

Professor Dahrendorf at Kalamazoo

*Michigan*

On 15 June 1974, Professor Ralf Dahrendorf, Member of the Commission of the European Communities, gave the Commencement Address at Kalamazoo College, Mich., USA (where he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws) about recent developments in European-American relations.

Professor Dahrendorf distinguished three phases of this relationship.

The first was that of Atlantic relations in the sense of the 1950s. Here, the fundamental community of interest was established : a community founded in socio-economic structure and cultural values which was expressed in a common defence policy in the framework of NATO. It was an established, but also accepted fact that in this relationship the US was the senior and Europe the junior partner.

This type of relationship remained relatively undisputed well into the 1960s. However, in the late 1960s a phase of irritations began which marked a transformation of lasting importance. Some of these irritations were military : ranging from France's detachment from parts of NATO to Senator Mansfield's demands for a withdrawal of American troops from Europe. Other irritations were commercial and financial : the "Mills Bill" of 1970, the trade restrictions 15 August 1971, the XXIV, 6 negotiations of 1973/74 are examples. Finally, there were even political irritations, especially before, during and after the Washington Energy Conference of February 1974.

One day these irritations may well appear as the growing pains of a third phase of European-American relations, that of partnership in the full sense of the word : mutual respect, recognition of equality as well as

difference, interdependence as well as independence. This is what Mr. Kissinger has in mind in his speech of April 1973, and it is what the Ministers of the Nine decided in Bonn this week.

Professor Dahrendorf emphasized two aspects of the European-American partnership of the 1970s. One is, a working system of consultations. Here, he referred to the example the Commission had set with reference to the recent Soames-Eberle talks. Consultation among genuine partners must not be too formal; it must allow for, indeed presuppose permanent informal contacts on all levels. As the European Community gains in confidence, its ability to engage in such contacts will grow.

The other aspect is one of common purpose. The post-war world was based on a working system of international rules, guaranteed by such agencies as the UN, the IMF, the GATT. These rules are now generally recognized to be in need of revision - not so far as their principles of universal peace, of convertibility, of the free exchange of goods are concerned, but in the application of these principles to a new situation. It would be to the detriment of all if at such a time the main actors in the world returned to bilateralism. There is a wider world community which lives by the rules accepted by as many as possible. It is the task of the United States and the European Community to use their common values in order to strengthen more general systems of rules : in GATT by starting the Tokyo Round soon, in the IMF and its Group of 20, in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in a variety of attempts to help the developing countries, in the UN and wherever such rules are defined.

The proof of common values lies in the common solution of important problems. [To this, governments can and must contribute, but it is above all open-minded individuals who are needed to accomplish this task.

Kalamazoo College with its tradition of international involvement has made its own significant contribution by educating people to be aware of their responsibilities in the world and prepared to join in the great venture of creating peace not by force but by reason, respect and patient co-operation.