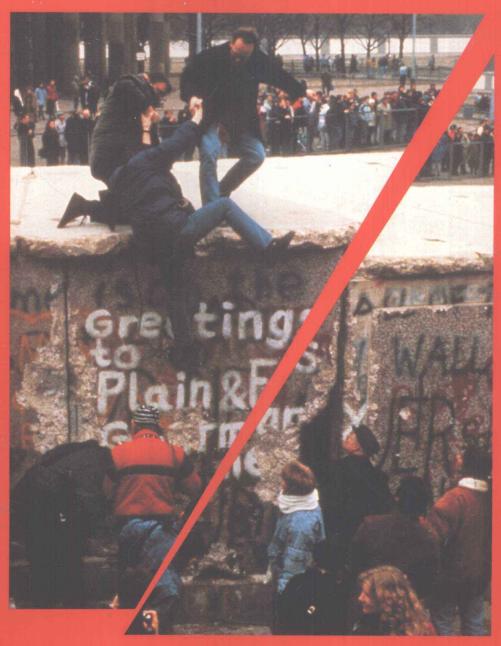
EUROPE



CURRENT

CONTROVERSIES

Other books in the Current Controversies Series:

The AIDS Crisis
Drug Trafficking
Energy Alternatives
Gun Control
Iraq
Police Brutality
Sexual Harassment
Women in the Military
Youth Violence

EUROPE

David L. Bender, Publisher Bruno Leone, Executive Editor

Bonnie Szumski, Managing Editor Carol Wekesser, Senior Editor Michael D. Biskup, Book Editor



No part of this book may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means, electrical, mechanical, or otherwise, including, but not limited to, photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Cover photo by Impact Visuals.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Europe / Michael D. Biskup, Carol Wekesser, book editors.

p. cm. — (Current controversies)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Summary: Includes articles debating topics related to the current political and economic situation in Europe.

ISBN 1-56510-024-7 (lib.: alk. paper): — ISBN 1-56510-023-9 (pbk.: alk. paper):

- 1. Europe—Politics and government—1989- —Juvenile literature.
- 2. Europe—Economic integration—Juvenile literature. 3. Europe—Foreign relations—1989- —Juvenile literature. [1. Europe—Politics and government—1989- 2. Europe—Economic integration.
- 3. Europe—Foreign relations—1989-] I. Biskup, Michael D., 1956-

II. Wekesser, Carol, 1963- III. Series

D2009.E853 1992

940.55'9---dc20

92-23066 CIP

AC



© Copyright 1992 by Greenhaven Press, Inc., PO Box 289009, San Diego, CA 92198-9009 Printed in the U.S.A.

Foreword	11
Introduction	13
Chapter 1: How Will European Unification Affect the World?	
European Unification: An Overview by Spyros G. Makridakis and Michelle Bainbridge Efforts to unite Europe have been made for decades. Now, as this unification is finally beginning to take place, Europeans must weigh the costs of unification against the benefits.	17
European Unification Will Be Beneficial	
European Unification Will Help Unify the World by Giovanni Agnelli Europe has been torn by nationalism and ethnic strife for hundreds of years. European unification will bring an end to this conflict and will make Europe a world leader for peace.	24
European Unification Will Strengthen Europe by Hans-Dietrich Genscher Although European economic, political, and military unification will not be easy to achieve, it will strengthen Europe by promoting economic progress and peace.	28
European Unification Can Provide Opportunities for American Business by Daniel Burstein The economic unification of Europe offers many American business opportunities. An increased involvement in Europe could strengthen the U.S. economy and improve America's competitiveness in the world market.	37
European Unification Can Serve as a Model for the Former Soviet Union by Desmond Dinan The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), once known as the Soviet Union, needs economic assistance and political guidance. The European Community, with its strong economy and successful unification, can act as a role model for the CIS.	46

European Unification Will Be Harmful	
European Unification Will Weaken Europe by Angelo Codevilla European economic unification will simply result in increased government bureaucratization, which will prevent Europe's economies from thriving. European nations would be much stronger if they remained separate and free from excess government regulation.	52
European Unification Will Increase Regional Conflicts by Thomas Molnar Europe has a history of national and ethnic conflicts. European unification is both unnecessary and harmful and will only exacerbate these regional conflicts.	57
European Unification Threatens U.SEuropean Relations by Robin Knight Now that the United States and Europe are no longer united by the common threat of a strong Soviet Union, their relationship is increasingly strained. European unification will only increase Europe's independence from the United States and exacerbate trade and security disputes between nations.	63
hapter 2: How Is German Unification Affecting the World?	
German Unification: An Overview by Henrik Bering-Jensen Unification has increased Germany's influence in Europe. Some believe that Germany's stronger economic and political clout will result in dominance of the European Community. Others, including many in the United States, see Germany's new assertiveness as beneficial to the EC.	69
German Unification Is Beneficial	
German Unification Strengthens the European Community by Peter Hort Germany has consistently taken the lead in helping establish the Euro-	77
pean Community. Unification made Germany larger and stronger and gave the EC an automatic link to Eastern Europe. In this way, German unification has helped strengthen the EC.	
A United Germany Will Benefit Both Europe and the United States by Robert Gerald Livingston German unification has allowed Germany to take on more of a leadership role in Europe. Poised between Eastern and Western Europe, Germany has become a powerful ally to both. Germany's spirit of cooperation with Europe also enhances its relationship with the United States and relieves the United States of some of the financial burden of strengthening Eastern Europe's economy.	82
German Unity Will Benefit the United States by Elizabeth Pond A united Germany's economic and political power can help the United States reduce its military expenses and enable it to work on its	90

Europe

own domestic problems. In addition, strong U.SGerman ties ensure that the United States will continue to have political and economic in- fluence in Europe.	
Unification Will Strengthen Germany's Economy by Jeffrey T. Bergner Unification has positioned Germany to become one of the world's greatest economic powers. With the labor force of the East and the capital of the West, Germany will develop a strong economy.	96
German Unification Is Harmful	
Unification Has Harmed Germany by Amos Perlmutter German unification was premature. Rather than emanating from the people, it was instigated by two overly ambitious men, the past German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the present chancellor of Germany, Helmut Kohl. Unification has led to the political and economic downfall of Western Germany by enabling Eastern Germany's morally corrupt neo-Nazis to hold positions of power and by forcing West Germany to take responsibility for the East's crumbling economy.	102
Unification Has Strained Relations Between East and West Germany	106
by Tyler Marshall The economic, social, and political disparities between East and West Germany have created a psychological barrier between these two regions. Unification has exacerbated tensions between them.	
German Unification Has Harmed Women's Rights by Women and Revolution When Germany united, the western half imposed its laws and ideology on the eastern half. As a result, women in the former East Germany may lose the right to abortion and have their jobs and daycare benefits threatened.	115
Chapter 3: Would Western Policies Benefit Eastern	
Europe?	
Western Policies in Eastern Europe: An Overview by Joel Havemann The nations of Eastern Europe have attempted to establish Western economic and political policies in the past few years. While some of these policies have been successful, others have failed or have not been fully implemented.	123
Yes: Western Policies Would Benefit Eastern Europe	
Western Nations Can Help Eastern Europe Prosper by Zbigniew Brzezinski Eastern Europe will not be able to prosper without economic assistance from Western nations. Among other measures, the West should relieve these nations of some of their foreign debt and should promote economic cooperation in the region.	131

The West Can Help Strengthen Democracy in Eastern Europe by Jan Zielonka	135
After years of totalitarian rule, Eastern European nations are attempting to establish democracies. These nations need Western economic aid and political support if they are to succeed. Strong democracies in Eastern Europe will benefit the region and the West.	
Capitalism Would Benefit Eastern Europe by A.W. Clausen Establishing capitalist market economies is essential if Eastern European nations are to thrive. These nations must immediately establish privatization and other free market reforms.	143
U.S. Aid Would Benefit Eastern Europe by Lawrence S. Eagleburger Eastern European nations are struggling to establish democracies and strong economies. The United States can help by providing technical assistance, by expanding trade with the region, and by encouraging American companies to invest in Eastern Europe.	152
No: Western Policies Would Harm Eastern Europe	
Western Policies Will Fail in Eastern Europe by Thomas E. Weisskopf The West is encouraging Eastern European nations to rapidly establish privatization and other Western policies. These policies, however, will only create inequality in Eastern Europe and will fail to help the region prosper.	160
U.S. Aid Could Harm Eastern Europe by Nicholas Eberstadt Many analysts have argued that U.S. economic aid is essential for Eastern Europe to prosper. A close examination of U.S. aid to other nations, however, reveals that American assistance is often harmful and prevents nations from gaining economic independence.	167
Capitalism Will Harm Eastern Europe by Cornelius Lehane Capitalism is based upon greed and oppression. Forcing Eastern Europeans to accept capitalism will only increase inequality and economic hardship in the region.	176
Chapter 4: What Measures Would Strengthen Easter European Economies?	rn
Eastern European Economies: An Overview by Carol J. Williams Eastern European nations are in the midst of the difficult process of transforming their economies from communism to capitalism. The extent and success of the region's economic reforms vary from country to country.	185
Socialism Would Strengthen Eastern European Economies by Tim Wohlforth Because many Eastern Europeans mistakenly confuse their discarded communist economies as socialist, they are rejecting all forms of socialism. Many socialist institutions, however—such as worker-owned factories—could benefit Eastern Europe's economies.	190

Europe

Privatization Would Strengthen Eastern European Economies by Anne Applebaum	194
To become prosperous, Eastern European nations must privatize their economies. This requires turning state-run companies over to private investors, a process that may be difficult but necessary.	
Stable Currencies Would Improve Eastern European Economies by Steve H. Hanke and Kurt Schuler Before Eastern Europe can thrive economically and become an integral part of world trade, its nations must establish stable, convertible currencies. Without such currencies, Eastern European nations will have no efficient way of trading their goods and services on the world market.	201
Joint Ventures with Western Businesses Would Improve Eastern Europe's Economies by Eberhard von Koerber Creating business ties between firms in the West and factories in the East will enable Eastern European nations to reform their economies more easily and more successfully. Such ties will also benefit Western businesses.	207
Helping Eastern Europeans Adopt Free Market Policies Would Improve Their Economies by John Brademas Eastern European nations were ruled by totalitarian governments for more than forty years. Consequently, most Eastern Europeans have little or no knowledge of how capitalism works. Americans must help educate and train Eastern Europeans in economics and free market policies.	212
Free Trade Unions Would Strengthen Eastern Europe's Economies by Adrian Karatnycky Eastern Europeans are unaccustomed to free trade unions whose members can strike and make demands from the government and from companies. To thrive economically, Eastern European nations must establish such trade unions to provide workers with more of a voice in making economic and political policies.	218
Tax Reform Would Strengthen Eastern Europe's Economies by William D. Eggers While income taxes in Eastern Europe have been low or nonexistent, taxes on private companies have been extremely high. These high corporate taxes and other taxes impede economic progress. Eastern European nations should reform their tax systems to spur economic growth.	225
Chapter 5: What Role Will International Organization Play in Europe's Future?	ons
Chapter Preface	234
International Organizations Will Benefit Europe	
International Organizations Can Help Maintain Peace in Europe by Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	236

The breakdown of communism in Eastern Europe and economic unification in Western Europe challenges Europeans to develop economic prosperity and political security for all of Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other organizations can work to unify and strengthen Europe, promote peace, and help integrate Eastern Europe into the European Community.	
NATO Will Play an Essential Role in European Peace	242
by Richard Nixon Although some analysts believe NATO is obsolete, the organization continues to play an important role in maintaining stability in Europe. NATO can help secure peace in Eastern Europe and protect Europe from aggression.	
The Western European Union (WEU) Could Provide European Security by Hugh De Santis As Europe grows in economic and political power, it will depend less and less on NATO for protection. The Western European Union (WEU), an alliance of European nations, can effectively replace NATO and protect Europe.	249
International Organizations Will Harm Europe	
International Monetary Fund Policies Harm Eastern Europe by Paul Hockenos The International Monetary Fund, which has loaned money to Eastern European countries, has dictated that these countries adopt economic and political policies that have created unnecessary austerity. These IMF loans have created a form of oppression by driving the Eastern European countries into debts they cannot pay back.	257
The World Bank Encourages Regressive Socialist Economic Policies by Melanie S. Tammen World Bank loans to Eastern Europe have been ineffective in establishing capitalism. Instead, the loans provide socialist governments with money to implement their own programs. Consequently, without private enterprises, Eastern European nations are unable to make enough money to pay off their debts.	264
NATO Is Unnecessary by Doug Bandow NATO was created forty years ago to halt Soviet aggression. Once the Soviet Union initiated democratic reforms, this threat toward Western Europe disappeared. NATO has effectively completed its job. Now, it is an obsolete institution that no longer serves a vital purpose and that should be abolished.	268
Glossary of Acronyms	272
Bibliography	274
Organizations to Contact	277
Index	280

Foreword

By definition, controversies are "discussions of questions in which opposing opinions clash" (Webster's Twentieth Century Dictionary Unabridged). Few would deny that controversies are a pervasive part of the human condition and exist on virtually every level of human enterprise. Controversies transpire between individuals and among groups, within nations and between nations. Controversies supply the grist necessary for progress by providing challenges and challengers to the status quo. They also create atmospheres where strife and warfare can flourish. A world without controversies would be a peaceful world; but it also would be, by and large, static and prosaic.

The Series' Purpose

The purpose of the Current Controversies series is to explore many of the social, political, and economic controversies dominating the national and international scenes today. Titles selected for inclusion in the series are highly focused and specific. For example, from the larger category of criminal justice, Current Controversies deals with specific topics such as police brutality, gun control, white collar crime, and others. The debates in Current Controversies also are presented in a useful, timeless fashion. Articles and book excerpts included in each title are selected if they contribute valuable, long-range ideas to the overall debate. And wherever possible, current information is enhanced with historical documents and other relevant materials. Thus, while individual titles are current in focus, every effort is made to ensure that they will not become quickly outdated. Books in the Current Controversies series will remain important resources for librarians, teachers, and students for many years.

In addition to keeping the titles focused and specific, great care is taken in the editorial format of each book in the series. Book introductions and chapter prefaces are offered to provide background material for readers. Chapters are organized around several key questions that are answered with diverse opinions representing all points on the political spectrum. Materials in each chapter include opinions in which authors clearly disagree as well as alternative opinions in which authors may agree on a broader issue but disagree on the possible solutions. In this way, the content of each volume in Current Controversies mirrors the mosaic of opinions encountered in society. Readers will quickly realize that there are many viable answers to these complex issues. By questioning each author's conclusions, stu-

Foreword

dents and casual readers can begin to develop the critical thinking skills so important to evaluating opinionated material.

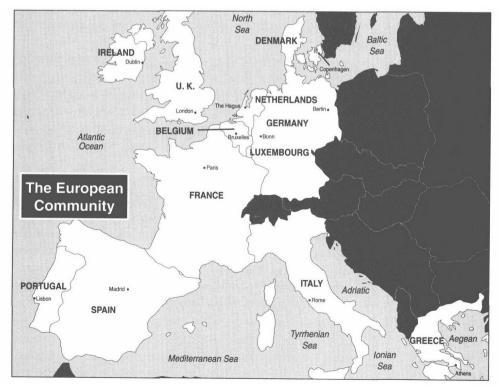
Current Controversies is also ideal for controlled research. Each anthology in the series is composed of primary sources taken from a wide gamut of informational categories including periodicals, newspapers, books, United States and foreign government documents, and the publications of private and public organizations. Readers will find factual support for reports, debates, and research papers covering all areas of important issues. In addition, an annotated table of contents, an index, a book and periodical bibliography, and a list of organizations to contact are included in each book to expedite further research.

Perhaps more than ever before in history, people are confronted with diverse and contradictory information. During the Persian Gulf War, for example, the public was not only treated to minute-to-minute coverage of the war, it was also inundated with critiques of the coverage and countless analyses of the factors motivating U.S. involvement. Being able to sort through the plethora of opinions accompanying to-day's major issues, and to draw one's own conclusions, can be a complicated and frustrating struggle. It is the editors' hope that Current Controversies will help readers with this struggle.

Introduction

For most of the five decades following World War II, Europe was distinctly divided into east and west. Eastern Europe, dominated by the Soviet Union, remained economically depressed, while Western Europe prospered. Although the Soviet Union had been allied with many of the countries of Western Europe as well as the United States during the war, the West remained suspicious of the intentions of the communists. This suspicion, coupled with the Soviet intervention and military takeover in Eastern Europe, encouraged Western Europe to band together to ensure the West's continuing political and economic independence and growth.

At first, several Western European countries formed a military alliance for joint security with the United States. They helped create and participated in such organizations as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Then some of the Western European nations began to see the advantages of working together economically as well. By pooling industrial resources and instituting mutually advantageous import and export regulations, they found they were better able to compete with larger economic powers such as the United States. To further these ends, six countries—West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and



Introduction

Luxembourg—formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. In 1958, these same six nations formed the European Economic Community (EEC), also known as the Common Market, to promote the gradual integration and growth of the Western European economies. By the mid-1980s six more nations—the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Spain, and Portugal—had joined the EEC.

Pleased for the most part with the success of their economic cooperation, the EEC members began work in the 1980s toward a fuller union of Western Europe. They began forming the European Community (EC), whose eventual goals would include a common language, currency, and economic and political systems. In effect, the planners wished to create a United States of Europe, wherein each presently autonomous nation would become a member state of the larger union, governing itself in much the same way Idaho or California or New York governs itself in relation to the United States federal government. The EC would be different in that, unlike the United States of America, each EC nation would be responsible for its own defense.

At the present time the EC has a government structure in place and has some limited powers. The seat of government is located in Brussels, Belgium. Its organization consists of five institutional systems: An Executive Commission, a Council of Ministers, a European Parliament, a Court of Justice, and a Court of Auditors. The EC is headed by a president who is appointed by the Executive Commission. Proponents of the plan wish to see the gradual enlargement of this body's powers and gradual reduction of individual nations' autonomous powers. Opponents fear the results of such a plan.

Besides language barriers and differences in economic prosperity (which could lead to some members taking on a larger share of the economic burdens of the organization), a major impediment to full implementation of the EC is nationalism. Many opponents to the EC have strong fears that such a union would destroy the rich cultural traditions and individual identities of the member nations. If all converted to the same language, for example, some fear what would happen to the precious literary heritage of the individual nations.

Just as worrisome as the insidious deterioration of national personalities and heritages is the fear that the EC would become an overweening bureaucracy that would impose inappropriate rules on all members regardless of their individual situations. New York Times reporter Alan Riding says, "In many countries there remains a strong perception that faceless unelected bureaucrats in Brussels are busily writing rules aimed at making uniform a region that has always prided itself on its diversity."

For example, the EC was concerned that the process involved in making certain European cheeses was unsanitary and a possible health hazard. It passed a health code that would have banned cheeses made with unpasteurized milk. One of the cheeses directly affected by the code would have been the immensely popular French cheese, Camembert. Cheese producers in Camembert, France, were outraged at the thought that this product, which they had been making in a traditional

Europe

way for many decades, would be arbitrarily banned by the EC bureaucracy. They argued that the health code endangered their livelihoods and that changing the cheese would endanger sales.

Advocates of the EC insist that such fears are groundless. Peter Ludlow, director of the Center for European Policy Studies in Brussels, states, "A united Europe will not be based on the American principle of the melting pot." Despite the institution of an official language, for example, individual nations would retain their own language for daily and cultural use and use the EC language (English) for political and economic interactions. The primary legislation of the EC would be directly related to common political and economic goals and would be subject to the approval of the Council of Ministers representing all member nations. There would be no arbitrary rule-making by the EC governing bodies. Instead, EC rules would work toward making Europe a strong, competitive force on the world market. Proponents claim that a federation of European nations would increase the European gross domestic product between 4.5 and 7.0 percent, create 1.8 to 5 million new jobs, and lower consumer prices by 6 percent.

The success or failure of the EC is just one of the issues that faces the continent of Europe today. Others considered in *Europe: Current Controversies* are German unification, Western policies in Eastern Europe, the strengthening of Eastern Europe's economy, and the role of international organizations in Europe's future. The editors have selected the viewpoints with the aim of enlarging the reader's knowledge of today's Europe, America's long-standing neighbor, ally, and trading partner.

Chapter 1

How Will European Unification Affect the World?

