Egon Bahr/Dieter S. Lutz (Hrsg.)
Gemeinsame Sicherheit. Idee und Konzept.
Bd.I: Zu den Ausgangsüberlegungen, Grundlagen und Strukturmerkmalen Gemeinsamer Sicherheit, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 1986, 280 S., DM 14,40.

Ever since NATO's notorious »dual track decision« to deploy new intermediate range nuclear forces prompted the West German peace movement to call into question the hitherto prevailing wisdom on matters of security and peace, a considerable number of scientists came up with new answers. Whereas the peace movement has waned, the West German scientific community is still reverberant with so-called alternative security concepts. »Common security« is one of these. But unlike many other concepts, common security had a politically influential advocate right from the start. Although its underlying notion is hardly new, the concept was named and promoted as »common security« by *Egon Bahr*.

Bahr is recognized as both the mastermind and chief operator of the policy of détente, pursued by former West German chancellor Willy Brandt. Since those days Bahr has remained very influential within the leadership of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), particularly with respect to foreign policy and arms control. He started propagating his idea in the early eighties. After Bahr was nominated director of the Hamburg Institute for Peace Research (*Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg,* IFSH) in September 1984, he ordered its staff to operationalize his idea and cast it into a conceptual mold. The present volume is the outcome of this effort.

Several contributions to the book have been published before. Except for a 1 1/2-page preface the editors undertake no further effort to integrate, weigh or commonly appraise the treatises. A concluding essay was deemed unnecessary as well. Hence, the contributions retain their character as independent, selfcontained entities. And it is left up to the reader to determine whether and how each essay is supposed to relate to the others. What is more, the contributing authors reveal noteworthy differences with regard to their respective conceptions, definitions, and interpretations of common security, albeit to some degree only. Accordingly, the very subject regrettably remains somewhat slightly elusive. Consequently, the reader looking for the presumably most authoritative and authentic presentation of common security will feel compelled to return to the introductory essay by Bahr himself.

Egon Bahr identifies the state of mutual assured destruction (MAD) as his intellectual point of departure. The ever-present possibility of mutual nuclear annihilation makes it imperative to concede absolute priority to security, i.e. security from *nuclear* war. Because devastation would be mutual, security can neither be achieved militarily, nor unilaterally, but only commonly. Common security is the logical consequence of the state of MAD. It is meant to overcome and replace deterrence as the organizing principle of inter-alliance relations. However, according to its creator, common security does not presuppose dissolution of the two military alliances. Instead it strives to transform their

»character« and eventually render them »expendable« (pp.21f). A series of arms control measures is seen fit to bring these changes about. To preserve and consolidate whatever progress is being achieved in the process, Bahr relies on international legal provisions.
Common security is clearly tailored for Europe. Though, in principle, Bahr's concept is also applicable to third world conflicts, here its prerequisite seems to be absent. It is questionable whether the threat of nuclear war is felt strongly and widely enough in the North, in order to enforce action of the kind Bahr suggests. But less likely still, fear of mutual nuclear extermination will possibly take precedence over less arcane and far more pressing problems in the South, such as famine, utter poverty, civil war, and any one of those various choices from the great powers' interventionist repertoire. Not surprisingly, then, common security has encountered little enthusiasm, reservations, and criticism on part of third world scholars. However, none of this is reflected in the book. The last essay, intended to describe how the concept was received outside Germany and commissioned to a junior member of the IFSH-staff, does not mention these voices at all.
Whatever its merits, shortcomings, or limitations: common security will certainly be part of the domestic German debate on peace and security for some time to come. The present book offers the opportunity to get acquainted with an alternative security concept likely to gain wider acceptance than its less prominently patronized equals. Those readers, however, who are interested in the concept's implications for the so-called third world, should either rest fairly content with this review or consult the bibliography appended to the book. And those, who would like to know more about the part international law is supposed to play with respect to common security, will have to await future elaborations by the concept's advocates. On this particular aspect the book offers close to nothing.

Thomas Horlohe

Die Europäische Gemeinschaft in der Weltwirtschaft
Dokumente zum 6. Malenter Symposion
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Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden 1987, 410 Seiten, DM 45,—

Seit der Süderweiterung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft am 1. 1. 1986 kann deren Bedeutung für die Weltwirtschaft kaum mehr bezweifelt werden. Mit einem Anteil von über 60% am Bruttosozialprodukt der westlichen Wirtschaft und 320 Millionen potentiellen Verbrauchern in einem einheitlichen Binnenmarkt ohne Grenzen, dessen Vollendung bis 1992 angestrebt wird, spielt die EG neben den USA und Japan eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Ausgestaltung der Weltwirtschaft sowie der internationalen Handelsbeziehungen.