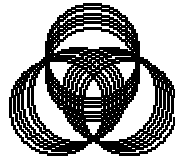


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Times of Peace Are Times in Which Worth Is Proved

"Today, I see the office of the Federal President as a dual task: He must speak for the Germans and he must help minorities speak for themselves. I would like to use my capabilities and do things my way to fulfil just this task. Everyone should know that I gain my strength and confidence from the Christian faith and that I have great respect for those people who have based their lives on other faiths. I would like to lend my ear to everyone so that no one will remain unheard. I would like to establish new bonds of communication where they have been broken, between East and West, between old and young. I would like to help make public those topics, which belong to social debate. And I would like to encourage all of you, ... who are working on the future of our country."

Johannes Rau, Berlin, 1 July 1999

The Federal President – Mediator, Arbitrator, Visionary

The Federal President of the Federal Republic of Germany is above the political currents of the power structures in the country. His legal and political function is one of an independent authority balancing out differences. He may do this as a mediator in the intensifying conflicts of daily politics or as an arbitrator on daily policy-making and its alleged or actual constraints on the one hand, and the visions above and beyond the daily fair, sustainable politics on the other.

To be sure, in contrast to the German President during the Weimar Republic, the legal status and the authority of the Federal President have been greatly weakened. However, particularly because the Federal President does not have to be and cannot be a counterweight in power politics, his advice as a mediator, arbitrator and guide carries a great deal of weight among all parties, especially the general public. This is true of the disputes in daily political business. And it is also true for the values, ideas and visions, which go beyond daily affairs while at the same time preserving the tasks, the targets and the guiding lines of Basic Law (German Constitution).

In view of the existential questions and problems like war and peace, human rights and minority rights, environment and development, the latter should be given special emphasis: Policy-making and politics, which are to shape the future sustainably, require visions to guide it – even in the humdrum of ordinary business.

If it is true that the characteristics of the office and the role of the German head of state stipulated by constitutional law and constitutional policy can be rewritten with the terms "mediator", "arbitrator" and "visionary", then the election of Johannes Rau to post of the eighth President of the Federal Republic of Germany must be seen as an a priori stroke of luck. Undoubtedly Rau's personal characteristics as a human being and his proven strength as a politician include those capabilities, which could also be described as "peace characteristics" in one's understanding of the role of a German head of state: that is, the capability of approaching someone and listening to them, of reconciling conflicts as well as showing the way towards a simultaneously value-oriented and optimistic future.

Politics and Policy-Making Must Be Targeted towards Peace!

Article 59 of Basic Law is in a significant position as one of the few constitutional norms, which state the tasks and functions of the Federal President *expressis verbis*. It states: "The Federal President represents the Federation relating to international law." Therefore, it is no coincidence that famous federal presidents have frequently dealt with foreign policy problems, and specifically peace policy and in their speeches, articles and activities return to them time and again. This was true of Johannes Rau from the very first day he came to office.

Even during his first year in office as Federal President, Rau had already paid visits to Greece, Turkey, the Middle East and the US. In addition, he held meetings with the heads of state of all of Germany's neighbouring countries. Moreover, his meetings and initiatives were constantly focused on promoting peace and good-neighbourly relations as a model of German foreign policy.

The importance that Johannes Rau attaches to the topic "peace" was already made clear in his first speech after he was sworn in as Federal President on 1 July 1999 in Berlin: "Ten years after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall, we are still in search of a new order in Europe and worldwide. The two military blocs, who were hostile enemies, no longer exist. However we have yet to create an all-European peace and security order, which would be necessary so that war, at least in Europe, is no longer used as a means to implement policy. We are still very far away from a new world peace order which would include a model for sustainable global developments."¹

And then Rau comes to the "most important lesson" to be learned from the Kosovo War: "For me the most important lesson was the following: We must, through preventive policies, try to avoid the *wrong alternative*. That is, we should not burden ourselves with guilt by looking the other way or by deploying military means that affect totally innocent victims."² (Emphasis – DSL)

In plain language this means: The concept that human beings can live in peace on a long-term basis does not always correspond with reality. There are more than enough examples of the opposite. Rau is therefore, like others "with a torn heart" about the Kosovo war, of the view that one should "not stand by watching without taking any action, when in the

middle of Europe, terror and expulsion have taken hold. In this kind of *extreme exceptional situation*, the deployment of military forces is justified."³ (Emphasis – DSL)

However if human beings are not *peaceful* in the long run, they or their politicians could become *susceptible to peace*, i.e. capable of combining preventive rationale with the art of the achievable.⁴ To Rau, war and peace are therefore not natural alternatives, just as war is not really a continuation of policy-making through other means. On the contrary, the primary task of politics and policy-making is to prevent war and not to wage it. Situations, which as an alternative only allow the evils of burdening the guilt on oneself or killing innocent victims by deploying military means, should not be allowed to occur. If they do politics and policy-making have failed.

Thus war is not the real challenge in which policies must be proven worthy, peace is the testimony of merit. With this consideration President Johannes Rau is categorically following in the tradition of his predecessor Gustav Heinemann.⁵

In his speech on 6 January 2000 on the occasion of the opening of the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), Rau cultivates his Heinemann heritage *expressis verbis*: "'War is not the real proof of worth...'. This sentence uttered by Heinemann contradicts European intellectual history. It contradicts Heraclit. It contradicts Schiller. 'War is not the real proof of worth, peace is the challenge and we must prove our worth in times of peace because beyond peace there is no existence.' Gustav Heinemann stated this in 1964, not as the Federal President, but over five years before his election. He said it at a point in time in which the prevention of a nuclear war between East and West had become the highest principle of security policy. Ten years ago the East-West conflict disappeared from the stage of history ... Security in Europe today is less threatened by the power claims of individual states than by group antagonisms roused *within* individual states. The so-called new security risks cannot be dealt with through classical military means of security policy: They now include social imbalance, the effects of international financial crises, ethnic conflicts, fundamentalist violence, drug trafficking and transnational criminality. There-

1 Cf. in: Johannes Rau, *Friede als Ernstfall. Reden und Beiträge des Bundespräsidenten*. Hrsg. von Dieter S. Lutz, Baden-Baden 2001 (in the following cited as: Rau), p. 220.

2 Cf.: Rau: p. 221.

3 Cf.: Rau: *Ibid.*

4 For the issue of susceptibility to peace, see also: Lutz, Dieter S., *Krieg - auf immer und ewig?* [War - for Ever and Ever?] *Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik* 24/1998.

5 Heinemann, who was a decided opponent of rearmament, did not regard himself as a pacifist. "Peace and its sustainability" were nevertheless "the primary task of 'proof of worth' in policy-making", see: Rau. p. 41.

fore Gustav Heinemann's statement that 'peace is the real proof of worth' has a much more comprehensive meaning than it did 36 years ago: At the time when Heinemann expressed this, it was a negatively definable and defined task, it was regarded as preventing the Cold War from escalating into a hot war. Today the positively defined task of moulding the peace process is on the agenda in Europe. Today times of peace have become the real proof of worth."⁶

Proving the Value of Peace

"Peace as proof of worth", understood as the "positively defined task of moulding peace". What does this mean exactly?

Certainly not Realpolitik in the traditional sense. In contrast, if one is to make the vision of times of peace as times of proof of worth more concrete and corresponding to reality, this requires policies using all ways and means to persistently attempt to change the reality of war in a lasting manner. However a policy, which "the know-it-all self-appointed 'realists'"⁷ call Realpolitik in which if they do not promote war out-right, at least consider it, has as little to do with "proving the worth of peace" as an alleged Realpolitik that praises "the ability to adapt" quasi as an inherent value, takes a violent and warring reality as a given and pursues policies which are simply "muddling through" on a day-to-day basis.

Rau also comes to this conclusion when he speaks of "the lessons from the 20th century for the 21st century": "Hegel wrote that history teaches above all 'that peoples and governments never learn from history itself' ... But we should not stop asking history to tell us how to avoid such failures ... Reappraising the past requires courage, of course, courage to be honest ... Every political system in which violence is a tried and tested means, is dominated by fear. This can cause human beings to become rational and sit down at the negotiating table; however it can also divide them. The superpowers of old Europe made the wrong decisions. Their diplomats *did not ensure peace, but created alliances for war*. Without even wanting to, they created a hell machine."⁸ (Emphasis – DSL)

In his eulogy on the occasion the Hessian Peace Prize was awarded to Martti Ahtisaari, President Rau therefore declared his conviction⁹: "... that Realpolitik in the old style no longer has any place in Europe".¹⁰

For Rau the proving the value of peace is more than just a negative reply to Realpolitik in the old style. It is a "*positively defined* structural task". This should be emphasized because the term "peace" as a political action goal has been taken advantage of by almost all political groups. Nonetheless, peace has yet to be conclusively defined in a binding manner. To be sure, up until a few years ago, peace was traditionally described as a state of being. This condition was interpreted as being the absence of war, and later the absence of violence. Today we understand peace more as a political process. Peace should offer human beings and peoples the chance to live together in the long-term and maintain as well as develop their standard of living. Peace should ensure the realization of human rights and prevent war, violence, exploitation, poverty, hunger and suppression and if possible get rid of these completely. Furthermore peace should utilize and develop natural resources as well as preserve them for the coming generations.

Depending on the (political) situation, this definition must be put in concrete terms (historically). Therefore President Rau identifies cases of testimony to the value of peace derived from reality and defines them positively as the task of moulding this reality.

Those who look over the speeches and contributions of the Federal President in summary will find that Johannes Rau has at least ten of these "building blocks" or cases of the "predicament of peace" in view. He identified eight of these *expressis verbis* in his speech on the occasion of Kofi Annan's – the Secretary-General of the United Nations – visit to Berlin on 3 July 2000.¹¹ These are: democracy, human rights, remembrance and forgiveness, prevention, the social market economy, development, the cultural dialogue and good-neighbourly relations. Two other "cases" can be easily identified in numerous statements made by Rau: the European federation and the environment.

Of course, some of these "cases" are on very different levels systematically and methodically. Those who look over the speeches and articles of the Federal President in summary will also notice that the cases he brings to mind are not just any random building block from some abstract vision. Rather, a general survey reveals that the creation of a new foreign and peace policy are meant here. It is beyond a doubt that a decade after the end of the East-West conflict a unified Germany was greatly in need of this new conception. This was announced in the agreement of the coalition government under the motto: "German foreign policy is peace policy."¹²

6 Cf.: Rau: pp. 229, 231.

7 Cf.: Rau: pp. 45-46.

8 Cf.: Ibid.

9 Rau calls this the "leitmotif of political action" - see Rau: p. 66.

10 Ibid.

11 Cf.: Rau: p. 91.

12 Cf. See also: Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH) [Institute

How is this different from foreign policy being a proof of worth of peace – if not *the* proof of peace per se?

Ten Cases of Testimony to the Value of Peace

What do the Federal President's ten cases of the proof of worth concerning peace include in detail? What do they contain?

Democracy

According to the Federal President, one requires "many building blocks" to "create and maintain peace ... And first and foremost, of course, one requires democracy. Democracy allows society to breathe. This explains the astonishing but proven fact that during the past 200 years democracies have not fought wars against one another."¹³

Moreover Western Europe owes "peace to the fact that it became a community of democracy and rule of law after the last world war".¹⁴ In contrast, for forty years, the Central and Eastern Europeans were denied democracy and the great achievements of civilization that go along with it, freedom, prosperity and social equality. Now after the end of the East-West conflict they have to catch up to the point where Germany and Western Europe were after 1945 and to what during the past decades has proved "totally self-evident": i.e. "the enlargement of the European Union towards the East". First of all, enlargement is "an important motor for the reform process in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Establishing democracy and human rights in these countries would give Europe a totally new face. Second we cannot afford to have a poverty frontier in Europe."¹⁵

However, if democracy is to survive in the long run it will need broad support. According to the Federal President, one of the greatest mistakes of the Weimar Republic was that they made few friends. "Democracy lives from the fact that people intervene in their own affairs."¹⁶ "That is why, in addition to actions taken by the state, creating the same chances

of survival for everyone, this demands that as many citizens as possible are actively involved in public welfare to fulfil social, humanitarian, cultural and ecological tasks."¹⁷

In addition, a viable democracy requires "collective ideas", "clear-cut fundamental values", "established rules", and even "emotional common ground": Whoever lives in Germany today or "comes to Germany from another place must accept its democratically established rules. This is the foundation of the way we live together. These rules were established to integrate peoples and not exclude them. ... Democracy also means that minorities must accept decisions made by the majority and even affirm them inwardly. This requires that the majority and the minority share mutual basic ideas, above and beyond daily political conflicts and controversies. Only then can they develop a feeling for the 'we', which joins and links them together."¹⁸

Human Rights

More "evidence", which Johannes Rau considers tightly linked to democracy, is that of human rights: "Democracy is unthinkable without the protection of human rights. Human rights are therefore essential on the path towards peace."¹⁹

With these considerations, Rau has drawn the same conclusions as the German Constitutional Council, the "Parlamentarische Rat" in 1948/49. These concepts have flowed into German Basic Law through a large number of remarkable norms. With these regulations in 1948/49, the "Parlamentarische Rat" was consciously and persistently looking for a new start: From that time on, under no circumstances was the (national) state to be placed at the centre of policy-making, politics and law. Constitutionally, the human being was to take this position. The concept of the constitution is that only the human being constitutes an inherent value, which can never be lost and is also independent and inviolable with respect to all societal demands, in particular the political and legal grasp of the state and society. In Article 1, paragraph 2 of Basic Law, the "German people" expressly pledge allegiance to the inviolable and inalienable human rights forming the foundation of every peaceful and just human society in the world.

"The most important lesson learned from our experiences between 1933 and 1945 is" for Johannes Rau therefore "the little/big sentence at the beginning of Basic Law: 'The dignity of the human being is sacred.' It is certain that this sentence stands alone and it is just as certain that only the experiences, on which its formulation are based, bring all its dimen-

for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH], "Deutsche Außenpolitik ist Friedenspolitik". Lageanalyse und Empfehlungen zur Friedens- und Sicherheitspolitik der Bundesregierung auf der Grundlage der Koalitionsvereinbarung zwischen der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen vom 20. Oktober 1998 ["German Foreign Policy is Peace Policy". Situational Analysis and Recommendations for Peace and Security Policy of the Government of the Federal Republic on the Basis of Coalition Agreements between Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Alliance 90/The Greens on 20 October 1998], in: Vierteljahresschrift für Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) 1/1999. pp. 2-23.

13 Cf. Rau: p. 91.
14 Cf. Rau: p. 198.
15 Cf. Rau: p. 107.
16 Cf. Rau: p. 99.

17 Cf. Rau: p. 138.
18 Cf. Rau: pp. 125-126.
19 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

sions to light. The basic anti-totalitarian consensus in the Federal Republic of Germany is crystallized in this sentence."²⁰

Against this background "very fundamental questions" logically became "the focal point of our considerations" for Rau after the end of the Cold War and the discontinuation of the bipolar system: "How can the community of peoples protect security and human rights from the arbitrariness of national states particularly when this arbitrariness is disguised as national sovereignty?"²¹ "How can they develop into a truly responsible community? ... Should the universality of human rights have priority over national sovereignty? How do we deal with violators of human rights, who cite national sovereignty as a justification? Does the international community have an obligation to intervene when human rights have been violated?"²² "How do we deal with threats to peace and stability when conflicts are within the state and not between states? How can the international community be organized to be able to protect the dignity of human beings as is demanded in the Charter?"²³

In the view of the Federal President, once again the EU is an outstanding example of a successful organisation: "The European Union is more than just a 'common market' ... It is a political union, which shares fundamental values on how human beings should live together."²⁴

Although there is reason to be proud of the achievements reached in Germany and the European Union, the protection of human beings and their rights remains a permanent task – also and especially when it comes to tidying up in your own home. Rau notes with self-criticism: "We have a long way to go before the use of violence becomes the taboo that it should be. *One* of the reasons why brown political leanings are growing stronger and an increase in violence in East and West has occurred is surely due to a certain intensification of the brutality in our society ... The brutalization and the habituation to violence in our society cannot be tackled through laws alone – human kindness and decency are essential as well as the kind of courage to stand up for one's beliefs without which our society could not survive."²⁵

Remembrance and Forgiveness

If one follows the thoughts of President Rau, then in future "only those can win who have not forgotten the past ... For us, and especially for our young people, the remembrance of what occurred must be

transformed into a commitment to use all our powers to defend peace and freedom. In this manner, remembrance of the past can be converted to the lessons of the future."²⁶

The participants and members of the Herrenchiemsee Convent and the "Parlamentarische Rat" in 1948/49 were of a similar persuasion. They wanted to use the lessons of the past for a constitution, which actively created peace and security predominantly through non-military means by strengthening the laws and equal international co-operation. Furthermore, as is expressly stated in the preamble of the constitution – the German people were to "serve peace in the world".

However to serve means to become actively involved, to feel responsibility and not least to take on responsibility. With justification Rau therefore admonishes: "Responsibility can be derived from history. This begins with education in the schools and with the establishment and maintenance of memorials. ... (Nonetheless), commemoration is just an empty shell if it is not accompanied with responsible action."²⁷

Those of us – like Rau – who are keeping an eye on the "peace as proof of worth" and who understand both the demand for democracy and the realization of human rights as well as the obligation to joint responsibility as a historical lesson from our warring past, must follow a different path than we did in the past. At the same time however, we must continually maintain an acute awareness of this past. Every human being possesses a "fund of historical knowledge ... Even communities, peoples and nations form this kind of a historical consciousness." However, these "depend on the memories and experiences passed on from generation to generation – everything else sinks into oblivion. Those of us who want the lessons of the 20th century to be taken to heart must in the long run make sure that they enter into the collective memory of the people."²⁸

Thus remembrance is a prerequisite. If the "predicament of peace" is to be solved, another element must also be added: And that is forgiveness or the attempt to forgive. According to Rau, "only through remembrance and forgiveness will those who were enemies leave behind the history of the war and approach one another."²⁹ "The Europeans were also forced to make a whole new start with Germany fifty years ago."³⁰ This became a "story of hope". "Ever-

20 Cf. Rau: p. 277.

21 Cf. Rau: p. 90-91.

22 Cf. Rau: p. 326.

23 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

24 Cf. Rau: p. 161.

25 Cf. Rau: pp. 247-248.

26 Cf. Rau: pp. 387-388.

27 Cf. Rau: p. 179.

28 Cf. Rau: p. 54.

29 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

30 Cf. Rau: p. 181.

lasting" enmity "does not have to exist" – says the Federal President – "history can be a success."³¹

Good Neighbourly Relations

For Johannes Rau, one of the lessons of history is "a foreign policy, which transforms classical power politics into mutual commitment and the policy of national solo runs into a policy of solidarity".³² Following the example of Willy Brandt, Rau calls this fourth case of the testimony on the value of peace, "good neighbourly relations", an issue in which the Germans must still prove their worth. "You cannot choose your neighbours. However you can make an unwilling neighbourhood into a conscious one. Willy Brandt called this 'good neighbourly relations'. It was his wish that the German people become good neighbours."³³ "We have made an attempt at this and it has been worthwhile. After centuries of hostility, today in Europe we have good neighbourly relations with many nations."³⁴

"Good neighbourly relations" as a lesson does not just have its roots in the dark chapters of history. On the contrary: Especially cross-border risks and chances, today and in future, demand "good neighbourly relations". "In the age of globalization, there are an increasing number of forces, which independent of geography will make us neighbours. Think about modern communications, the threat to the environment, international trade and movements on the investment market. Think about migration and the many different cultures encountering one another in one's own country. When we are faced with problems that we can only solve together these are typical neighbourhood problems."³⁵

For Rau "good neighbourly relations" are a source of *foreign* policy ideas.³⁶ But "good neighbourly relations" are also important "*within* a state ... We live in a time in which cultures collide with one another and in which living together harmoniously is less practiced than gaining elbow room, which some consider the symbol of our society. No, the shoved elbow should not be the symbol of our society, but the outstretched hand; not the hand balled into a fist, but the hand that waves a greeting, that is giving and communicative."³⁷ (Emphasis – DSL)

Cultural Dialogue

Good neighbourly relations are evidence of proof of the value of peace – which "has been worthwhile for the Germans".³⁸ Thus Rau never tires of warmly

emphasizing good neighbourly relations in his speeches in foreign countries "as a prime example of peace policy" and simultaneously linking it with another building block of the predicament of peace: "Good neighbourly relations are advisable as a prime example of peace policy in other regions. For this purpose we also require dialogue between the cultures of the world."³⁹ "Thus, this kind of a policy (that of good neighbourly relations) is based on values, which in spite of all political and cultural differences are common to us or at least they should be: This is, first, the conviction that there is a connection between democracy, peace and development. Developments in many countries prove that democratic states, which guarantee legal certainty often, achieve a higher standard of living. And secondly this is the view that we must conduct a dialogue between cultures and religions to be able to rediscover what we have in common and what joins us together and thus ensure peaceful co-existence: this *between* the states, but also increasingly *within* states, which have long since ceased to be ethnically and culturally homogeneous."⁴⁰ "The intercultural dialogue can make positive changes in attitudes towards the enemy to dismantle prejudices, it can uncover common ground between cultures and prevent conflict."⁴¹

But will this intercultural dialogue really be a success? And even more fundamentally: Will there be, can there even be a dialogue between cultures? But rather, will not religious fundamentalism and the "clash of civilizations"⁴² determine the answer to the question of whether there will be war or peace in the future?

Johannes Rau is very certain about this issue. According to Rau, fundamentalism grows "out of the foundations of social injustice and economic imbalance. The temptation to use mottos expressing hate and violence has grown all too easily because of the helplessness arising from social squalor ... Those of us who wish to combat these slogans successfully, who wish to prevent fundamentalism from falling on fruitful soil must ensure that the social and economic conditions exist so that people everywhere in the world can live together in a humane way, can maintain their traditions and their cultural uniqueness. Wherever there is hope for the development of justice and a promising future for our children and grandchildren, fanatics hold a bad hand ... It would however be too simple if we were to hope that cultural and religiously influenced conflicts would solve themselves if economic and social developments were to offer guidelines in the right direction.

31 Cf. Rau: p. 182.

32 Cf. Rau: p. 382.

33 Cf. Rau: p. 377.

34 Cf. Rau: p. 381.

35 Cf. Rau: p. 382.

36 Cf. Rau: pp. 91, 377, 378.

37 Cf. Rau: p. 172.

38 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

39 Cf. Rau: Ibid..

40 Cf. Rau: p. 382.

41 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

42 Cf. Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York 1996.

If we do not wish to give the various forms of fundamentalism any space than we must conduct and maintain a dialogue between the cultures."⁴³

Rau is in no way simply satisfied with purely abstract concepts and advice. Only someone who is certain of his ethical code can conduct a cultural dialogue of this kind. Thus first the Federal President uses the discussion to remind us to take a deep look inwardly: "We need intercultural dialogue even in our own country. It would serve to maintain domestic peace and contribute to a climate of tolerance so that cultural tensions are not dealt with violently on the streets and local neighbourhoods."⁴⁴

Secondly, the German Federal President, in conjunction with twelve other heads of state, took the very practical initiative to start a dialogue, protected from daily politics, between Western and Islamic cultural circles. These heads of state have taken over the patronage of jointly co-ordinated research in one academic institute in each of their countries. These institutes are working on areas like the media, education and training, economics and culture.

On the periphery of the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2000, discussions between some of the participating heads of state and leading representatives of the Christian and Islamic religions further developed this dialogue. During the concluding plenary discussion, President Rau gave a keynote address introducing his initiative to the public.

The Social Market Economy

Although Rau attaches special importance to "good neighbourly relations" and the "cultural dialogue" as evidence of proof of the value of peace, he also emphasizes repeatedly that: "Some conflicts ... are religiously or ethnically motivated, at least on a superficial level. If we look more closely, we detect that there are also social and economic background reasons for this. The world's economic developments are becoming increasingly interwoven, this could lead to an intensification of crises, it can also accelerate them."⁴⁵

If a community does not want to surrender itself completely to market laws, then according to the Federal President it requires "tangible and intangible resources, which can be extracted from other sources." Furthermore or even "foremost, institutions must be created or maintained, which promote justice, protect the solidarity and freedom of those who think differently and live differently as well as make sure that the weak receive aid. Institutions that are not only oriented towards the present, but struc-

turally also deal with the future of the children and following generations – that is public and state institutions. It seems to me that today the state has the task of preserving and defending the rights to freedom and the social rights, which have been fought for during the last centuries and decades so that unbridled economic freedom will not lead to individual bondage and social devastation. In a globalized world where national borders have been weakened this state task must be newly defined."⁴⁶

What would this new definition include? The Federal President's conclusions are as follows: "If the globalized markets are to be adapted to the expectations of the 20th and the 21st century then we must transfer the social aspects of the market economy to the global level."⁴⁷ "It is not a matter of globalizing the market economy *without an adjective*, but of globalizing the *social* market economy."⁴⁸

And with a view to peace as proof of worth: "A social market economy aids in eliminating social injustice, which has throughout history repeatedly led to violent conflicts."⁴⁹ "What is missing is a democratic authority on the global level or even on the European level, which could create a concept, which one might call a global regulatory policy."⁵⁰

Sustainable Development

Indeed: Cross-border market economies require a European and/or global peace order. In contrast, a world peace order that really deserves this designation is not viable without a socially oriented economy i.e. without a "social market economy. In Rau's opinion, this is also true for development aid and co-operation. Both these cases – development on the one hand and a cross-border economy directed towards social justice on the other – are tightly linked together. Both have remained challenges and have shown great deficits: "Ten years after the fall of the 'Iron Curtain' and the Berlin Wall, we are still in search of a new order in Europe and even more so world-wide. We are still far away from a new world peace order, which would include a model for sustainable development in all countries."⁵¹

And he is self-critical especially with respect to a comparatively prosperous Germany: "We are not as impressive as we had announced we would be ... We are on the downhill trend when it comes to our achievements in development policy, that is, the ratio of our expenditures for developmental co-operation to the gross national product is lower than

43 Cf. Rau: p. 349.

44 Cf. Rau: p. 69.

45 Cf. Rau: p. 285.

46 Cf. Rau: p. 280.

47 Cf. Rau: p. 267.

48 Cf. Rau: p. 147.

49 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

50 Cf. Rau: p. 258.

51 Cf. Rau: p. 311.

it should be. This really must be reversed during the coming years."⁵²

"We have to admit that a large number of the six billion people living on the earth continue to live in poverty and many of them under circumstances, which contradict everything written in the international declarations and ceremonious statements on the dignity of the human being and on human rights."⁵³

Based on these reflections, Johannes Rau draws a series of conclusions. The first is a call for solidarity in several senses: "We need solidarity on three levels: on the one hand, between rich and poor, between the strong and the weak in our own society; on the other, between the rich and the poor states; and also between the strong and the weak in those countries that according to economic statistics belong to the poor states, but in which parts of their societies are rich or even extremely wealthy."⁵⁴

The second conclusion is derived from the link or the connection between solidarity, reason and personal interest: "We need a new point of departure towards humane living conditions everywhere in the world and for the realization of human rights. ... This is a dictate of reason. ... Ecological catastrophes, tides of refugees, fundamentalist of every kind or also criminal energies of the most differing origins do not recognize national, regional or continental boundaries."⁵⁵

Rau derives the third conclusion from the answer to the question "why have forty years of developmental co-operation not prevented the cleft between various living conditions and chances of survival worldwide from growing bigger? ... The goal of catching up by imitating the Western economic model has overtaxed many Southern countries and led them in the wrong direction. ... It is (therefore) necessary (in future) not to speak of 'development' in the abstract sense, but to find indicators and criteria, which do justice to the specific cultural, historical and social circumstances and opportunities in each country or region."⁵⁶

In his fourth conclusion Rau refers to the arms industry's share of the responsibility in deploying weapons in crisis areas. Although the industry often denies their culpability, it is clearly evident: "War is the greatest enemy of successful development."⁵⁷ "Even expenditures for senselessly instigated wars are expenditures against development. Even here there is a common responsibility: Industrial coun-

tries, which ease the arms trade in sensitive areas, are also partly responsible for this situation."⁵⁸

The fifth conclusion for Rau lies in making development aid and co-operation dependent on minimum standards for human rights and democracy: "Nothing goes beyond the view that helping people to help themselves is futile if state leadership and the responsible parties in a country lack the will and the capability to carry out a policy, which is oriented towards the interests of the majority and not to those of small groups."⁵⁹

"Therefore" Rau concludes with a sixth point "we require a global regulatory policy, which also sets a clear-cut framework for the international financial and capital markets and for sustainable economies. We need rules that prevent boundless global economies from also discarding all social and ethical commitments."⁶⁰

Environment

A prerequisite for development, even life itself – whether it is in the North or the South, East or West – is the preservation of the basic natural resources. Federal President Rau therefore expressly declares his belief that environmental protection is evidence of proof of the value of peace: "Peace depends not least on the preservation of the basic natural resources."⁶¹

The first worldwide conference in Rio in 1992, which dealt with the topics environment, development, preservation of the basic natural resources, was according to Rau associated with great hopes. "It created a truly euphoric atmosphere among the circle of participants and far beyond them. One got the impression that almost all politicians and NGOs were ready to take action. This euphoria was quickly followed by disillusionment and today one would have to say that the expectations of the year 1992 were widely disappointed."⁶²

In Rau's view one must learn "that (first) we have to bring the criterion of sustainability into the economy, our political and social thinking."⁶³ "The United Nations outlined the direction in which this should proceed in 1992 in Rio. ... To fulfil present-day requirements so that the developments of future generations will not be endangered."⁶⁴

Secondly, according to the Federal President this requirement demands a rethinking: "If we are dealing with sustainability then we must rethink. Then

52 Cf. Rau: p. 305.

53 Cf. Rau: p. 310.

54 Cf. Rau: pp. 264-265.

55 Cf. Rau: p. 312.

56 Cf. Rau: pp. 313-314.

57 Cf. Rau: p. 316.

58 Cf. Rau: p. 269.

59 Cf. Rau: p. 314.

60 Cf. Rau: p. 315.

61 Cf. Rau: p. 326.

62 Cf. Rau: p. 332.

63 Cf. Rau: p. 337.

64 Cf. Rau: pp. 331-332.

the point is to be ready to leave behind the old patterns. Then you should be ready to question your own thinking and be open to questions from others. This often occurs in a manner, which creates astonishment and occasionally scepticism."⁶⁵ It also includes the perception, for example, that environmental consciousness by no means demands "asceticism and relinquishment"⁶⁶.

On the contrary, in the view of the Federal President, environmental protection means, third: "Discovering the high-tech world; not giving up industrial society, but using its achievements to institute changes and improvements and not just using them to repair the world entrusted to us. Therefore environmental policy and protection are not just a passing fashion, but something modern, not from the yester years, but something for tomorrow."⁶⁷ Thus environmental protection is not simply a evidence of the value of peace. It is necessary for the survival of the human race. "Environmental protection is also a motor for technical innovation in new products and manufacturing processes."⁶⁸

However – Rau states further – that a regulatory policy would again be required as a fourth element: "It is not realistic to rely on market efficiency if the regulatory prerequisites for it are lacking."⁶⁹ "Global environmental dangers like climate changes, soil erosion and desertification, a lack of drinkable water, diminishing varieties of flora and fauna make it particularly clear that valid worldwide environmental standards are necessary. We will only be able to preserve our basic natural resources in the long term if we have an ecological framework also in the world economy."⁷⁰

Prevention

"War is not normal."⁷¹ If it is true that most people view peace and not war as normality then it is not the violent realization of conflicts, but the prevention of conflicts including the prevention of war, which is an evidence of the value of peace, if not *the* proof of peace in itself. Thus it is with justification that the Federal President also emphasizes: "The *greatest* challenge that faces the community of peoples is to maintain peace and *prevent* conflicts."⁷²

"We have to tackle the *origins* of tensions and conflicts *before* they develop into wars and civil wars."⁷³ "We must make an effort to avoid the *wrong* alternatives through *preventive* policies."⁷⁴ (Emphasis – DSL)

Therefore what we need – according to the Federal President following the precepts of Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations – is a "culture of prevention" as an "alternative to the war machinery of the past centuries".⁷⁵

Indeed: If one views the latest peace- and security-policy developments in Europe after the end of the East-West conflict, then it is obvious that a "fundamental rethinking", in the sense that Rau demands, is still not in sight. It is also evident that especially democracies have had difficulties in preventing crises or have not been able to prevent them at all. "Prevention is better than healing" remains simply empty talk even among democratic politicians and policy-makers.

Rau does not conceal this problem or other troublesome issues, but places them in the public discussion in a self-critical manner: "Why do policy-makers and politicians as well as the general public start to react only when conflicts end up in violent fighting?"⁷⁶ Why are we just ready to spend billions of Marks only when we are forced to achieve peace and security through military means? Is it far-sighted and clever financially to increase funds for missions securing peace through military means and simultaneously cut the budget on German contributions for civilian projects in developmental policy within the framework of multi-national co-operation? Have we given enough examination to why there are countries in the South that consider or present our fight against eco-dumping and for the protection of natural fundamental resources, our battle against social-dumping and for the rights of the working people as a particularly cunning form of protectionism and defensive barricade mentality?"⁷⁷

What can we do? According to Rau, a culture of prevention, if it is to succeed, must fulfil a series of "prerequisites" and conditions and/or demands: "First a common basic value system" is necessary. It must include the observance of human rights and minority rights, democracy and the rule of law and the principles of market economies. Because of the conditions under global competition, the attribute 'social' should not be lacking."⁷⁸ We must "speak out emphatically for human rights before they are vio-

65 Cf. Rau: p. 328.

66 Cf. Rau: p. 329.

67 Cf. Rau: pp. 329-330.

68 Cf. Rau: p. 333.

69 Cf. Rau: p. 53.

70 Cf. Rau: p. 322.

71 See speech with the same title by Dieter S. Lutz in: "Der Friede ist der Ernstfall". Eröffnung des OSZE-Forschungszentrums (CORE) am 6. Januar 2000, Hamburg 2000 ["Times of Peace are Times in Which Worth is Proved". Opening Ceremony of the Centre for OSCE Research on 6 January 2000], p. 9 ff. and the references there to the Jena group of initiatives and the opinion poll of the newspaper group Lahn-Dill.

72 Cf. Rau: p. 90.

73 Cf. Rau: p. 316.

74 Cf. Rau: p. 221.

75 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

76 Cf. Rau: p. 316.

77 Cf. Rau: p. 317.

78 Cf. Rau: p. 232.

lated through expulsion, terror or murder. ... We need an unequivocal rejection of all varieties of nationalism. Nationalism and separatism are twin problems."⁷⁹

"The second prerequisite lies in the perception that effective prevention today can only be achieved on a multi-lateral basis. The fact that national strategies for action are overtaxed, is seldom so clear as in this area. There are no international crises, which can be prevented or overcome through national solo runs."⁸⁰ Third, the culture of prevention requires "propaganda work and confidence-building for better common security".⁸¹ Fourth, there can be "no standstill in arms control and disarmament ... On the contrary, additional efforts must be made so that one day there will no longer be any weapons of mass destruction in the world."⁸² Furthermore we require "a policy, which does not allow arms deliveries today, whose deployment we will have to intervene against tomorrow".⁸³ Fifth, a culture of prevention will have to go hand in hand with European integration: "Even the first approaches to European integration after the Second World War were in preventive foreign policy. *Regional co-operation* and *integration* are the appropriate paths to be able to move from the vestiges of arbitrariness in foreign policy to legally regulated and calculable international relations."⁸⁴

If one places these demands in an all-European context, then in view of the Federal President, "the OSCE, more than any other organization, is predestined to lead the way in being the 'culture of prevention'".⁸⁵ Especially the OSCE has "in the past years implemented a notable range of instruments for prevention and civilian conflict management".⁸⁶ "Unfortunately, currently many self-defined 'realists' are thinking in terms of 'hard' military power again and less so of 'soft' political power – the power of persuasion and confidence-building ... (However) no army exists, which would be able to achieve civilian conflict management alone. Yet, the OSCE would be able to achieve success although and especially because they do not have an army."⁸⁷

Federation

Those of us who view the articles and speeches of the Federal President in the overall perspective, recognize immediately that Rau returns repeatedly to two basic considerations in his statements on peace

policy. This is the vision of a *European peace order* on the one hand and the necessity in many different ways for a *value-oriented regulatory policy* on the other. It is therefore no coincidence for Rau that – last, but not least – also the "federation" and/or its implementation count as one of the issues of the proof of the worth of peace.

There is no shadow of a doubt that the European Community and the European Union have made decisive contributions in the past decades not only to fundamentally changing Western Europe, but in addition, Western Europe has succeeded in "banishing a conflict-oriented understanding of the state to the archives of history, which had characterized it for centuries. The national interests of the participants in this unification masterwork are now so tightly intertwined that this has given them a greater advantage than if each were to try to achieve something individually. European integration introduced a period of peace and prosperity, which Europe has never experienced."⁸⁸

Thus peace through integration is the experience that an EU-Europe can offer to the all-European future. The strategic peace contribution that the European Union can offer all of Europe, and must offer, therefore goes beyond the short-term aid towards the economic and political consolidation of the "rest" of Europe. It is thus directed in the medium and long term to the opening and enlargement of the Union itself. Even more clearly: Those of us who are striving for a "European peace order" in the real sense of the word, must commit ourselves to opening and enlarging the European Union. Rau too insists on this fact: "All persons in positions of responsibility are conscious that Western Europe owes its peace to the circumstance that after the last world war it became a community of democracy and law. In addition, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and enlargement policy are based on the view that the EU should not only consider itself a community of values inwardly, but that it also has a common security interest in *extending this peace community*."⁸⁹ (Emphasis – DSL)

From a peace-policy point of view, enlarging the membership of the EU is a *conditio sine qua non*. Nevertheless, the vision of a European peace order includes more than enlargement alone. If the EU is finally and in the long run to become the European peace and security order, then it must also add a "deepening" to its "enlargement". This demands a federal order in and for Europe – and here the circle of Rau's regulatory policy concepts is complete.

79 Cf. Rau: p. 221.

80 Cf. Rau: p. 232.

81 Cf. Rau: p. 91.

82 Cf. Rau: p. 240.

83 Cf. Rau: p. 221.

84 Cf. Rau: p. 383.

85 Cf. Rau: p. 232.

86 Cf. Rau: p. 233.

87 Cf. Rau: p. 234.

88 Cf. Rau: p. 182.

89 Cf. Rau: p. 198.

The significance that the Federal President attaches to this topic could already be seen in November 1999, that is, shortly after he took office. With an article bearing his name in "Le Monde" and in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" titled "A Federal Constitution for Europe"⁹⁰, he gives the European debate new impetus. In September 2000 he picks up on this issue again – again with an article bearing his name – in the daily, "Die Welt".⁹¹

What is Rau striving for? What are the details of his vision?

According to the Federal President, we have come to a fork in the road: "What we need is a convincing European project for the future with the courage to follow new paths."⁹² "We need institutions through which Europe can speak with one voice. If we are serious about enlarging the EU and almost doubling the number of member states, then we will require a decision-making process that will ensure European ability to take action. This inevitably leads us to the century-old question of a European federation."⁹³

Does this kind of a federation require a European constitution? Rau not only gives an affirmative answer to this question, he also proposes a constitution consisting of three parts. He sees the first part – a European Charter of Fundamental Rights – as being "off to a good start". The decision to draw up a Charter of Fundamental Rights was made at the Cologne EU Summit in 1999. At the Biarritz Summit, the draft drawn up by the convention was approved. The extent to which the charter will be binding must still be decided, at the latest in the debate on the European constitution.⁹⁴

The second part of the constitution must "state precisely and limit, who in Europe is responsible for which decision. This should be guided by a proven basic concept: Matters should only be dealt with at higher levels if they cannot be solved more effectively at a lower level."⁹⁵

Finally, the third part of the constitution must according to Rau contribute to the objective that "the European institutions ... more clearly than they are today, be in accordance with the separation of powers and simultaneously ensure that the citizens of Europe, through elections and representation, are able to influence decisions that mould their lives. I am going to stay with this topic: Every federation with so many member states of differing size and population requires a double system of representation: one in which every citizen has one vote and a

second, in which every member state independent of its size or population can use its voice to its best advantage."⁹⁶ "That way we can prevent one or more larger states from exercising a dominant influence. It helps us that we already have the fundamental building blocks for the constitution of a European federation of national states. We just have to complete it, fit it together and make it visible as an architectural structure. The European Parliament in Strasbourg corresponds to the first system, the Councils of Ministers, as far as they can institute their decrees legislatively, the second ... To be able to make the source of legitimation very clear-cut, one could designate the European Parliament as a '*citizen's chamber*' and the Councils of Ministers as a '*state's chamber*'."⁹⁷ (Emphasis – DSL)

Are these thoughts of the Federal President visionary if not revolutionary? From Rau's viewpoint, they are more visionary, but also simply sensible considerations: "The three sections of the constitution – the fundamental rights catalogue, regulations on the authority and relationship of the institutions – give Europe a structure, which we would hope for tomorrow: a union of states, which transfers part of their rights of state to common institutions so that they can take common action and thus win back sovereignty and the practical capability of taking action."⁹⁸

Conclusion: "We Need to Create more Discussion"

With the answers that he gives to the "proof of peace", Johannes Rau expresses and presents a logical and well thought-out concept for a sustainable peace policy. Rau would not be Rau if he considered his reflections as conclusive or even eliminated them from the discussion because they were sacrosanct.

On the contrary: With a view for example to the federation mentioned previously, the Federal President emphasizes: "There has been some discussion lately on the idea of a 'federal Europe' – as well as certain misunderstandings, the way I see it. I would like to promote the idea that we clear up these misunderstandings in an intensive debate. To do this, we must intensify the dialogue especially between intellectuals and the political elite in our countries."⁹⁹

And furthermore: Like many of his fellow citizens, the Federal President misses the fundamental discussion on peace and security policy issues, which has been promised for many years. "I consider this discussion as very important because very few political courses set have had such an extensive influ-

90 Cf. Rau: pp. 197-200.

91 Cf. Rau: pp. 206-212.

92 Cf. Rau: p. 209.

93 Cf. Rau: pp. 198-199.

94 Cf. Rau: p. 210.

95 Cf. Rau: p. 211.

96 Cf. Rau: Ibid..

97 Cf. Rau: p. 200.

98 Cf. Rau: p. 211.

99 Cf. Rau: p. 202.

ence on our whole society."¹⁰⁰ Therefore in some of his speeches¹⁰¹ during the middle of the year 2000, the Federal President began to remind us of this very important discussion with clear-cut words: "What we need is a broad societal discussion on these issues beyond the 'facts and figures' ... I would hope that this discussion will not only be limited to political parties and associations, the media, the German Army (Bundeswehr), those serving community service as an alternative to military service, those in peace research, but that as many citizens take part as possible. ... We have to be perfectly clear on how we want to maintain the external security of our country under the changing circumstances. We have to have a clear view of what contribution the Federal Republic of Germany can make and wants to make for peace, freedom and human rights within the framework of NATO, the EU, the WEU and on commissions from the United Nations. ... I am hoping for an intensive, serious and broadly discussed social debate, at the end of which not less than a new social basic consensus on the tasks of the German Army will be achieved and on how these tasks can be best fulfilled in the interests of our country."¹⁰² We require a discussion between as many people from various disciplines and convictions who are ready and able to take on responsibility. We need discussions and impulses that flow against the trends and popular opinions. We need this discussion in view of the pressing issues, which touch and influence all our lives. Therefore I say ...: The ability to think and follow the arguments is not only allowed, it is desirable."¹⁰³

100 Cf. Rau: p. 73.

101 Cf. for example Rau: p. 78, p. 118, p. 208, p. 212.

102 Cf. Rau: pp. 73-74.

103 Cf. Rau: p. 82.

