

se menschlichen Handelns, aber nicht menschlichen Entwurfs" (1967), in: FRIEDRICH A. VON HAYEK: Rechtsordnung und Handelsordnung. Aufsätze zur Ordnungsökonomik, herausgegeben von Man-fred E. Streit, Tübingen (Mohr) 2003, S. 178-189.

18 Zum Begriff Geoökonomik siehe ROBERT D. BLACKWILL and JENNIFER M. HARRIS: War by Other Means. Geoeconomics and Statecraft, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, (Harvard University Press) 2017, S. 20: „Geoeconomics: The use of economic instruments to promote and defend national interests, and to produce beneficial geopolitical results; and the effects of other nations' economic actions on a country's geopolitical goals."

19 Die Bedingungen für ökonomischen Erfolg bestehen zum einen in sicheren und wohl definierten Rechten für alle auf privates Eigentum und in der unparteiischen Durchsetzung von Verträgen sowie zum anderen in der Abwesenheit von Raub in jeglicher Form. Vgl. MANCUR OLSON: Macht und Wohlstand. Kommunistischen und kapitalistischen Diktaturen entworfen, übersetzt von Gerd Fleischmann, Tübingen (Mohr) 2002, S. 2. Oder kurz: Das Recht ist die Grundlage von Wohlstand und Wachstum.



20 Vgl. hierzu und zu den folgenden Absätzen NORBERT F. TOFALL und THOMAS MAYER: Integristen und Identitäre. Anti-Globalisierung und Anti-Kapitalismus auf dem Vormarsch, Kommentar zu Wirtschaft

und Politik des FLOSSBACH VON STORCH RESEARCH INSTITUTE vom 12. Februar 2017.

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21 WALTER EUCKEN: Grundsätze der Wirtschaftspolitik, 5., unveränderte Auflage, Tübingen (Mohr) 1975, S. 14. ■

Paneuropean Parliamentarism

Parlamentarische Demokratie ist seit den Anfängen ein zentraler Bestandteil der paneuropäischen Idee. Diese Idee fand später institutionellen Ausdruck unter anderem in der Parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarats. Paneuropäische Netzwerke im Europäischen Parlament, im Europarat und in den nationalen Parlamenten schaffen Räume, in denen Abgeordnete über Partei- und Staatsgrenzen hinweg gemeinsame europäische Verantwortung übernehmen können.

Von Dominik Oberhofer

Paneuropa began as an idea. From that idea grew a movement, and eventually institutions. Yet European unification is far from complete. It is therefore up to us to continue writing this history: in our parliaments, across party lines and beyond national borders. One hundred years after the first Paneuropa Congress in Vienna, this task has become more urgent than ever. In October 1926, the then just 31-year-old Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi brought together thousands of people from 24 countries in Vienna for the first Paneuropa Congress. Eight years after the end of the First World War, Europe was wounded and divided. Revanchism and nationalism shaped everyday political life. The young democracies were fragile, while political extremism was gaining ground.

In many European countries, parliamentarism was by no means a given. On the contrary, the interwar period was marked by profound scepticism towards democratic processes and parliamentary institutions. And yet Coudenhove-Kalergi placed his

trust precisely in parliamentarians from Europe's various regional and national representative bodies. Not in a technocratic elite, but in elected representatives of the peoples of Europe.

COUDENHOVE-KALERGI AND THE PARLIAMENT MEMBERS

Although Coudenhove-Kalergi himself never belonged to a political party and was never a parliamentarian, he sought to anchor the Paneuropa idea precisely where, in his view, democracy could unfold most fully. For his time, this was anything but self-evident. Yet despite the considerable early successes of his initiative, totalitarianism and fascism ultimately prevailed across large parts of Europe. The continent once again descended into war and destruction. After the Second World War, Coudenhove-Kalergi returned to the idea of creating a democratic and united Europe: in 1947, he founded the European Parliamentary Union.

The idea of a pan-European parliamentary representation became an



Paneuropa Gruppe in der Parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarates (Pan-European Group in PACE). Von links: Andreas Minnich, ÖVP, Österreich; Johannes Volkmann, CDU, Deutschland; Knut Abraham, CDU, Deutschland (leitet die Parlamentariergruppe); Dominik Oberhofer, Neos, Österreich.

essential element of the emerging European post-war order and eventually also took institutional form in the Council of Europe and its Parliamentary Assembly. National mandates gave rise to a common European responsibility.

EUROPE IS NOT REDUCED TO ADMINISTRATION

This contains a fundamental Paneuropean message: Europe must never be merely a matter for governments or administrations. Europe needs parliaments, elected representatives, people who debate, who struggle to find compromises, and who ultimately make democratic decisions.

Dr Otto von Habsburg, Coudenhove-Kalergi's successor as President of the Paneuropean Union, embodied this conviction in a particularly striking way. Born as the eldest son of the last Austrian Emperor and as Crown Prince of a vanished multi-

national monarchy, a path towards a democratically elected parliament hardly seemed predetermined for him. And yet, in 1979, during the first direct elections, he became a Member of the European Parliament and, over the following decades, one of its most distinctive European voices.

Therein lies a particular historical grandeur: Otto von Habsburg had recognised that a common Europe could not be created by returning to the political orders of the past, but only through democratically legitimised, cross-border cooperation. Paneuropa needs states – but it lives through people who are willing to overcome national borders politically and to assume shared European responsibility.

To me, this confidence in parliamentarism is no less relevant today. As a member of both the Austrian National Council and the Parliamentary

Assembly of the Council of Europe, I experience Paneuropa quite directly: in both places you can find different biographies and party affiliations, different interests and political cultures – and yet a shared search for understanding and for solutions that go beyond national reflexes. Parliamentary work is often exhausting and sometimes sobering. But it is indispensable.

NETWORKING IN THE PARLIAMENTS IN EUROPE

Pan-European networks of committed parliamentarians are therefore not a nostalgic reminder of the founding period of our movement. They are laboratories for a viable European parliamentarism of the future. And they extend far beyond the borders of the European Union. For we Paneuropeans know: Paneuropa is all of Europe. This is precisely why it is so important that there is a strong Paneuropa Group in the European Parliament under the com-



*Dominik Oberhofer and Alain Berset,
secretary general Council of Europe.*

mitted leadership of Lukas Mandl, and that a Paneuropean Intergroup has now also been established in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. In this way, a hundred-year-old idea is being carried into the parliamentary present: Europe takes shape wherever people are prepared to assume shared responsibility across borders, political parties and national interests.

Today, we once again find ourselves at a crossroads of history. War has returned to Europe. Authoritarian systems openly challenge the liberal order. Nationalism and the seemingly simple answers offered by populists are becoming increasingly attractive. This is precisely why Europe needs more parliamentarism, not less. When we speak about Europe's agency, autonomy

and sovereignty, about common responses to war, authoritarianism and nationalism, there is no way around strengthening parliamentarism – instead of circumventing it.

FROM AN IDEA TO A EUROPEAN MOVEMENT

The European idea began as a thought. Then it became a movement. Eventually, it manifested itself through institutions. Today, it is up to us to continue writing this history: in our parliaments, across party lines and beyond national borders. This is an essential part of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's legacy. The history of Paneuropa teaches us that political ideas can be stronger than the adverse circumstances of their time. But that can only hold true if people are prepared to voice those ideas, to give them institutional form and to fiercely defend them. One hundred years after the first Paneuropa Congress in Vienna, this task has not become any smaller. It may be more urgent than ever. ■

Neun Punkte für Europas Zukunft

Was Europa fehlt ist nicht die Stärke, sondern der Wille, sie einzusetzen. Europa hat das Potenzial Weltmacht zu sein.

Von Beate Meinel-Reisinger

Mein Anspruch als Außenministerin war vom ersten Tag an, die Rolle Österreichs in Europa und die Rolle Europas in der Welt zu stärken. Dazu brauchen wir einen Plan. Einen Plan für Österreich, einen Plan für ganz Europa. Denn unsere Zukunft in Österreich ist untrennbar verbunden mit der Zukunft der EU.

Dafür müssen wir aber zuerst die Realität anerkennen. Und die ist unbequem.

Erstens: Wir sind nicht verteidigungsfähig. Das Vertrauen, auf das unsere Sicherheit gebaut war, ist weg. Russland führt zwei Kriege gegen uns – einen blutigen in der Ukraine, einen hybriden in unseren Wohnzimmern: Desinformation, Spionage, Cyberangriffe. Diese Bedrohungen machen vor unserer Neutralität nicht halt.

Ich war immer eine große Anhängerin der transatlantischen Partnerschaft. Aber wir müssen klar sagen, dass diese Partnerschaft unzuverlässig geworden ist. Fakt ist: Die NATO, wie wir sie kannten, gibt es nicht mehr. Das ist keine Frage einer

kurzfristigen Laune Donald Trumps – der Rückzug der USA aus der Verteidigung Europas wird auch unter anderen Präsidenten weitergehen. Unsere Sicherheit in Europa braucht dringend eine neue, europäische Grundlage.

Zweitens: Wir sind kaum mehr wettbewerbsfähig. Wir sind in den letzten Jahren in vielen wirtschaftlichen Bereichen ins Hintertreffen geraten, verheddert in ideologischen Diskussionen. Wir haben einen Innovationsrückstand gegenüber USA und China, wachsen langsamer, haben höhere Inflation und Rekordverschuldung. Dazu kommen gefährliche Abhängigkeiten: von US-Technologie, von der NATO bei der Sicherheit, von chinesischen Lieferketten, von russischer Energie.