize that by enlarging the Community we are also achieving European unification, the United States of Europe, for the benefit of all.

3. Eastern Europe will have succeeded in the transition to democracy, economic progress and an environment worth living in.

This vision is implicit in the forecast of an extended Community, the larger United States of Europe. I am aware that it will endure only if we all act resolutely now.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Europe must not become a society of new divisions: it cannot allow a further, lasting division along what would now be economic, social and ecological borders.

The people in the east of our continent need our firm support. They need the undivided, pan-European perspective. They need it as backing for their domestic and foreign policy and as a guideline for establishing their democratic structures. They need it for the necessary restructuring of their economy and for the rehabilitation of their environment. And, not least of all, they need the know-how and financial assistance of all Western democracies to correct the effects of decades of error. And we, the European West, must take an interest in the success of the reform policy in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, because in the long run in the single Europe things cannot go well for the West if things go badly for the East on a long-term basis.

No one should underestimate the magnitude of the tasks ahead. They can only be resolved if Western Europe, North America and Japan act together in solidarity and if each side makes its full contribution. In this respect Germany expects increased commitment from its partners. We neither can, nor want, to bear the burden of development in Eastern Europe alone. We do not want to monopolize relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union.

United Germany will bear its increased responsibility not in yesterday's nation-state sense, but in the European spirit of tomorrow.

We are offering our partners in the European Community our solidarity in a determined policy of European unification towards European Union. No one should mistake the historic opportunity emerging from the unification of Germany: to create European Union and eventually the United States of Europe, and at the same time to shape a Europe whole and free.

We Germans want Germany to be fundamentally European. The London summit will be a test case for the ability of the leading industrialized countries to meet the historic challenge arising out of current developments in the Soviet Union. A historic opportunity is opening up for a new Soviet Union there, a democratic union of the Soviet peoples formed on a voluntary basis and its transformation into a market economy. The handshake between Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin was a symbol of this opportunity. But if we were to follow a policy of passive wait-and-see and minimalism, with a "Let's see what the Soviets can do" attitude, we would be wasting this unique, historic opportunity.

It is true that no one can predict whether the Soviet Union will make up its mind to adopt a truly determined program for its transition to a market economy. Nor can anyone say whether

this dramatic transformation of the Soviet command economy into a market economy will succeed, even with very generous assistance from the West. But one thing we do know: without the prospect of western help, there is less incentive to make the transition and without western help, it cannot succeed.

The assistance we give to the Soviet Union and to Eastern Europe is not a sacrifice, but an investment in our own European future and in the future of a peaceful world. It is also an investment in our common ecological future.

And finally: if Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union succeed in becoming flourishing market economies, they will provide huge markets for tomorrow, where potential demand will give our national economies a tremendous additional boost for decades.

Europe can once again become the heart of the world's economy.

4. The CSCE will be the solid framework for the whole of Europe

In his speech on June 18, on the eve of the first meeting of the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers in Berlin, Secretary of State Baker recalled the shared values of the West and the transatlantic community that is based on them, and issued the bold challenge to extend this community to Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The framework for this blueprint for the future, becoming more and more solid, will be the CSCE. Its foundation will be the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" drawn up in November, 1990.

What would have been regarded even recently as utopia has become reality: all CSCE participating states, the united Germany at their center, have committed themselves to human rights, minority rights, self-determination, democracy and the rule of law, and to economic freedom and responsibility. They have thus laid the foundation for



the community of values of the Euro-Atlantic area. Our task now is to shape this area in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of Paris.

The result of the Berlin meeting of CSCE foreign ministers shows that Europe is taking on a definite form. With the Council, the CSCE now has at its disposal an efficient organ, the nucleus of a political and security steering body. This also opens up the prospect of a kind of European security council for the forthcoming 21st century.

With the expanded responsibilities of the conflict prevention center in Vienna and the emergency mechanism decided upon in Berlin, we have taken the first steps in this direction, first and foremost to make Europe capable of action, even in worsening crisis situations. We should consider creating European "blue-helmet" units and we should set up European "green-helmet" units to protect our natural environment. In this age, we can only create security together.

From this mode of thinking there emerge new structures for cooperative security in Europe, a new pan-European security structure which must afford all members protection against force and the threat of force. After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe must be able to take their place safely and with equal rights in such a pan-European security structure.

This security structure can build on the progress made thus far in the disarmament process. The CFE Treaty on conventional disarmament in Europe is a sound basis for a stable, lasting peaceful order on our continent.

In the current negotiations on the reduction of strategic weapons, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are aiming to reduce their arsenals by up to 50 percent in important areas.

The verification of this agreement will bring with it a previously unimaginable degree of military openness and transparency. This will allow the development of a feeling of mutual security, which will create an utterly new foundation for trusting cooperation. The peace dividend, for which we have hoped for so long, is now truly tangible.

At this stage the disarmament process is receiving additional new impetus. Negotiations on further disarmament and confidence-building measures in Europe should begin after the Helsinki follow-up conference in 1992.

The Atlantic alliance takes on a completely new character in the new cooperative security structure.

Cooperative security, i.e., security with one another, will grow and will reduce the need for security against one another, but not altogether remove it. The meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Copenhagen at the beginning of June emphasized that the alliance will retain essential importance as an anchor of stability for the whole of Europe and as a transatlantic forum for consultations.

Our alliance has extended the hand of friendship and partnership to all European states to the East of us, including the Soviet Union. It has already expanded its contacts with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, considerably, and has promised a broad range of initiatives for the future. These initiatives will further strengthen the security of all concerned.

Our alliance also welcomes the formation of an independent European security and defense identity such as we are seeking in the European Union, first of all on the basis of the WEU.

In Copenhagen it was correctly stated that a strong European pillar in the alliance will increase its integrity and efficiency.

The Berlin meeting of the CSCE Council again made it quite clear that the days in which security and stability were defined purely in military terms are gone. These terms are being understood more and more in a political, economic, social and ecological sense.

In the creation of a pan-European peaceful order understood in this way, all existing institutions and associations will have important tasks which complement one another.

The Alliance and the WEU, and above all the European Community, will play pivotal roles. The EC is the core and driving force of Europe as a whole. The Council of Europe will have a decisive part in shaping the pan-European legislative and cultural area. The ECE, OECD and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development set up in April are important components of the pan-European architecture overarched by the CSCE.

The weighting of the individual institutions will be a dynamic process whose contours will be apparent only in the 21st century. I am convinced that the CSCE will evolve into an ever more solid framework, the bracket for the emerging pan-European order in all spheres.

The Charter of Paris has committed Europe to common values. At the same time it opens the door for more and more pan-European institutions. The whole of Europe is beginning to organize itself.

The more we shape the pan-European area, with a common security area, a common economic, ecological, technological, transport and communications area, the stronger will be the framework for the resolution of the major problems in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union.

In the whole of Europe pan-European confederal structures will emerge. Within this pan-European area there will be federations, such as the



European Community and other associations, but also individual states.

The great blueprint for Europe offered by the Charter of Paris gives a European answer to every question in Europe. Now we must aim to seek similar European answers in all spheres.

The road points not backward to the nation-state of the past, but forward to the anchoring of all developments in Europe.

Here, too, we need a new way of thinking on all sides which must not be bogged down in the power-politics attitudes of the past and which must take our shared values seriously. The new Europe must be founded on these values.

5. Europe will help shape the new multipolar world.

The end of the bipolar confrontation in Europe and in the world and the emergence of a new, multipolar world order have heightened awareness of the global challenges facing us today everywhere.

Basically, it is a matter of constructing a world order of peace in which the United Nations must at last play the central role assigned it in its Charter. This new world peace can only become reality if we meet five major challenges.

We must commit ourselves to human rights and the right to self-determination throughout the world; to cooperative security in all regions of the world; we must make significant progress on the way to a strict policy of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the control of arms exports - if any proof was required of the need for this, then the Gulf war provided it; we must quickly overcome the economic division between North and South; we must help to end mankind's

war against nature.

Europe must set an example regarding the guiding principles of the future world peace order: the peaceful settlement of conflicts, harmonization of interests, cooperation in the spirit of mutual dependence and equal rights instead of hegemony.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am certain that a Europe that, as President Mitterrand said, has returned to its geography and history, our common Europe, will face up to its responsibility in the world and be instrumental in forming this new, multipolar world of the future.

As far as the future is concerned, however, we must be clear in our minds that the image Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular have of Europe is marked in part by negative impressions as a result of their products' failure to find access to our markets. Only our contribution to the further consistent liberalization of world trade within the GATT framework can help here.

Today, and in the coming years, our special attention must be focused on our neighbors, the Mediterranean countries and the Arab world. Throughout its history this region has been inextricably linked with Europe, for better and for worse.

Thus we share Portugal's view that the Community's policy on the Mediterranean is an essential instrument of EC foreign relations. We particularly welcome the emerging closer cooperation between Portugal, France, Italy and Spain and the Maghreb countries, which aim to increase stability in the region.

Progress in the Middle East peace process is the basis for durable peace and stability in the region as a whole. Europe must, and will, make its contribution and bring its experience to bear in this regard. The CSCM

proposed by Portugal, France, Italy and Spain could provide a stability framework for the entire region.

The Gulf war made it drastically clear: the political, economic and ecological situation throughout the Mediterranean region directly affects not only the southern Europeans, but also us. This will remain the case and must be the factor determining our thinking and our actions.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me repeat: the Europe of peace, freedom and prosperity will not fall into our lap. But never have we been in a better starting position.

Together we have the material prerequisites. We also have a number of well-proven institutions which we can jointly adapt and extend to meet the requirements and challenges. We have the ideas. And above all, we share the common values on which to base our policies, and we have the high motivation and the technical and scientific know-how of our citizens. This is our most valuable asset. Every individual is called upon to play his part so that the great project of a peaceful and prosperous Europe can be realized.

Five hundred years ago, the so-called wise men of Salamanca rejected the grandiose plans of a certain Christopher Columbus. The body of skeptics warned the Spanish king: "Nothing can justify Your Majesty's support for a project based on extremely weak premises and whose realization seems to be all but impossible."

For decades, many skeptical Germans felt similarly about our national concern: reunification in peace and freedom. And perhaps many skeptics still feel the same about our vision of Europe. We must do everything possible to prove them wrong.

