GRADUAL AND SUDDEN CHANGE IN EUROPE: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CITIES

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European cities are possibly the stabilizing factor that can positively affect the shape of Europe to come. Both gradual and sudden change are now occurring simultaneously in Europe. Slow and orderly change is gradually beginning supranational government. Political attitudes and values have been shaped for over forty years now. Supranational political institutions are gaining in significance. East Europe being transformed by a different process, sudden political change. Decades have seen only communist governments in East Europe. Suddenly, new democratic politics have emerged, and candidates and elections have replaced authoritarian regimes. Throughout East Europe, the complexities of political choice have replaced simpler regimes. Cities in both West and East Europe provide the best method of understanding how European politics are likely to develop. The major cities in West Europe are competitive each trying to be more influential in shaping the political attitudes of integrationist Europe. Urban developments in political values accomplished over centuries contend as shapers of the political attitudes of the future. The new democracies of East Europe reasonably are attracted to the city oriented politics of West Europe. Instead of changing the West European formula for political change, new East European democracies are likely to similarly accept increased urban influence. As cities in both East and West Europe detrack from the dominance of national governments, political stability is likely to continue building integrationist politics.
European politics now are shaped by both gradual and sudden change. The European integrationist movement has for the last forty years slowly changed ideas about the European nation-state and the transcendent, emerging European Community. Political change in East Europe has, in contrast, been sudden and nations dominated for decades have become newly independent and exciting politics have quickly developed. Now, there is an unusual juxtaposition of politics within Europe.

West European politics are being gradually transformed and each year integrationist issues increase in importance. EC development must be regarded as an example of phased political change accomplished over many decades. Formerly diverse political cultures are drawing ever more similar year to year as new cooperative measures are instituted.

Economic conditions in 1989–90 suddenly produced the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from East Europe. Political cultures that had been
scarcely democratic again became politically active. Elections and candidates quickly became important, and electoral contests supplanted dictatorship. Political cultures that had been stagnant for decades suddenly again became dynamic.

European cities, in the midst of political change, are an unusual stability factor. One consequence of European political integration has been an urban influence that has surprisingly rivaled the nation-state. To an extent not known before, European cities are contending with each other to shape the new political culture. Major European cities, have over the centuries, developed different complexes of political values. Now as Europe changes, the cities all are attempting to see their own political values prominent in the new political culture.

The cities of both East and West Europe stand to stabilize whatever political change may be ahead. The competitive process of value shaping, already well begun in West Europe, is likely to extend to include the cities of East Europe. Because of the importance of European cities, the new governments of East Europe are likely to discover that they also possess a political resource presently significant in West European integration.
The Nation-State

With the political change in East Europe, the European nation-state is now undergoing transformation by two processes. The gradual adjustment being accomplished in West Europe now must contend with sudden political changes occurring in the East. Contrasts between these two processes can be facilitated utilizing the nation-state concept.

European Economic Community gradualism is one of the most profound attempts ever made to change the traditional nation-state. The European Community's plan for, first, economic community and, then, gradual political integration is intended to reduce the conflicts that had existed in the European nation-state system. Nation-state conflicts that had developed over centuries are being resolved with the European Economic Community.

The European nation-states in certain countries developed along distinct lines since the twelfth century. National identities had been formed over centuries. Language served as one basis for the developing nation-state. Historical experience was another important factor conditioning the national identity. The United Kingdom and France are the outstanding examples of the European nation-state.
The capital city of the nation-state emerged from feudal systems of lords and vassals. As medieval political systems were consolidated, power devolved to the present day centers of power. During all the centuries that followed, the country's capital remained the center of power. Other major cities emerged as centers of commerce and industry where markets and guilds flourished. Each successive generation utilized the development of the capital and other major cities to express their own political reasons.

In Germany and Italy, many states developed instead of one and these were not unified until the nineteenth century. Conflict among these states marked the political development of these regions of Europe. Language similarities created commonalities among the states in these states, but governments remained separate. Alliances flourished, and the more powerful of the states established dominance over their weaker neighbors.

Unification of the German and Italian nation-states was not accomplished until last century. Powerful political personalities were required in both Germany and Italy to bring together the disunited states. Otto von Bismarck in Germany and Victor Emmanuel in Italy succeeded where others had failed establishing a unified state out of many with similar language and culture. Unification in both countries was accomplished conflictually.

Both systems of building the European nation-state produced entities
that were remarkably nationalistic. The differences in political outlook and expectations across national boundaries were substantial. The nation state system utilized historical differences, conflicts, language, and socialization experiences to create systems capable of incredible inter-state conflicts. Wars appeared the inevitable product of the European nation-state system, at least until the middle of the twentieth century.

By the late 1940's, concerns that the nation-state system had become antiquated were voiced by many. The Second World War had convincingly demonstrated the modern nation-state's capacity for brutal suppression and conflict. Several unreachable and unyielding features of the European nation state system were identified as prone to produce conflict. The lack of cooperation among European nation-states on crucial issues pertaining to peace appeared to be well established by the recent past.

The integrationist came along in the late 1940's to remedy these basic defects in the European nation-state. Jean Monnet, the Frenchman from Cognac, was the major political personality behind the integrationist movement. Beginning with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, the integrationists set out to cure the defects in the European nation state system. The European Economic Community (EEC), established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 to attain first economic and then political community remains the major achievement of the integrationist movement.
The European City

The integrationists have succeeded in Western Europe in slowly transforming the nation-state system. Several sources of strength have been found for the integrationist movement. The European city is one of the more important resources that the integrationists have used in creating integrationist politics from the late 1940's nation-state situation.

The development of the European city has a few similarities to that of the European nation-state. Both the nation-state and the city have developed for many centuries and are the product of political cooperation and leadership. The political developments of both are shaped by language, historical events, and conflicts. The same political personalities have, in some cases, been important in European nation-state and European city development.

The similarities between European city and nation-state are, however, limited. The city is edifice, the product of centuries of the best urban efforts. The European city is the public place. The city contains the achievements of the past communicating with the present. The European city is a form of expression. Ideas and political values from centuries of urban experience are to be rediscovered in the European city.
Appreciating the public place is requisite to understanding European cities. The public place is defined as "a place (or space) created and maintained by public authority, accessible to all citizens for their use and enjoyment" (Jackson 1984, 52). Plazas and squares are the public place as are streets. Transportation facilities are public place. Marketplaces, churches, and castles are also forms the public place takes. In that these spaces are ubiquitous in Europe, the public place is a reality.

Beyond being a reality, the public place is also an abstraction in European thought. The public place serves as a common basis for intellectualizing about all kind of social phenomena. The public place is where people are together happily. In imagination, the public place transcends the concerns of the present and harkens to a time when people were together and emotionally careful with each other. The public place unifies past and present in European thought.

Public place in European cities has become increasingly popular. Since the integrationist movement began, the reality and abstraction of the public place has become more than the means for accomplishing the desired social result. European belief in the public place has continued to improve with enthusiasm and belief.

Unstructured encounters occur in the public place. No individual dominates in the public place. Upon entering the public place, the indivi-
dual renounces “the right to dictate the terms upon which he communes and
conflicts with others.” The visitor’s time and rhythm are his own, but the
public place forces a “flexibility that need not otherwise be acquired”
(Scruton 1984, 6).

Public place in European city more than communicates the achievements
of the past to the present, the public place facilitates the individual
acquiring civic qualities. Entering the public sphere results in the
individual exchanging “the security, inevitability, and obligations of
family life for the uncertainty and fluidity of civil society.” While
the individual cannot dominate the public place, he still “enjoys a free-
dom that he cannot enjoy in private” (Scruton 1984, 6).

The European city allows real and intellectual opportunities altoget-
er dissimilar to those facilitated by the nation-state. The adventurous
qualities of the urban setting produce more flexible social results than
can possibly be obtained from the nation-state. The edifice of the city
allows political developments that would not otherwise be possible. The
political influence of the city is distinct and more fluid than that of
the nation-state.
The European integrationist movement has utilized the city, first, for economic union and, now, increasingly for political unification. Nation-states do not have the same ability cities have to produce intrinsic change in political values. Transforming the nation-state system has required imaginative influences that could reeducate and build integrationist attitudes. The adventurous qualities of European cities have been useful in creating new integrationist political values.

National governments have not been influential developing new integrationist political identities. National symbols and creeds have not been viable in creating new identities. Sports and songs similarly lack the ability to create integrationist political values. National governments have not been able to find influences with adequate potential to build integrationist values.

The public place and European cities instead have a powerful hold on Europe's popular imagination. The strength of the public place possibly results from the active involvement the city allows. European cities must be learned with a considerable investment in active learning. One must walk about, attend various attractions, visit galleries, and discover various markets. Active involvement in the urban environment proves effective in beginning integrationist political identities.
Stein Rokkan's analysis of the transfer of political values indicates how European cities can produce integrationist political identities. Rokkan discusses politics as shaped by three types of transactions: economic transactions, political transactions, and cultural transactions. Economic transactions include personal microeconomics, monetary outcomes, and import and export of goods. Voting and other forms of political participation comprise political transactions. Through cultural transactions messages, codes, life-styles, and beliefs shaping political values are taught (Allardt 1981, 263).

The European city and the public place are significant facilitators of cultural transactions. European cities structure cultural transactions and provide learning matrices. The cumulative reasons and ideas of the past meld with the social issues of the present adventurously creating new integrationist political identities. The active involvement required to appreciate European cities only improves the political learning and development of integrationist values.

Harry Eckstein also indicates the urban environment's potential for cultural socialization may be substantial. Eckstein discusses the importance of "socialized carriers of the culture." People, according to Eckstein, acquire "the repertoire of cognitions, feelings, and schemes of evaluation that process experience into action" indirectly "simply through
the experience of variable cultures" (Eckstein, 1988, 791).

European cities exemplify the variable cultures referred to by Eckstein. Learning the urban environment of many European cities provides the evaluative schemata for integrationist politics. The EC has succeeded in encouraging integrationist values by encouraging learning about cities throughout the Community. The European public place is providing the repertoire required to transform nation-state political values.

Purposeful manipulation of culture values is also discussed by Eckstein. Eckstein discusses cultural change as occurring "naturally" from changes in "situations and structural conditions" and as a result of "artifice" or from "deliberate attempts to transform political structures and behavior" (Eckstein 1988, 793). This perspective on value change suggests public policies can both indirectly and directly affect political values. Policies can change situations and structures and thus affect political values, or they can more directly be intended to produce changes in political values.

The EC has allowed workers from member countries to find employment throughout the Community. This structural change indirectly promoted greater discovery of European cities and the public place and new integrationist political values. EC guest workers did more than find jobs in different countries. They were also exposed to the adventurous
qualities of the new country's cities.

In more direct policies to promote integrationist values, the EC has recently begun issuing optional passports to citizens of the Community. Although not directly the result of EC action, travel opportunities among EC countries have improved significantly. Only in the last several years, have rail passes allowed Europeans unlimited travel. Utilizing this type of artifice, the EC is manipulating change to create integrationist political values.

The change in political values necessary to support integrationist politics is taking place. European cities appear to have an impressive strength in developing integrationist political values. Competition and cooperation among the major cities of the EC is beginning the necessary transformation of political values. Nation-state political identities are being replaced by integrationist political values. This intrinsic value change is being accomplished by EC policies and the urban environment, itself. The exciting, adventurous, and particularistic qualities needed to create integrationist political values are discovered in European cities.

The political change in Europe is gradual change. The integrationist movement begun in the 1940's by Jean Monnet has slowly first built economic community and now is creating political community. The change
process has involved gradually teaching integrationist political values. The influences of change have worked on the popular imagination for decades to produce the change now evident in Europe. Difficult problems with the nation-state system have been eliminated by gradually building integrationist political values.

Political Change in East Europe

The political change that has occurred in East Europe contrasts dramatically with the West European integrationist movement. Political reforms that begun first with the split at the top of the Polish Communist Party in the spring of 1989 lead to a similar peaceful transfers of power in Hungary later that year. Mass demonstrations in Czechoslovakia brought the collapse of the communist regime in November 1989. In East Germany, Bulgaria, and Romania organized state demonstrations in 1989 turned on the communist governments (Przeworski, 1991, 20-21).

Several causes can be found for the dissolution Communist East Europe. Polish rebellion dating back to 1976 and 1980 finally triumphed throughout East Europe. Determined West German politics from Konrad Adenauer's era onward finally succeeded. The Gorbachev Revolution within the Soviet Union also was undoubtedly a significant influence in initiating political
change in East Europe. Human rights demonstrations within the Soviet Union prevented the same brutish use of force used decades before against Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The perception that the Soviet Union was weaker than imagined also took hold in 1989. Defeat in Afghanistan, failure to adequately feed the people, and an increasing belief in the weakness of the Soviet Union in technological competition combined to question controlling power equations governing East Europe.

Suddenly, there were again democratic politics in East Europe. A political opportunity structure appeared in these formerly communist states. Political opportunity produces increased access to institutional participation. Political alignments are in disarray and new re-alignments become possible. Major conflicts in the political elites allow challengers to gain political power. New contenders for political power are offered help from influential allies from within and outside the political system (Tarrow, 1991, 15). All of these political changes began to occur in East Europe in 1989 and 1990.

National political factors that had been dormant for decades suddenly again became significant. Catholicism is the dominant religion in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and western Yugoslavia. High levels of religious practice are found, however, only in Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Croatia. Other areas of East Europe have the low levels of religious
practice found in Western Europe. A renaissance of German Lutheranism is a possibility with German reunification (Coleman, 1991, 114-15).

Concerns about national sovereignty have virtually dominated East European democratic politics in the past. The classic strategy of the East European states has been to attempt to guarantee national sovereignty with a web of international guarantees. Similar concerns are certain to quickly surface as politics revive in East Europe (Szabo, 1991, 32).

Political instability is also a possibly significant political factor in the new politics of East Europe. Romania's transition to democratic politics presents some of the difficulties. The National Salvation Front (NSF) dominated by neo-Leninist zealots took over from the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). A group including young writers, sociologists, and philosophers has followed the NSF since the first months after the revolution attempting to prevent an official slide into a Romanian "neo-Bolshevism." The NSF has continued as reform-minded communist party allowing new political parties. With long experience with totalitarianism, young Romanians are likely to remain viscerally suspicious of political parties. Political pluralism may be attained, but political instability also may be difficult to overcome (Tismaneanu, 1991, 97-98).

Problems with political leadership may also reappear. German unification was accomplished smoothly with overwhelming support for the party
in power. In the months following, consensus politics have begun to fail. Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) appear anything but certain to easily stay in power. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Socialist Unity Party (SED), the east communist party, had in the mid-1980's held a series of fraternal talks (Gress, 1991, 147).

Cooperation between the SPD and elements of SED could well result in a new German chancellor. Besides Helmut Schmidt, Germany has not had much experience with socialist government. The political conflicts a socialist government may confront in Bonn or Berlin are difficult to predict. The form CDU politics could take to unseat a SPD return to power also are uncertain. With German influence substantial in the new East European politics, German conflicts could also affect conflicts throughout East Europe.

The Nation-State, the City, and East Europe

Analysis of new East European politics could begin with the assumption that nation-state politics are certain to revive. The West European integrationist movement has possibly changed politics instead in the direction of cooperation instead. The EC cannot be overlooked. New politics in East Europe have strong precedents to build upon from West
Europe. EC successes are likely to dominate political developments.

Since the integrationist movement began in the late 1940's, political leaders have created politics that could accomplish a smooth transition to East European democratic politics. Gradualism has done more than change nation-state attitudes in West Europe. Building economic and political community has created an optimism in successful political change. Throughout the EC, those who believe in normalizing politics in East Europe are more numerous because of gradualism.

Gradualism's use of the European city improves the possibilities for beginning democratic politics in East Europe. The adventurous qualities of European cities can be utilized in East Europe as they have been in West Europe to build a new politics not dominated by the European nation-state. The cities can provide alternatives to political identities based exclusively on the nation-state. West Europe has experience with policies that change structural conditions to favor cities and with policies that use cities to develop integrationist political values.

Even more encouraging has been the competition to shape integrationist values that has developed between cities in West Europe. To an ever greater extent, West European cities have been contending with each other to promote integrationist values. This has produced political excitement that nation-states cannot easily compete with successfully. By utilizing
the adventurous qualities of West European cities, integrationist have
secured many of the objectives of Community.

West European integrationist politics are reaching such an exciting
level, at present, that the new East European countries are certainly
attracted. East European cities, now that repression is behind, are
likely to enter the competition for ideas with cities of West Europe.
EC cities dominate forming integrationist values sufficiently to insure
that the cities of East Europe will acquire a new importance. The public
place's success as social metaphor in West European cities is sure to be
copied in the East European countries.

Speculation about how East European cities are to enter the competi-
tion for ideas has remained high from the beginning of the revolution in
politics in East Europe. The public place in East European cities has
been less appreciated than that in West Europe for decades. The special
political values contributed by each East European city are almost for-
gotten in West Europe. Questions exist concerning how quickly East
European public place will enter the marketplace of ideas.

The competition among West and East European cities to shape new
politics values is likely to continue for some time. The competitive
strength of European cities as shapers of emerging political values is
well established. The economic and political success of the EC are
evident for all to appreciate. The economic and political gradualism
developed in West Europe is virtually certain to continue and to dominate
political developments in East European countries for many decades.

East Europe and European Integration

The European integrationist movement has likely been able to diminish
the importance of the East European nation-state and to secure cooperative
political development for the region. Integrationist West Europe can
probably slowly accept the East European states. The integrationist’s
successes and the Soviet military presence to the east are both pro-inte-
gration factors for East European leaders to consider. The nation-state
problems that have troubled East Europe are unlikely to return. A new
integrationist scenario of some kind probably will be played out.

There are several possible forms European integration may take.
Former Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has suggested Hungarian
membership in NATO. This proposal is, however, more for election con-
sumption than statecraft. The most popular idea among the new East Euro-
pean leaders is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
(CSCE). The German SPD has suggested the new collective security structure
of Europe should be a strengthened, institutionalized CSCE (Szabo, 1991,
The CSCE is a possible answer because, first, its membership covers all Europe and the United States. American involvement in European security is still crucial to most European politicians. Second, the CSCE has a fair and increasing record of success. Governments have experienced skill diplomats with the organization and a fair understanding of how issues will play within the CSCE. Third, besides the CSCE's primary arms-control responsibility, the organization's mandate includes human-rights and economic development issues.

Critics argue the CSCE is underinstitutionalized. The organization has no permanent secretariat, no machinery for day-to-day contact, and no policy-making power. The CSCE also is not a military organization and with neither standing military force nor mandate for military organization (Robertson, 1991, 170).

ECC membership and the eventual development of the European Community into a political and defense community is also a popular alternative. There are problems with the EC, however. European countries including Austria and Turkey have applied unsuccessfully for membership for some time. The EEC has been extremely reluctant to open itself up to indigent nations. The EC also has no military organizations. Plans once existed for creating the European Defense Community (EDC), but these
plans failed, thus, securing NATO's initially shaky foundations (Robertson, 1991, 170-171).

The lessons of the interwar period when purely national solutions failed are inclining Czechoslovakian President Václav Havel and other to search for larger European frameworks (Szabo, 1991, 32). The former nation state model of East Europe affairs cannot easily exist again in the shadow of the EC. Political leaders in both West and East Europe are likely to search until they find integrationist ideas that bring East European nations into effective European organizations.

Conclusion

West European gradualism has created integrationist political values throughout West Europe. The integrationist movement has encouraged people to imagine an economically and politically integrated Europe. Integration has successfully produced prosperity and stability. West European's are unlikely to forsake political ideas that have meant decades of improvement. The strength of integrationist politics in West Europe are able to secure a reasonable new politics for the East European countries. The answers to the political difficulties of East Europe now are near in integrationist West Europe.
European cities have taken the initiative in promoting political change away from nation-states. Cities now contend with one another to shape the developing integrationist values in Europe. The adventurous qualities of European cities compete to contribute to emerging political values. Political expression and the edifice of past centuries combine with social issues of the present to present political values in European cities. Political change in Europe in the decades ahead is possibly secure and stable because European cities have begun contending to present political values and to devise alternatives to the dominant influence of the European nation-state.
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