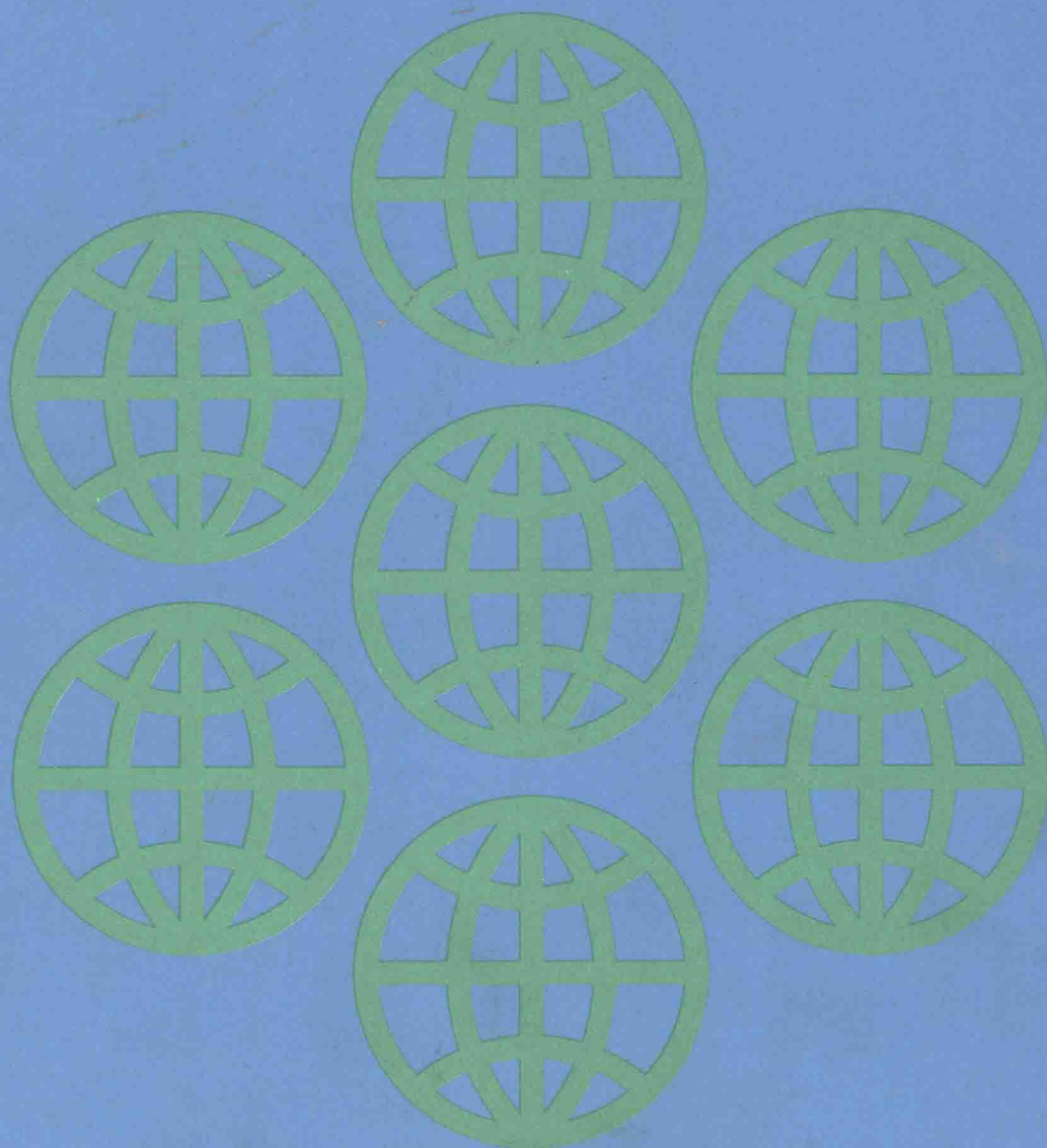


The World Today Series®

Wayne C. Thompson

Western Europe 1985

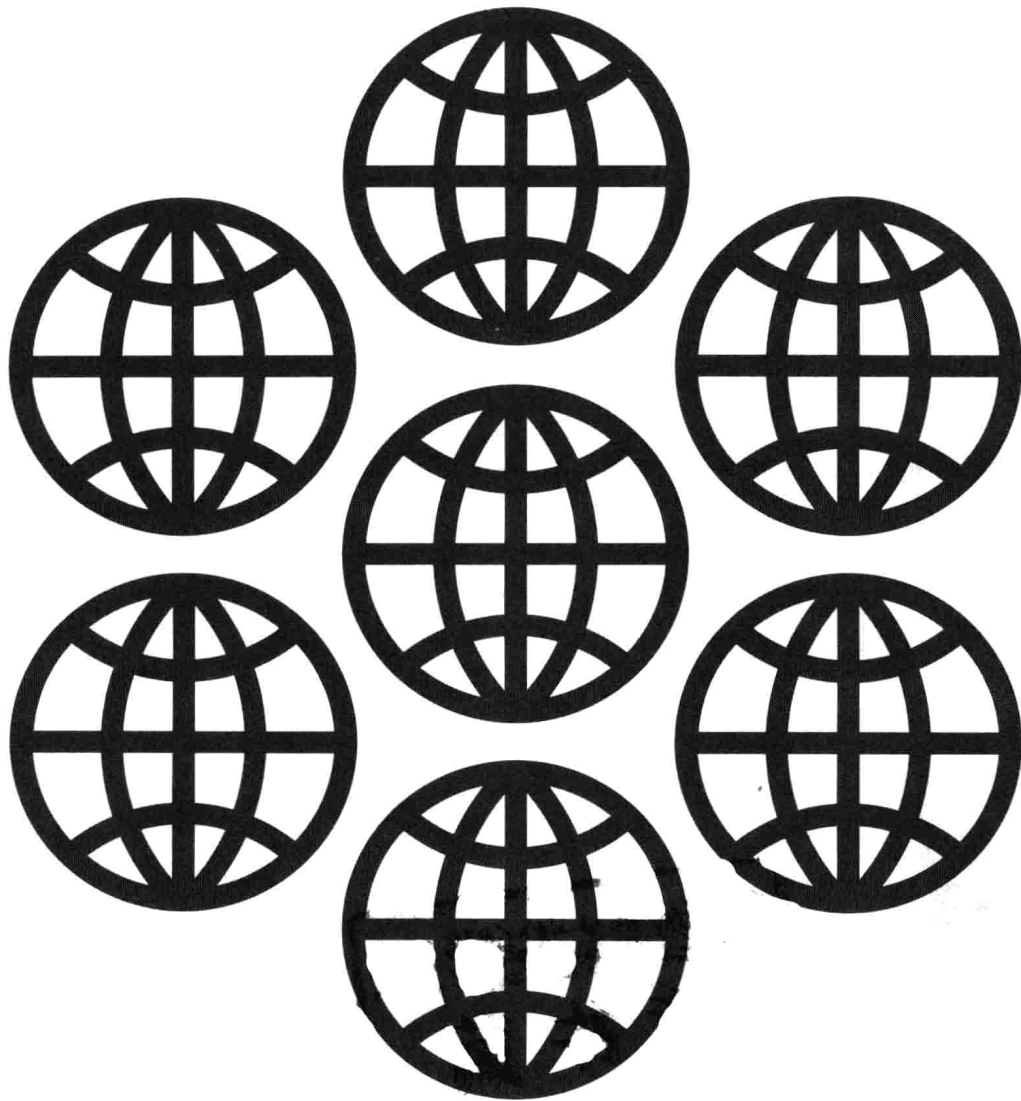


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DEDICATION

To my father and to the memory of my mother

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There has perhaps been no time since World War II when Americans have a greater need to familiarize themselves with the peoples, cultures and problems of Western Europe. Public opinion in the U.S. and in the Western European countries is tending to drift apart on many important issues, while our common interests and our economic, technological, diplomatic and military dependence on each other are stronger than ever. It was my great fortune in this particular time that the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, a far-sighted West German organization which, since 1869, has persistently nurtured the spirit of intellectual discovery and has sought to tighten the links between Europe and the rest of the world, granted me a two-year research fellowship at the University of Freiburg in West Germany from 1980 to 1982. Without its aid, I would have been unable to complete this and other scholarly research projects on West German politics. I wish therefore to express my very special gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

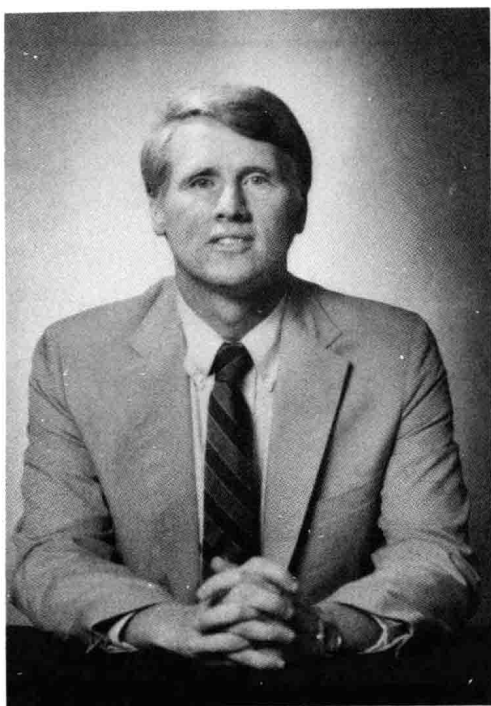
No author could possibly write a book with the breadth of this one without the assistance of numerous persons and organizations. I wish especially to thank four persons who actually helped me with the writing of the book. Mark H. Mullin, a Harvard graduate who earned an M.A. as Marshall Scholar at Oxford University, and who is presently Headmaster of the Saint Albans School in Washington, D.C., wrote all but the political sections of the chapters on the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. His personal familiarity with Britain and Ireland far surpasses my own. Detlev Hoffmann, a senior studies director in Freiburg, West Germany, and a political scientist who specializes in Italy and Greece, wrote most of the section on Italy. My wife, Susan L. Thompson, translated his work from German, and I have updated it and added some background material and elaboration to aid the American reader. He also helped me to write the history section on Greece. Without his collaboration, treatment of both Italy and Greece would have lacked much of its depth and insight. William Garrett Stewart, Col., USA (Ret.), a West Pointer with many foreign assignments and graduate degrees from Harvard and George Washington universities, wrote the first draft of the section on Iceland and also some of the introductory material on Finland. Peter Wittig, who received his Ph.D. in government from the Uni-

versity of Freiburg, where he also taught, and who is presently in the West German Foreign Office, helped write some of the discussion on West Germany's current defense policy debate.

I wish also to thank my colleagues and acquaintances throughout Western Europe and the U.S. who took the time to read or to comment upon various chapters dealing with their own countries or specialties. They are: James Cathy, Fabien Cugni, Thomas Davis, Per-Gören Ersson, William Goodman, Michael Jones, David M. Keithly, Pekka Kauppala, Klaus and Mary Jo Kusatz, Daniel R. Leamy, John A. Miller, Mario Musella, Jacky Paris, Jacques Piens, Princess Louise of Prussia, Prince Waldemar and Princess Anne Lise of Schaumburg-Lippe, Hans Sennhauser, Kurt Sihler, Arni Stefansson, Countess Irene von Strachwitz, Philippe Vidal, Maureen and Peter Ward. Catherine Whitsitt thoroughly read the entire manuscript in order to comb out style, spelling and typographical errors, and Kathy Diehr transcribed the chapters on the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Susan L. Thompson took some of the photographs and carefully proofread much of the manuscript. Michael Lee, W. Claude Thompson, Jr., and Victor Thompson also assisted in the photographic work. I would like to thank those cadets at the Virginia Military Institute who collaborated on the updating of this edition. They are: Vincent D. Carag, Jr., Thomas E. Delaney, Kevin Michael Flynn, Scott Robert Harbula, John S. Hart, Jr., Robert W. Hess, Jr., Michael J. Hulyo, Matt Longabaugh, Terrence E. McCartney, Patrick B. Pressler, Paul W. Pressler, Kurt W. Quimby, W. Todd Southard, Charles J. Steenburgh, Jr., Henry Tabor, D. Scott Wagner, William F. Warnock, Jr., Gregory W. Weddle, and Kyle Ivar Winter. I am also grateful to Pro Helvetia, which arranged and financed a week-long study tour of Switzerland, as well as to numerous embassy and foreign ministry officials, who provided information and arranged visits to Western European capitals to speak with representatives of parties, parliaments, universities, research institutes and news media about this book. Lynchburg College generously granted me a leave of absence. Nina Bridges' exceptional artistic talent helped to improve this book. Philip Stryker is without doubt one of the most competent, encouraging and congenial publishers with whom an author could work.

W.C.T.

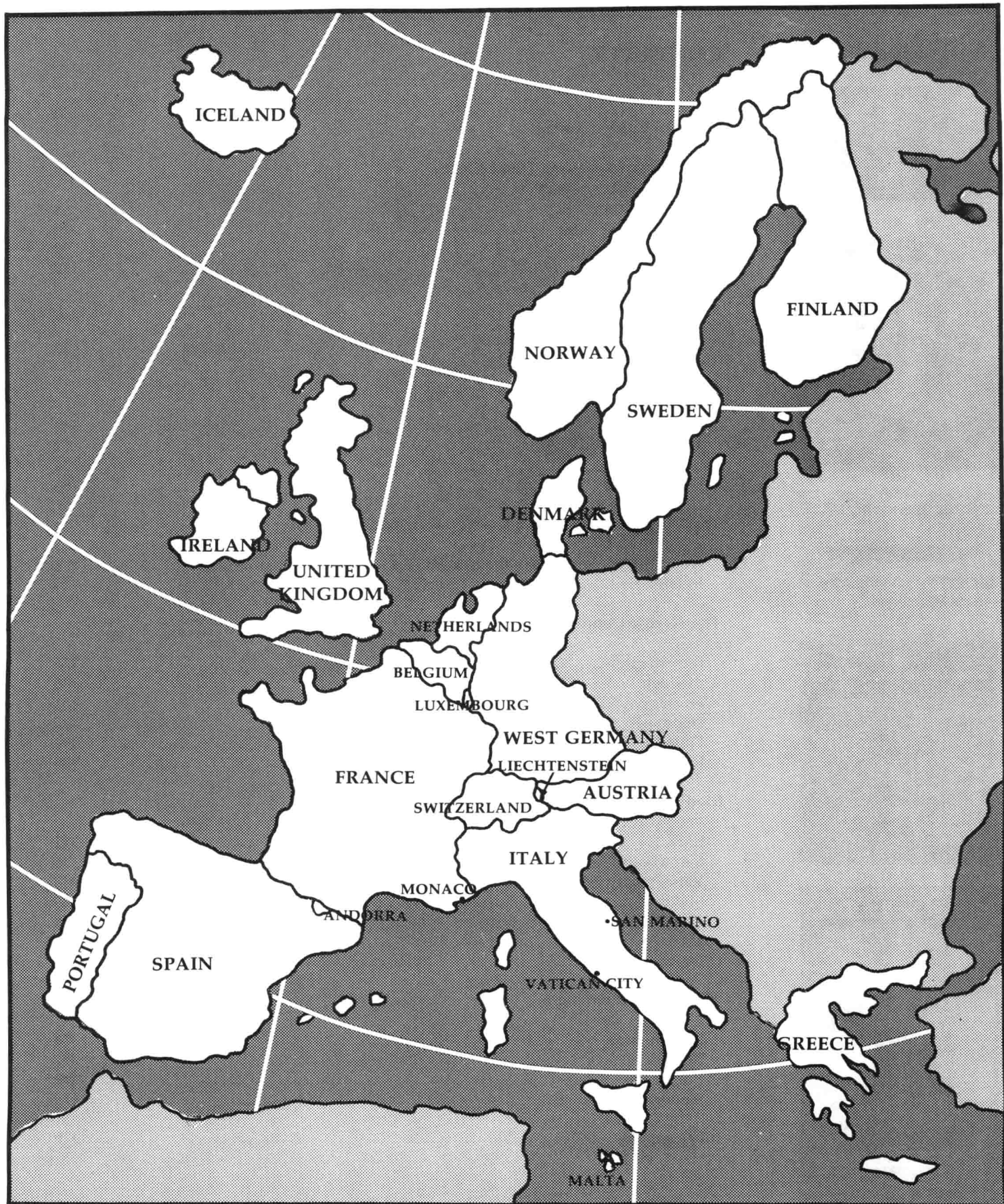
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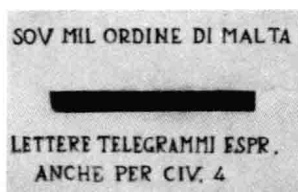


Wayne C. Thompson . . .

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Western Europe Today





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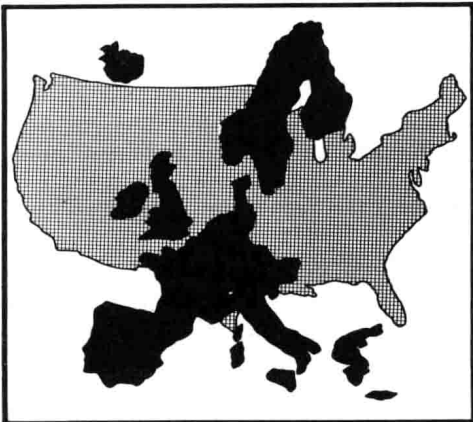
Western Europe Today

In 1945 much of Europe lay in ruins, its peoples destitute and demoralized following a war on its own soil more destructive than any conflict in history. Two world wars in the 20th century (World War I from 1914 until 1918 and World War II from 1939 until 1945) had brought Europe's dominance over world affairs to an end and had led to a rise of the United States of America and the Soviet Union as the world's most powerful nations. These wars had also decisively ended Europe's colonial hold on much of the world, a hold which, despite some negative effects, had spread European civilization to the Western Hemisphere, Africa and the Middle and Far East.

Europe emerged from World War II a continent divided between East and West. In spite of numerous threads of communication, trade, cooperation, travel and family relationships between them, the two Europes peer at each other over a well-guarded line, which is at points ugly and deadly. On the eastern side are states with socialist economies and political systems largely founded on Marxist-Leninist principles. On the western side are countries with free enterprise capitalist economies in varying degrees, representative democracies, pluralistic societies and a genuine commitment to protecting individual rights and liberties.

Western Europe is a region rich in diversity, with a population of 340 million persons (compared to about 220 million in the U.S. and 270 million in the Soviet Union), speaking at least 13 different major languages and scores of dialects.

Geographically, Western Europe is much smaller than the U.S. The entire region is scarcely more than twice the



“McDonald's? Me? Always!!!”

size of Alaska and would easily fit into the continental U.S. west of the Mississippi with much room to spare. Like the U.S., Western Europe offers a very rich diversity of climates and landscapes, from the permafrost and midnight sun of northern Norway to the hot, dry, sunny Mediterranean, from the fog and rain of northern Germany to the warm blue skies of the Azores and to the snows and arctic winds of Iceland, from the Alpine peaks of Austria and Switzerland to the flat and sub-sea level terrain of the Netherlands.

Western Europe still has many cultures and many lands and regions with characters and appearances of their own. However, there are many things which make much of modern Western Europe and the U.S. look more and more similar: large shopping centers, fast food stores, freeways, modern cities with some skyscrapers and much concrete, many automobiles and everywhere signs of prosperity. American and Western Europeans also face many of the same problems and have many of the same concerns, though in differing degrees: the “generation gap,” the role of women in modern society, the integration of racial and religious minorities, equal rights for women, illegal immigration, urban violence, the protection of the environment and the quality of life, the defense of their homeland and values in the nuclear age, the provision of adequate supplies of energy and raw ma-

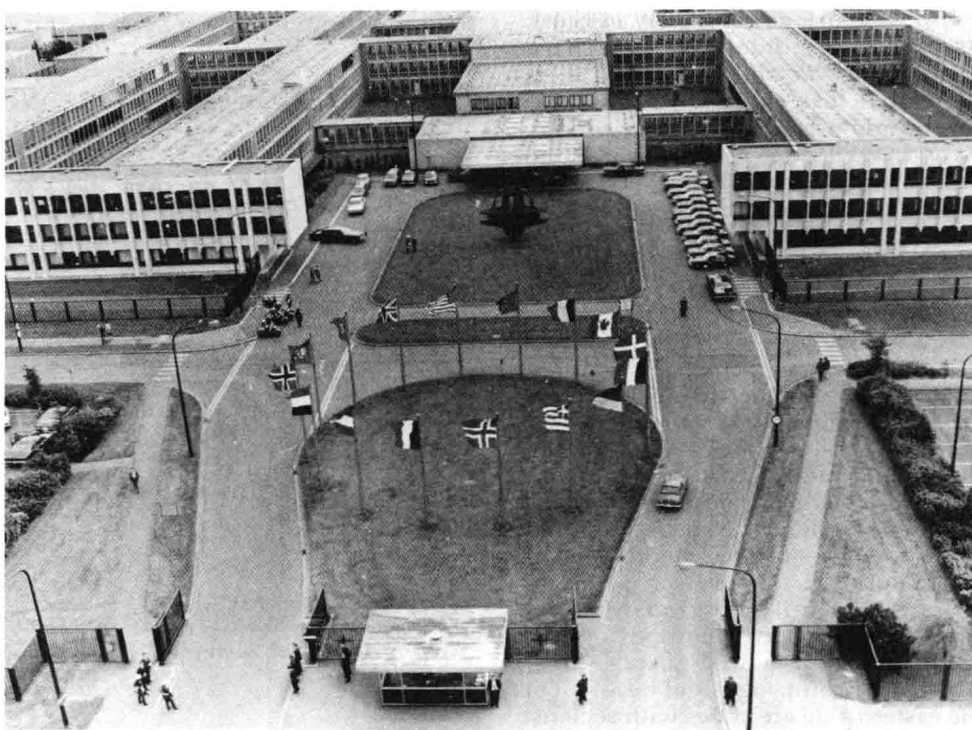
terials, and the maintenance of prosperity and generous social security programs in the face of high inflation, unemployment and declining economic growth rates. Young Americans and Western Europeans have similar cultural tastes for music, films, language expressions (especially English ones!) and dress. Jeans, jogging shoes, T-shirts and longish hair styles no longer provide accurate clues to nationality; they have become international. Western European students and scientists are strongly attracted to American universities and research institutes, and European businessmen have, on the whole, been very successful in adapting American production and management techniques to European conditions. Americans also continue to be drawn culturally, emotionally, politically and economically to Western Europe. In short, the American or Western European no longer enters a “different world” when he arrives at the other side of the Atlantic.

In this book, and indeed in almost all sources which one reads on Western European affairs, the reader will confront numerous abbreviations and acronyms. The serious reader must understand not only what the letters signify, but also what function the indicated institutions serve. Therefore, in the following pages, these acronyms will be presented in the context of a general discussion of some of the more important Western European bodies and organizations.

Western Europe Today

Today Western Europe is a region which is, on the whole, highly prosperous, though it is relatively poor in natural resources. It has a large industrial base, much capital and know-how, and a highly skilled work force. It is also relatively secure militarily. Such prosperity and security are partly due to the countries' high degree of voluntary cooperation, formalized in numerous international organizations. All major Western European countries, except Switzerland, are full members of the United Nations (UN), and all participate in the many organizations linked to the UN, such as the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the World Court, which sits in the stately Peace Palace built with funds contributed by Andrew Carnegie in the Hague, the International Labor Organization (ILO), the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and a number of others.

Most Western European countries would be unable to defend themselves alone. Therefore, the majority have chosen to protect themselves from foreign invasion by joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), also known as the Atlantic Alliance. Created in 1949, NATO links the power of the United States and Canada, and the geographic position of Iceland (which has no army) with the military resources of Belgium-Netherlands-Luxembourg (BENELUX), Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany), Italy, Portugal, Turkey,



NATO Headquarters

Greece and France. Spain's application to NATO has also been accepted. The only major Western European countries which choose to remain neutral are Switzerland and Sweden. Austria and Finland are, in effect, forbidden by international agreements with the Soviet Union from joining any military or political alliance with other countries of Western Europe.

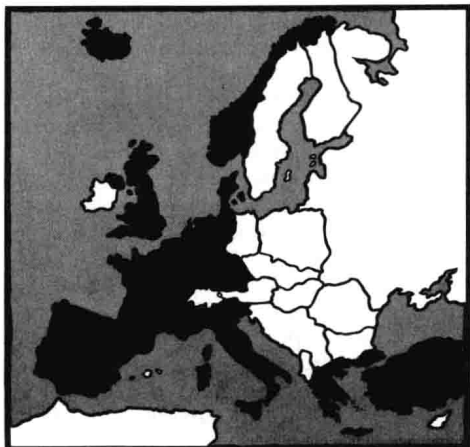
When the question arose concerning the shape of the European military component, which would eventually include troops from West Germany, the BENELUX countries, France, Italy and West Germany initiated in 1952 a treaty creating a European Defense Community (EDC), which would have brought into being an integrated European army under a unified command structure. However, in 1954 the French National Assembly rejected this plan, fearing the possible loss of its sovereignty if it relinquished command over its own army. As a compromise, Great Britain proposed a West European Union (WEU), now composed of the BENELUX countries, France, Italy, West Germany and Great Britain. Although the WEU has no sovereign or supranational elements, it continues to function as an organization for coordinating some of the military activities of some European states within NATO. A similar function is also performed by

an informal organization within NATO known as the "Eurogroup," composed of all European members of NATO except France, Portugal and Iceland.

NATO itself has both political and military components. The highest political organ is the North Atlantic Council. All meetings of the Council are chaired by the Secretary General of NATO, who by tradition is always a European, presently Lord Carrington of Great Britain. Each member country sends a permanent ambassador to NATO Headquarters in Brussels, and these ambassadors meet once a week. Less frequently, the member countries' heads of government, foreign, defense or finance ministers meet to iron out higher level political problems. All decisions are reached by consensus, not by majority vote. In other words, *each* member has a kind of veto power. The ambassadors or ministers of all but those nations which do not participate in the integrated defense system (presently France) also take part in the Defense Planning Committee (DPC), which is assisted by a variety of committees and working groups. A staff of about 1,000 divided into divisions of Political Affairs, Defense Planning and Policy, Defense Support, and Scientific Affairs are in Brussels to assist in the NATO effort.

The highest NATO military authori-

NATO members



ty is the Military Committee, made up of the chiefs-of-staff from all states participating in NATO military (i.e. without France). Although the chiefs-of-staff meet infrequently, their permanent representatives meet regularly in their absence. The Military Committee's primary role is to advise the DPC.

NATO has an integrated system of commands, the most important being the Allied Command Europe (ACE), headed by the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), who by tradition is always an American. The ACE is based at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) outside Mons, Belgium. In case of war, the ACE is responsible for military operations in the entire European area. There are also two other NATO commands: the Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT), commanded by an American admiral and headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia; and the Allied Command Channel (ACCHAN), commanded by a British admiral and headquartered in Northwood, England.

Only the U.S. engages in Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START) or negotiations aimed at limiting the number of Medium-Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBM) in Europe, but Western European members have developed bodies, such as the NATO Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) and the less formal Spe-

cial Consultative Group, which serve as channels to inform the U.S. of its allies' views and to keep the latter informed of U.S. objectives. Most NATO members join the U.S. in the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks, conducted in Vienna with members of the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance that combines forces of the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany), Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. The MBFR talks have since 1973 sought unsuccessfully to reach agreement on reducing troops and conventional (non-nuclear) arms in Eastern and Western Europe in such a way that neither side would be relatively strengthened as a result of an agreement.

No region in the world has been so successful in creating voluntary economic unions of sovereign states as Western Europe. In 1922 the Belgium and Luxembourg Economic Union (BLEU) was created, which made the two countries a single unit for importing and exporting purposes and established a unified currency. In 1944 the Netherlands joined to form BENELUX, which was later extended to include even non-customs matters.

In order to help the devastated countries of Europe recover economically, the United States offered Marshall Plan aid in 1947, but insisted that all

countries receiving such aid sit down together and decide as a group how the money should be spent. Thus, the U.S. provided an important initial impetus for a unified Europe. In response, the Europeans created in 1948 the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) for making the decisions and the European Payments Union (EPU) for administering U.S. funds. In 1961 the U.S. and Canada joined the OEEC which was renamed the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Later other Western industrialized nations, and Japan, Australia and New Zealand, joined OECD, which does economic analysis and forecasting for industrialized countries, including estimates of future growth, Gross National Product (GNP), inflation and unemployment. It also attempts to coordinate members' economic and development aid. Presently, all Western European countries, except Malta, belong.

In 1949 the Council of Europe was set up in Strasbourg, and now all Western European countries but Finland and Spain are members. It acts as a forum for discussing political, economic, social and cultural issues of interest to all countries of Western Europe.

In 1951 the BENELUX countries, France, West Germany and Italy made

European Community (EC) Headquarters, Brussels



Western Europe Today

the first significant move toward transferring a portion of their national sovereignty to a supranational organization by creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Many persons could scarcely believe at the time that six countries which had been locked only six years earlier in a bloody struggle would be willing to transfer sovereignty over questions relating to these commodities which are so crucial for heavy industry. Not only was it a bold and far-sighted idea to share these important goods rather than to fight wars over them, but the ECSC gave these nations the practice in economic cooperation needed to convince the six that a move to create a unified Europe could succeed.

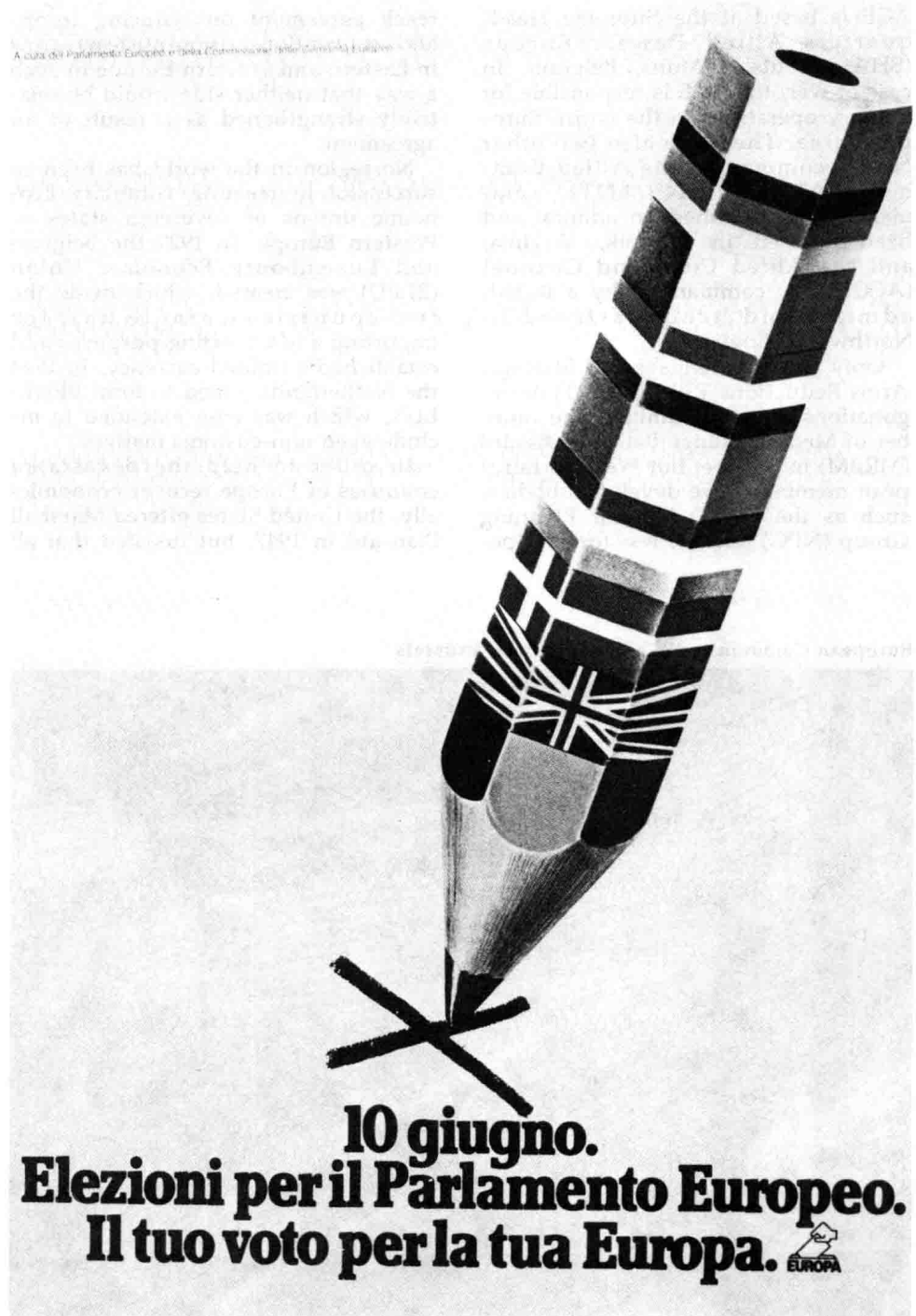
In 1957 the same six nations signed the Treaty of Rome which created both the European Economic Community (EEC, frequently called the "Common Market") and Euratom, which seeks to coordinate the six countries' atomic research and policy. Both came into existence the following year and merged with the ECSC under the same overall organization. This union provided for the elimination of tariffs and customs among themselves, common tariff and custom barriers toward non-members, the free movement of labor and capital within the union, and equal agricultural price levels through establishment of Common Agricultural Program (CAP).

Perhaps most significantly in terms of its future prospects, the member states, which now include the BENELUX countries, France, West Germany, Italy, Great Britain, the Republic of Ireland, Denmark and Greece (with Spain and Portugal seeking to join by 1984), have agreed to transfer a portion of their national sovereignty to the union. To underscore this *political*

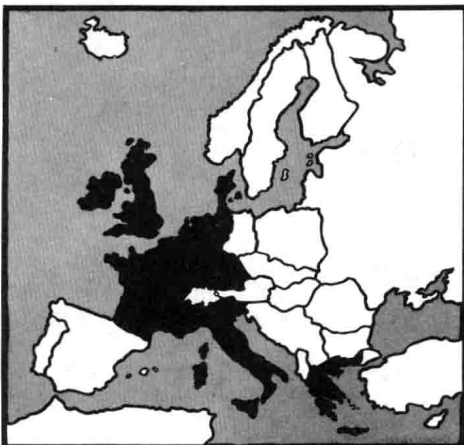
objective, the EEC renamed itself officially the European Community (EC) in order not to give the impression that is merely an *economic* union. It is this political element which prevents some other European states such as Switzerland and Austria from joining the EC, but the EC has successfully dealt with this problem by granting associate

membership (which generally excludes agricultural agreements) to most non-member states in Western Europe. Regular contacts are also with 58 (in 1978) African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries linked to the EC through the Lomé Convention of 1975, which was improved and extended in 1979. Up to now, most of the success

Italian election poster for the European Parliament: "Your vote for your Europe"



EC members



which the EC can claim has been in the economic field. The record is most impressive. With only 6% of the world's population, the EC counts for almost a fourth of the world's economic output, a third of the world's monetary reserves, and 36% of world development aid. Having cornered 37% of global trade, it is the world's largest trading power; the total volume of its foreign trade exceeds that of the United States and the Soviet Union combined. Politically, Western Europe has remained, and will probably continue to remain, a region of fully sovereign states, which make their own decision about the vital matters which affect them.

The EC has a well developed institutional apparatus. It has a dual executive: the Council of Ministers is the major decision-making body and is composed of the heads of government or ministers with responsibilities for finance, agriculture, etc., depending upon the specific issue which needs to be resolved. The Council meets three or four times per month, and representatives at the meetings carry instructions from their home governments. Decisions are made upon the basis of a weighted voting system, with the more populous member states receiving more votes than the less populous, but *each* member has a veto over issues which it considers to be of vital concern to its own interests. Thus, no important decision can be taken which appears to be wholly opposed to the interests of any member state. The Council is assisted by the Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER), composed of ten EC ambassadors representing each member state. Since 1970 links among the member states' foreign ministries have been tightened through the European Political Cooperation (EPC), which prepares materials for them.

The second part of the executive which directs the day-to-day business of the EC is the European Commission which meets in Brussels and which is composed of 14 members, two each from France, West Germany, Italy and Great Britain, and one from each of the smaller member states. Each member is chosen by the government of his country for four-year renewable terms. After selection, each commissioner is expected to make decisions based, not upon the interests of his home country, but instead on the interests of the EC as a whole. The commissioners decide issues by a simple majority vote; none has the power of veto. The chairmanship of the Commission rotates on a yearly basis among the member

states. The decisions of the Council of Ministers and the European Commission are carried out by a 9,000-member staff, working mainly in Luxembourg and the large EC headquarters in Brussels.

A 410-seat European Parliament meets seven to eight times a year for one-week sessions in both Strasbourg and Luxembourg. Since 1979 its members have been elected directly in their home countries according to each country's own preferred method of election. Its members do not sit in national delegations, but in party groupings, such as the Communists and Allies, Socialist European People's Party (Christian Democratic), European Progressive Democratic, and Liberal and Democratic Groups. There are a few unaffiliated members. The European Parliament is officially entitled to oversee the work of the European Commission and to approve or reject the EC's budget. But in fact it does not wield much power or any true sovereignty, and it remains basically a place where European issues are discussed and publicized.

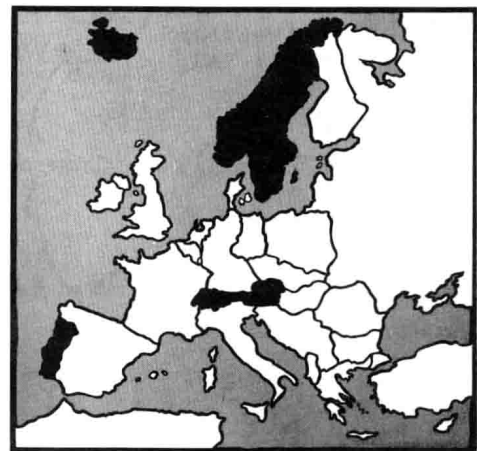
Finally, there is a European Court of Justice with its seat in Luxembourg and composed of nine justices, each chosen by member states for six-year terms. The Court judges violations of three major documents; the ECSC, EC and Euratom Treaties.

Many countries which are not full members of the EC have joined the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which was created in 1959 and whose headquarters are located in Geneva. EFTA eliminated tariffs and customs on all industrial products bought or sold from each other, but it does not include agricultural or fishing products. Due to its diminishing membership, especially since Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark resigned in order to join the EC in 1972, EFTA's economic importance has declined. Members are presently Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and, as an associated member, Finland. All Scandinavian countries also belong to the Nordic Council, which meets regularly to discuss non-military problems which they all have in common. Eleven nations belong to the European Space Agency (ESA), which, with American assistance, launched the first European Spacelab into orbit at the end of 1983. On board this Spacelab was the first European astronaut to travel into space with Americans—Dr. Ulf Merbold, a West German physicist.

Western European countries are also active in such international economic meetings or organizations as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which provides funds for countries with balance of payments problems, the International Energy Agency (IEA), which strives to insure that all industrialized nations have minimally sufficient energy supplies in times of crisis, and the European Monetary System (EMS), which since 1979 has attempted, not always successfully, to coordinate the monetary affairs of certain Western European countries by attempting to link their currencies. Certain countries also affix a non-dollar value to their monies by figuring values of a basket of currencies known as European Currency Units (ECU), which can be used to settle their accounts with each other and with some non-member countries. Although no European country belongs to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), whose headquarters is in Vienna, those Western European countries which export large quantities of oil, such as Great Britain or Norway, all adjust their oil prices to those charged by the OPEC countries.

Through the many organizations which they have joined or created, Western Europeans are better equipped and prepared to face the complicated problems of today.

EFTA members



The Federal Republic of Germany



West Germany (FRG)

Area: 95,791 sq. mi. (248,577 sq. km.). (about the size of Oregon)

Population: 61,500,000, estimated, including West Berlin (1,900,000).

Capital City: Bonn (Pop. 300,000). Many Germans accept the fact that there is little possibility of Berlin again becoming the capital of a united Germany, at least not during their lifetime.

Climate: Temperate.

Neighboring Countries: France, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands (West); Denmark (North); East Germany, Czechoslovakia (East); Austria, Switzerland (South).

Language: German

Ethnic Background: Indo-Germanic.

Principal Religions: Protestant (49%), Roman Catholic (45%), other (6%).

Chief Commercial Exports: Machinery, automobiles (Volkswagen, Mercedes-Benz, Audi), chemicals, iron and steel.

Major Customers: EC 47.4% (France 12%, Netherlands 11.2%, Belgium-Luxembourg 8.3%, Italy 8.1%, U.K. 5.5%), other Europe 17.8%, OPEC 8.3%, U.S. 7.1%, Eastern Europe 5.7%.

Currency: Deutsche Mark.

National Holiday: June 17 (Day of German Unity).

Chief of State: Richard von Weizsäcker, President (since 1984).

Head of Government: Helmut Kohl, Chancellor (since October 1, 1982).

National Flag: Three horizontal stripes: black, red, gold.

Few peoples of the world have such a rich and varied past as do the Germans. Yet theirs is a history full of mountains and valleys. Without German science, theology, philosophy, music, literature and the other arts, Western civilization would have been left with gaping holes. But Germans have known times of shame and destitution so deep and dark that many could not be sure that the sun would ever shine again.

German history is one of religious, class and territorial division. Otto von Bismarck once said that Italy was merely a *geographical conception*, but he could have said exactly the same about Germany. For many centuries there existed the fiction of a unified, almost universal German empire stretching from the North Sea to Sicily. Yet, until 1871 Germany was, in fact, a highly fractured conglomeration of independent and rival kingdoms, principalities, ecclesiastic states and free cities. Even though most of their subjects spoke one of hundreds of German dialects,

few considered themselves *Germans*; rather, they felt themselves to be Saxons, Bavarians, Prussians, Rhinelanders, Frankfurters, etc. When unity finally came in 1871, many Germans were left outside the new German Empire, such as the German-speaking Swiss and Austrians. Also, this unity lasted only three-quarters of a century and ended in disgrace and destruction. Many other Europeans fear a possible renewed German drive for reunification, but they often forget that division is Germany's normal condition, and they are unaware that today reunification is a high priority for very few Germans.

Germany is populated by a dynamic, talented and imaginative people, who for centuries have defied definition. Two thousand years ago the Roman historian Tacitus called the Germanic tribes (which later migrated to most other parts of Western Europe) warlike, but until the 20th century the Germans brought war to other nations far less frequently than did others. Germans were deeply involved in tragic wars in the 20th century, and even in 1950 the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, joked: "Just give me a brass band and a loudspeaker truck. Then let me march from Lake Constance in the South to Kiel up North, and I will have an army of a million men behind me—all eager-eyed." But he was badly mistaken. West Germany is, in fact, now a country in which pacifist sentiment is perhaps stronger than in any other European or North American country. One young German noted with pleasure and with some exaggeration that "Europeans have always wanted a pacifist Germany; well, now they have one!" Indeed, a major source of American irritation toward West Germany is the apparent unwillingness of many West Germans to defend themselves.

The French writer, Madame de Staël, described the Germans almost 200 years ago as a pacific, poetic and romantic people, but Germans also acquired a reputation for diligence and order. German politics has often been described as romantic and irrational, but it was a German statesman (Bismarck) with whom one most directly associates the term, *Realpolitik*, which describes a carefully measured, rational policy based on a realistic assessment of a nation's interests. The Germans' road to democracy has been very bumpy, and they have made several wrong turns. But today West Germany is one of the world's most stable and tolerant democracies, about



Anti-war poster: "WHY? The alternative . . . conscientious objection and non-violence"

which former Chancellor Willy Brandt could say in the early 1970's: "Germans can again be proud of their country."

Germans are still, to some extent, haunted by their history. No people tries so hard to come to grips with its own past, and almost no one is more critical of Germany and its past than is the German himself. But the Germans' critical eye to their own past has brought some undeniable benefits to the present. It has helped to harden both the democratic consensus in West Germany and the determination to bend over backwards to respect and protect human rights and dignity.

Clichés are never more than half truths, but those relating to Germans are much more in need of revision than those about almost all other peoples. West Germany is a country in the process of rapid change, in part because of industrialization familiar to Americans and other Western Europeans, and in part because of a reaction to their own experiences under Hitler, a dictator almost universally regarded outside and inside Germany as the most evil and brutal individual in recorded history. One can witness change in Germans' attitudes on politics, social problems, religion and work and in almost all German societal institutions, including the family and the schools. In short, West Germany is a country which one must approach with a fresh and open mind.

West Germany (FRG)

Germans are the largest nationality in Europe west of Russia. The Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany—FRG) has 61.5 million inhabitants, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany—GDR) 17 million. West Germany is a very densely populated country, with 250 inhabitants per square mile. The only European countries where the people live more closely together are the Netherlands and Belgium. The FRG's population is unevenly dispersed, though. Half of the population lives on less than 10% of the land. The most thickly settled part is the Ruhr-Rhine area around Düsseldorf, Cologne, Dortmund and Essen (a conglomeration of cities and heavy industry often called "Ruhr City") where 9% of the FRG's people live on only 2% of the land area. Other large urban concentrations are the Rhine-Main area around Frankfurt, the Rhine-Neckar area around Mannheim and Ludwigshaven, the Swabian industrial concentration around Stuttgart, as well as the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Hanover, Nürnberg and Munich. There are, however, very thinly settled areas in the Northern German Plain, the Eifel Mountain region, the Upper Palatinate, the Bavarian Forest, and the peripheral areas adjacent to the border with the GDR.

The FRG has experienced a rapid flight from farms into cities and towns; the rural population dropped from 23% in 1950 to less than 5% today. Still, approximately 40% of West Germans live in towns or villages of less than 20,000 inhabitants. Unlike countries such as France, Britain, Italy or Denmark, no one West German city has ballooned to megalopolis size and dominates the political, cultural and economic life of the entire country. The German population is not growing. In fact, the FRG and GDR have the lowest birth rates in the world, although the West German population began to climb slightly in 1979.

The FRG is no larger than the state of Oregon and is only half the size of neighboring France. It is a narrow country, measuring at points only 140 miles or 225 km. from East to West. It shares an 858 mile (1,381 km.) heavily fortified border with the GDR. Approximately one-third of the FRG's population and one-fourth of its industry is located within 60 miles (100 km.) of that border, a fact with considerable military significance for the FRG and NATO. Deep within East German territory is West Berlin, whose residents must travel 110 miles (176 km.)

to reach the FRG.

Germany has for centuries been called the "land of the middle" because it occupies the heart of Europe. This is a major reason why other European powers have often sought to keep Germany divided and weak. It has no natural frontiers, and the North German Plain, which is interspersed with hills, has always been and remains an ideal invasion route. The center of the FRG is an upland plain with many industrial centers. Only the Alpine foothills in the Southeast offer uninviting terrain for invading commanders. Because the altitude rises from the North Sea to the Alps, most of West Germany's rivers, which provide the country with an excellent inland waterway system, flow north and empty into the North Sea via the Rhine, Ems, Weser and Elbe Rivers. The only exception is the Danube, which flows southeast toward the Black Sea.

The visitor to West Germany now looks in vain for physical traces of the pauperized and demolished land which in 1945 began to dig itself out from under a pile of rubble. One now sees a highly prosperous country with a well-fed, well-clothed, well-cared-for and predominantly middle-class people. The FRG is ribboned by highly modern highways travelled by millions of private automobiles. Its modern cities show few signs of the urban blight which has blemished so many Ameri-

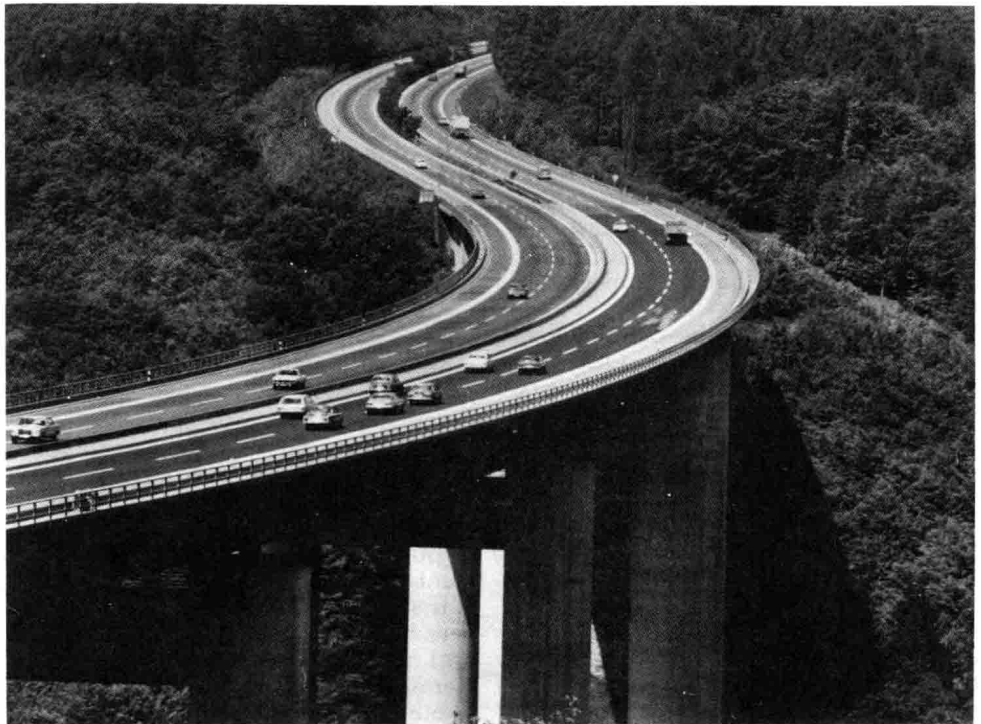
can cities. It is an economic giant in the world and now operates in European politics with far more confidence, effectiveness and respect than almost anyone ever dreamed would be possible after Germany's total collapse in 1945.

HISTORY

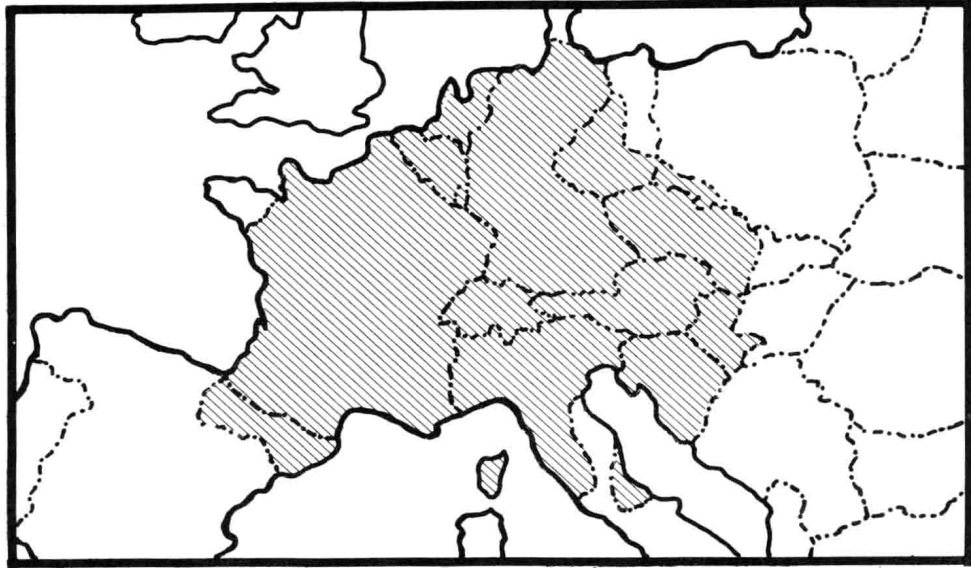
About four centuries before Christ, Germanic tribes, which were of Indo-European extraction, began entering from the North and the East of what is now Germany and displacing or mingling with the Celtic peoples whom they found there. These tribes were, however, not the only people to be attracted by the soil, rivers and strategic importance of this area in the heart of Europe. In 58 B.C. Julius Caesar led a Roman army which defeated the Germanic tribes in Alsace and in other Germanic areas west of the Rhine River. A good cultural observer as well as a good commander, Caesar wrote the earliest description of the tribes which he had just defeated and thereby sparked the interest and imagination of other Romans who later came to colonize or develop the area.

In 9 B.C. the Romans extended their frontier eastward toward the Elbe River, but this expansion survived only two decades. In 9 A.D. a Germanic chieftain, Arminius (later known to

West Germany's highways



Charlemagne's Empire in 814



Germans as Hermann), led an army which practically decimated the Roman occupation forces during a furious battle in storm and rain in the Teutoburg Forest, which is said to be located southeast of the present-day city of Bielefeld. The remnants of the Roman forces withdrew westward and southward again beyond the Danube and Rhine rivers. Thenceforth the Romans remained behind their heavily garrisoned frontier stretching from Cologne (Colonia) to Bonn (Bonna) to Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) and all the way to Vienna (Vindobona). Here the Romans built beautiful cities such as Regensburg (Castrum Regina) and Trier (Augusta Treverum) with their stone structures, warm air heating underneath their floors, aqueducts, baths, coliseums and even running water in some villas and public buildings. They introduced advanced Roman agricultural methods, a money economy, and Roman law, administration and culture. Trier even served temporarily as a seat of the Roman emperor, especially for Constantine the Great from 306–312 A.D. What we now know about the Germanic tribes at that time came to us from Romans such as Tacitus, who in his book *Germania* described the tribes' legends, customs, appearance, morals, and political and economic systems. His characterization of these tribesmen as particularly warlike helped launch a cliché about Germans which is by no means an inherent trait or valid today.

In the latter half of the 2nd century A.D., Germanic tribes began hammering away at the Roman front and, attracted by stories of great wealth in the Italian peninsula itself, actually invaded the heartland of the decadent Roman Empire in the 5th century, causing it to collapse in the West. For centuries the Roman cities were left largely to decay, and much of the legal, administrative and cultural advancements were partly forgotten. Yet the Romans left their traces in the grammatical structure and some words of the German language, in the German concept of law and in the cities which after the first Crusade in 1095 began to gain significance in Germany again.

Some historians have dated the beginning of German history at 9 A.D., when Arminius defeated the Romans at Teutoburg, but the various German tribes which he led against the Romans certainly felt no common identity among themselves as *Germans*. There can scarcely be a *German* history without a *German* people and some kind of *German* state. It is a mistake to identify

Germany with the various tribes which began to enter what is presently Germany before the arrival of the Romans and with those such as the East and West Goths, Vandals, Burgundians and Langobards which swept into the area during the great migrations. Those migrations almost completely changed the racial make-up of Europe from the 2nd through the 5th centuries. The German nation was formed only very gradually over many centuries through the conquest and integration of a great number of Germanic tribes. Of course, some such as the Angles, some Saxons, the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, never became a part of the German nation. Others were initially conquered, particularly by the larger tribes—the Frisians, Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons and Thuringers—and ultimately grew into a community larger than their own tribe.

It is highly doubtful that a German nation would ever have emerged if a Carolinian empire had not taken shape after the Roman rule had ended. This far-flung empire, composed 80% of Germanic peoples and encompassing those speaking Latin-based languages in the West, reached its peak under Charlemagne ("Charles the Great"), who ascended the throne in 768 A.D. During his rule the empire extended from northwestern Europe south to Rome and from Hungary to northern Spain. Charlemagne was a leader of extraordinary personal qualities who spent half his time in the saddle holding his vast territory together. His empire survived only a few years after his death in 814. In 817 it was divided into Kingdoms of East and West Franconia and Lorraine. After bitter and compli-

cated inheritance wrangles, two realms faced each other along roughly the same line as the present border between Germany and France. By 843 this border had become more or less fixed, and in the year 925 this line became firmly established. Only in the East could subsequent German expansion take place.

Although Charlemagne's huge empire had been considerably reduced after his death, he had created the indispensable foundation for the formation of a German nation and a German consciousness. There were no other geographic, racial, cultural or strictly linguistic factors which could have pulled Germany together without Charlemagne's political and military acumen. During his reign some persons began to refer to the tongues spoken in the Eastern part of his empire as "Deutsch" (German), a word derived from "Diutisk," meaning "common" or "popular." In the following three centuries more and more inhabitants of what is now Germany developed a consciousness of being *German*.

In 911 the eastern Franconian realm became the German Empire. The name of this loosely organized state was subsequently changed in the 11th century to "Roman Empire," in the 13th century to "Holy Roman Empire," and in the 15th century to "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Its reach and power expanded and contracted, but it always retained certain organizational features: the highest nobility (the "electors") actually *elected* the emperor. There was, however, a dynastic element in that, with very few exceptions, the new emperor had to be a blood relative of his predecessor. There was no capital city; he moved

West Germany (FRG)

around continually, ruling from wherever he happened to be. He usually resided in various bishoprics or in a collection of buildings known as a *Pfalz*. As one can now see in the charming medieval city of Goslar in the Harz Mountains, the *Pfalz* contained a royal residence, buildings and stables for the emperor's retinue, at least one church or chapel, and surrounding farms, mines and businesses, from which the emperor could derive his income. Since no taxes were levied, he was compelled to finance his activities from the various imperial estates throughout the empire. Finally, the major and minor nobility met infrequently in an imperial diet called the *Reichstag*, a body whose work cannot be compared to a modern democratic parliament, but one which displayed how much the emperor depended upon other noblemen if he wanted to conduct a war, increase his revenues or the like.

Germany always has been a mixture of central and regional power, of unity and disunity. There were endless struggles over who should *lead* in the empire, and the emperor's actual power was never assured, even after he had been elected. He had to maintain a powerful army and forge delicate alliances among the rival dukes in the realm and powerful archbishops who ruled such important cities as Mainz, Cologne and Trier. This is why German provinces and cities became much more important in Germany than in other countries.

During the 8th and 9th centuries the Hungarians posed a constant threat to the German Empire. The fortresses which Romans built had long since fallen into ruin. To cope with this threat, the German kings and emperors erected fortresses around the imperial estates, royal and ducal palaces, abbeys and cities with the treasured right to maintain a market place. Erfurt, Meissen, Merseburg, Frankfurt, Ulm, Goslar and Aachen originated from fortified royal estates and palaces, and Augsburg, Passau, Strasbourg, Trier, Worms, Cologne, Mainz and Speyer, originated from fortified abbeys and monasteries. In 955 the Hungarians were decisively defeated and were rooted out of what is now Austria, thereby permitting Bavarian settlers to pour into this "East March" (whence the German name for Austria: *Österreich*).

The German emperors focused their attention far beyond what is now the German-speaking world, particularly on Italy. In 962 the Saxon King Otto I was crowned emperor by the Pope in

St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, a tradition which was to last over 500 years. This unique privilege, which was bestowed upon no other ruler, entitled the German monarch to be called "emperor." It also gave the German Empire a universalistic claim to rule over the entire Western world as the protector of Christianity. This claim never became reality.

The special relationship which was established between the emperors and popes proved to be of questionable value for both. German emperors became embroiled in Italian and papal affairs for more than three centuries, a costly diversion from the more important task of creating a unified Germany. Emperors became active in papal selections and on occasion succeeded in driving popes right out of Rome. At the same time, popes often connived with Germany's enemies and bitterly fought against emperors' attempts to gain control of the Catholic Church within Germany. A showdown between the two occurred in 1077 when Emperor Heinrich IV replaced Pope Gregor VII when the latter refused to permit Heinrich to appoint bishops and other high Church officials in Germany. Gregor struck back by taking away Heinrich's imperial crown, releasing all of Heinrich's subjects from their loyalty to the Emperor, and excommunicating Heinrich. The latter soon realized how much he had overreached his power and authority and felt compelled to go to the fortress of Canossa, where the Pope had sought protection. Dressed in the simple garb of a penitent, Heinrich

pleaded three days for forgiveness. Then with outstretched arms he threw himself at the Pope's feet, who had no alternative but to forgive him. Heinrich's act of prostration at the feet of the Pope was a turning point in German history. Soon thereafter a revengeful Heinrich drove Pope Gregor into exile and lonely death in southern Italy, and for centuries the German emperors could always count the popes among their enemies, even though they continued to influence their election until about 1250.

The emperors' perennial activity in Italy tended seriously to weaken their ability to contend with the domestic challenges to their authority. One of the few exceptions to this was Emperor Friedrich I of the Swabian dynasty of Staufen, which from 1138 ruled Germany for about a century. Known as Barbarossa because of his red beard, Friedrich was a strong monarch from the moment he ascended the throne in 1152 at the age of 30. He was a handsome and imposing man, intelligent and well-educated. A highly charismatic figure who attracted loyalty and devotion like a magnet, he was a model knight whose martial skills he continued to display by participating in tournaments until age 60. Despite a determined challenge within Germany by the Saxon duke, Heinrich the Lion, his aims were clear: supremacy in northern and central Italy, without suppressing the Italian cities' freedoms, and continued influence over the papacy without directly *controlling* Rome. He wanted to crown his reign with a triumphant crusade, but after

Roman-built *Porta Negra* in Trier

