

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

441.2 (103)

443.019

Speech file

LECTURE BY PRESIDENT JACQUES DELORS
ON
EUROPE 1992
AND ITS MEANING FOR AMERICA

On the Occasion of the Dedication of the
Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies
Harvard University

22 September, 1989

IT WAS WITH GREAT PLEASURE THAT I ACCEPTED YOUR INVITATION TO JOIN YOU TODAY ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE MINDA DE GUNZBURG CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES.

HARVARD IS FAR MORE THAN A UNIVERSITY. IT WAS HERE THAT EMERSON IDENTIFIED AND UPHELD THE VOCATION OF THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR A HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO. IT IS HERE THAT KNOWLEDGE IS STILL IMPARTED AND ITS FRONTIERS ROLLED BACK. IT WAS HERE THAT SCHUMPETER WROTE HIS HISTORY OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS.

BUT HARVARD MEANS MORE THAN THIS. IT PROVIDES A UNIQUE FORUM WHERE CULTURES AND LANGUAGES MINGLE, AND NATIONS MEET.

NOR HAVE I FORGOTTEN THAT HARVARD HAS LINKS WITH HISTORY AT ITS BLACKEST PERIODS AND ITS MOMENTS OF RECONCILIATION. IT WAS HERE THAT THE MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF OUR WAR-TORN CONTINENT WAS MADE PUBLIC IN 1947. THAT WAS A VITAL ELEMENT NURTURING THE EARLY POLITICAL WILL TO CREATE A EUROPEAN UNION.

HOWEVER, I HAVE NO WISH TO DWELL ON EUROPE'S HISTORY AND HERITAGE, FASCINATING THOUGH THE TOPIC MAY BE. I WOULD RATHER SPEAK OF THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

TOMORROW MARKS THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CENTER FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES AND THE INAUGURATION OF ITS NEW PREMISES.

I JOIN WITH YOU AND WISH THE MINDA DE GUNZBURG CENTER FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES EVERY SUCCESS. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION WILL BE TAKING A KEEN INTEREST IN ITS PROGRESS. WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN HERE AND CHERISH A SECRET HOPE OF PARTICIPATING IN THIS INTELLECTUAL ENDEAVOUR. IT IS SO ESSENTIAL TO DISCIPLINED ANALYSIS, AND THE POLITICAL VISION WHICH LIES AT THE BASE OF EFFECTIVE ACTION.

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HOW THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION WAS REVITALIZED; AND THEN PLACE IT IN PERSPECTIVE. I WILL ARGUE THAT NECESSITY WAS THE MAINSPRING. I WILL THEN TURN TO OUR POLITICAL AMBITIONS. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, I WILL LOOK AT THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF A COMMUNITY WHICH HAS REGAINED ITS DYNAMISM. IN THIS CONNECTION I WILL TOUCH ON THE NATURE OF THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES.

NECESSITY AS THE MAINSPRING

EUROPE HAS OPTED FOR SURVIVAL RATHER THAN DECLINE. IN THE EARLY 1980s IN THE WAKE OF THE MAJOR OIL SHOCKS, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING A GROUP OF STATES INCAPABLE OF EXTRACTING THEMSELVES FROM THE MOST SERIOUS POST-WAR ECONOMIC CRISIS. THEY WERE NATIONS - WITH A GLORIOUS PAST - WHICH SEEMED BAFFLED BY EVENTS AND MISTAKEN IN THEIR DIAGNOSIS OF THE ILLS THAT PLAGUED THEM. SPIRITS HAD BECOME DULLED. A NOSTALGIC VIEW OF THE PAST PREVENTED NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS.

AS A RESULT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FELL BEHIND ITS MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS. ITS WORLD-WIDE ROLE DECLINED. THE WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT IT WAS RUNNING OUT OF STEAM WAS REFLECTED IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH BECAME DISILLUSIONED WITH A VENTURE IT HAD ENCOURAGED AND WELCOMED FROM THE OUTSET. I HAVE NO NEED TO REMIND YOU HERE OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S UNWAVERING SUPPORT FOR THE EARLY MOVES TOWARDS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.

IN THE LONG TERM THIS DECLINE WOULD HAVE AFFECTED MUCH MORE THAN OUR ECONOMIES. HOW, FOR INSTANCE, COULD EUROPE PRESERVE ITS IDENTITY IN A WORLD IN WHICH IT HAD EXCLUDED ITSELF FROM AUDIO-VISUAL DEVELOPMENTS? SIMILARLY, OUR SOCIAL MODEL, WHICH HAD DEVELOPED DURING THE YEARS OF RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION, WOULD NOT HAVE SURVIVED, EVEN IN A MODIFIED FORM, WITH INSUFFICIENT ECONOMIC PROSPERITY TO SUPPORT THEM.

SOME OF US MADE IT OUR BUSINESS TO FORCE THE TWELVE MEMBER STATES OF THE COMMUNITY TO FACE THIS FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE. IT CAME TO BE RECOGNIZED THAT PROGRESS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, WITH THE CREATION OF A FRONTIER-FREE AREA, COULD REVITALISE OUR ECONOMIES, STIMULATE GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT AND PROVIDE AN EFFECTIVE - ALBEIT PARTIAL - SOLUTION.

IT WAS ALSO ACCEPTED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO GIVE NEW DYNAMISM TO THE COMMUNITY'S INSTITUTIONS , SO AS TO IMPROVE AND SPEED UP DECISION-MAKING. THIS IS AN ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT, THE MOST RADICAL REVISION OF THE TREATY OF ROME. THE SINGLE ACT CAME INTO FORCE IN 1987.

THE 1992 PROJECT HAS CREATED ITS OWN MOMENTUM. THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET HAS REVIVED ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE BUSINESS WORLD AND SOCIETY IN GENERAL. THE COMMUNITY'S INSTITUTIONS HAVE BECOME MORE DYNAMIC, WITH MORE AND MORE DECISIONS BEING TAKEN BY MAJORITY VOTE. THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, WITH EXTENDED POWERS, IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE INFLUENTIAL. THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION IS NOW PLAYING ITS FULL ROLE AND USING ITS CRUCIAL POWER OF INITIATIVE, WHICH WAS GIVEN TO IT BY THE TREATY OF ROME. THIS POWER MAKES IT A UNIQUE INSTITUTION IN A MULTINATIONAL STRUCTURE.

A POLITICAL AMBITION

AS JEAN MONNET, ONE OF ITS FOUNDING FATHERS, SAID FROM THE BEGINNING, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S AMBITION IS ABOVE ALL POLITICAL.

THIS IS RESTATED IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:

"THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION SHALL HAVE AS THEIR OBJECTIVE TO CONTRIBUTE TOGETHER TO MAKING CONCRETE PROGRESS TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNITY."

WISELY IN MY OPINION, NO DEADLINE HAS BEEN SET. IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO SPELL OUT IN ADVANCE A DETAILED TIME-TABLE FOR TOMORROW'S POLITICAL UNION. BUT THE NEED FOR POLITICAL UNION IS THERE. IT MAKES ITS PRESENCE FELT AND INFLUENCES DECISION-MAKING. IT IS COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE "POLITICAL WILL" AND IT ENABLES US TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES AND TRANSCEND DIFFICULTIES.

HISTORIANS MAY WELL SAY THAT WE BEGAN WITH THE ECONOMY AND SO, IN THE MARXIST EXPRESSION, WITH THE GOODS. SUCH A MATERIALIST PROJECT IS OFTEN CRITICIZED BY EUROPEAN INTELLECTUALS... NOW THAT IT HAS SUCCEEDED! BUT THERE WAS NO OTHER POINT AT WHICH TO APPLY THE PRESSURE TO START THINGS MOVING.

KNOWING HOW TO GO ABOUT SOMETHING IS OFTEN JUST AS IMPORTANT AS KNOWING WHAT YOU WANT TO DO. WE THEREFORE NEEDED A METHOD TO KEEP THE MACHINERY OF INTEGRATION WORKING.

AT THE BASIS OF THIS METHOD IS THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY, ACCORDING TO WHICH NO DECISIONS OR ACTIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN AT A MORE CENTRAL LEVEL THAN IS STRICTLY NECESSARY. THE COMMUNITY WILL NOT TAKE OVER WHAT CAN BE DONE AT NATIONAL, REGIONAL OR LOCAL LEVEL. THIS MAKES SENSE IN TERMS OF EFFICIENCY. IT AVOIDS THE CREATION OF A LARGE CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY. IT IS ALSO IN TUNE WITH CURRENT BUSINESS AND POLITICAL PRACTICES.

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE REGIONS AND LOCALITIES IS VITAL TO THE INTEGRATION PROCESS. THEY ARE NOT MERELY ECONOMIC ENTITIES. THEY ARE WHERE PEOPLE AND BUSINESS HAVE THEIR ROOTS. THEY ARE THEREFORE ESSENTIAL FOR ESTABLISHING AN INDISPENSIBLE SENSE OF ALLEGIANCE AND COMMITMENT.

THE APPROACH BASED ON SUBSIDIARITY ALSO REFLECTS ONE OF THE ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY INDIVIDUALISM. EUROPE INCREASINGLY OFFERS TO INDIVIDUALS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. THAT IS WHY OUR YOUNG PEOPLE ARE WHAT I WOULD CALL NATURAL EUROPEANS. BUT BESIDES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PERSONAL FULFILMENT, WE NEED TO OFFER THEM A COLLECTIVE ADVENTURE. THIS IS ONE WAY TO COMBAT THE POVERTY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE AND THE TENDENCY FOR OUR DEMOCRACIES TO FIND CONSENSUS IN RELATIVE MEDIOCRITY - AS DE TOCQUEVILLE FEARED.

THE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS OF EUROPE ARE HAVING TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE FACT THAT THEIR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE AND ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE ARE INCREASINGLY LIMITED. AS THEY DO SO, THEY ARE ACCEPTING THE IDEA OF EXERCISING JOINT SOVEREIGNTY IN CERTAIN AREAS AND ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS. THIS IS ALREADY BEING DONE IN A NUMBER OF AREAS SUCH AS:

- TRADE POLICY, AND THE GROUND RULES FOR THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET,

- COMMON POLICIES FOR RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY, AS WELL AS THE ENVIRONMENT.

- ECONOMIC AND MONETARY CO-OPERATION HAS BEEN INCREASED THROUGH THE EUROPEAN MONETARY SYSTEM. SUCCESS IN THIS FIELD, AS WELL AS THE LIMITS ON THE POWERS OF INDIVIDUAL STATES BROUGHT ABOUT BY INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCE, HAS LED TO A NEW INTEREST IN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION.

- FINALLY A BEGINNING IS ALSO BEING MADE IN CO-OPERATION OVER FOREIGN POLICY, AS RECENT ACTIONS FOR POLAND AND THE LEBANON SHOW.

OF COURSE EUROPEAN UNION DOES NOT SIGNAL THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY. NOR IS IT A SYNONYM FOR UNIFORMITY. UNITY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED AT THE EXPENSE OF DIVERSITY, FOR EUROPE'S GREATEST ASSETS ARE PRECISELY ITS REGIONAL, LINGUISTIC, AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY; AND ITS POLITICAL PLURALISM.

IN OTHER WORDS, A SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE COMMUNITY WILL NOT BE FOSTERED BY DESTROYING THE LEGITIMATE LINKS THAT BIND EACH OF US TO OUR OWN NATION AND OUR OWN LOCALITY. ALSO THE 1992 PROJECT MUST BE A STAGE ON THE ROAD OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION. IF WE WERE MERELY TO SIT BACK AND ENJOY THE FRUITS OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET, EVEN IF THIS WERE POSSIBLE, WE WOULD BE FALLING FAR SHORT OF THE GOALS SET BY THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT.

THE COMMUNITY'S INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

CLOSER INTEGRATION BETWEEN THE TWELVE HAS TO BE MATCHED BY GREATER OPENNESS TOWARDS THE REST OF THE WORLD. FAR FROM BEING INWARD LOOKING, EUROPE IS TAKING A HIGHER PROFILE AS IT GROWS STRONGER. AND A HIGHER PROFILE MEANS GREATER COHESION.

THE UNITED STATES CAN THEREFORE EXPECT THE RENEWED VIGOUR IN OUR INTEGRATION PROCESS TO ADD NEW DIMENSIONS TO ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMUNITY. WE ARE LINKED ACROSS THE ATLANTIC BY COMMON VALUES AND IDEALS, AND BY A SHARED ATTACHMENT TO PEACE, FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND DEMOCRACY. WE CANNOT ALLOW THESE COMMON BONDS TO BE JEOPARDIZED BY TRADE DISPUTES. RATHER WE MUST REINFORCE THEM BY WORKING TOGETHER TO MEET OUR WIDER INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

I FOUND IT VERY HEARTENING TO HEAR PRESIDENT BUSH SAY, NOT SO VERY FAR FROM HERE, THAT HE WELCOMED (AND I QUOTE) "THE EMERGENCE OF EUROPE AS A PARTNER IN WORLD LEADERSHIP" AND THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR "A MORE MATURE PARTNERSHIP".

THIS PARTNERSHIP MUST GROW IN A NUMBER OF AREAS.

THE FIRST AND MOST OBVIOUS ONE IS INTERNATIONAL TRADE. WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO DEFEND THE MULTILATERAL APPROACH AND, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE KENNEDY AND LATER ROUNDS, TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE NEW NEGOTIATIONS UNDER WAY WITHIN GATT. A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE URUGUAY ROUND BY THE END OF 1990 IS VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY. WE CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT GREATER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, ENABLING US TO MAKE GLOBAL TRADE-OFFS.

THE COMMUNITY'S OPENNESS TO WORLD TRADE IS ONE OF ITS MOST ENDURING FEATURES. POST-1992 EUROPE WILL REMAIN A SOURCE OF GROWTH AND EXPANSION FOR THE WORLD - AND THE AMERICAN - ECONOMY.

THE SECOND AREA MUST BE SHARED CONCERN FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. WE MUST WORK TOGETHER . WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF POWER AND PROSPERITY IF THEY DO NOT SERVE A POLICY OF TRUE GENEROSITY? WHILE THE ECONOMIES OF THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN PERFORMING BETTER RECENTLY, LITTLE-OR NO-PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THIS SITUATION CANNOT ENDURE. PROSPERITY AND POVERTY ARE LINKED.

AN IMMEDIATE ISSUE IS THE PROBLEM OF OVER-INDEBTEDNESS. A BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE. AT THE SUMMIT OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IN TORONTO IN 1988, IT WAS DECIDED, WITH THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, TO TAKE MEASURES TO REDUCE THE INDEBTEDNESS OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

SEVERAL OF OUR MEMBER STATES MADE EARLY PROPOSALS FOR A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE-INCOME INDEBTED COUNTRIES; AND THE COMMUNITY WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO WELCOME MR. BRADY'S DECISION TO ENCOURAGE A BROADER APPROACH.

THE SUMMIT OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IN PARIS THIS JULY SHOWED THAT OUR VIEWS ON INDEBTEDNESS DO NOT FULL CONVERGE. BUT IT ALSO CONFIRMED THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK TOGETHER, PARTICULARLY SINCE BEHIND THE IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF INDEBTEDNESS LIES THE DANGER OF SOCIAL CRISIS AND POLITICAL DESTABILIZATION IN THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

I AM WELL AWARE THAT THIS LIST OF AREAS FOR COOPERATION IS A POOR REFLECTION OF THE NEW SPIRIT WHICH EUROPEANS WOULD LIKE TO BREATHE INTO TRANS-ATLANTIC RELATIONS. IN THE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE, AS IN NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS, DEMOCRACIES CANNOT AFFORD TO REST ON THEIR LAURELS RECITING THE LITANY OF COMMUNISM'S FAILURES. DEMOCRACIES MUST PROVIDE CONSTANT PROOF OF THE SUPERIORITY OF THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MODEL, NOT SIMPLY FOR THEMSELVES, BUT FOR THE WORLD AT LARGE. THE COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER IN THEIR MAIN CONCERNS, THEIR TRADITIONS AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, AND THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. THEY SHOULD ACT IN CONCERT.

TODAY THE COMMUNIST WORLD IS BEING SHAKEN BY FAR-REACHING CHANGE, THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ARE DIFFICULT TO PREDICT. THE EASTERN BLOC IS LOOKING TO THE COMMUNITY. WHAT CAN THE COMMUNITY DO? WHAT PROSPECTS, HOWEVER DISTANT, CAN IT OFFER THESE COUNTRIES?

WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE THIS IS THE DESTINY OF OUR EUROPE: UNITED IN ITS DIVERSITY, TOO OFTEN AT ODDS, TOO RARELY PULLING TOGETHER, STRONG IN A SHARED CIVILIZATION, AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION, GREEK HUMANISM AND ROMAN LAW, NOT TO MENTION THE CELTS, THE FRANKS, AND THE OTHERS.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CAN OFFER AN EXAMPLE. TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, WE CAN EASE THE TRANSITION. BUT WE MUST NOT BE DIVERTED FROM OUR COURSE. OUR AIM IS TO SPEED UP THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION BETWEEN OUR MEMBERS WHO WANT TO TAKE THE IDEAL OF EUROPE'S FOUNDING FATHERS TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSION. AT THE SAME TIME WE WANT TO COME UP WITH FLEXIBLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRADE, DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION OF INTEREST TO OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS.

THE TWO ARE COMPATIBLE. IN FACT THEY CAN BE MUTUALLY REINFORCING. THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE HAVE CONFIRMED THE WILL TO MOVE TOWARDS A POLITICAL UNION. WE MUST ENSURE THAT THE IDEAL OF A UNITED EUROPE DOES NOT BLIND US TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TASK AHEAD.

THE TWELVE AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

SPEAKING TO THIS AUDIENCE, IN A UNIVERSITY FAMOUS FOR THE QUALITY AND ORIGINALITY OF ITS RESEARCH ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, I WOULD LIKE TO GO BEYOND PRINCIPLES. I UNDERSTAND THAT THERE MAY BE SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE COHESION OF THE TWELVE AND THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVISING COMPLEX ARRANGEMENTS FOR EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION. AND I AM AWARE THAT BEHIND ALL THIS LIES THE ETERNAL QUESTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL HISTORICAL DESTINIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, GERMANY, FRANCE, THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE...

THE COMMUNITY HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO INTENSIFY THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION. THE SINGLE ACT AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ITS OBJECTIVES HAVE CREATED A NEW DYNAMIC. THIS IS WELL ILLUSTRATED BY THE RECENT DECISION ON ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION. THE HEADS OF STATE DECIDED AT THEIR MEETING IN JUNE THAT THE FIRST STAGE OF THE PROCESS SHOULD BEGIN IN JULY NEXT YEAR. THIS CONFIRMS THEIR POLITICAL AMBITION FOR THE COMMUNITY. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT ECONOMIC AND MONETARY INTEGRATION WILL REMAIN ELUSIVE AND INCOMPLETE UNLESS THERE IS ALSO PROGRESS ON THE INSTITUTIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC FRONTS.

THIS MUST INCLUDE INCREASED POWERS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. IT MUST ALSO INCLUDE AN EXECUTIVE WHICH IS ANSWERABLE TO PARLIAMENT AND TO THE INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, NAMELY THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, WHICH BRINGS HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TOGETHER TWICE A YEAR, AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. ANY NEW INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE WILL REMAIN OUT OF TOUCH WITH REALITY WHILE THE ISSUES TACKLED TOGETHER BY THE TWELVE ARE EXCLUSIVELY CONCENTRATED ON THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. THE TWELVE MUST ALSO SHARE TOGETHER THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIETY AND AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY.

IF EARLY TANGIBLE PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THIS DIRECTION, THE COMMUNITY WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO SOLVE THE DELICATE ISSUES WHICH IT WILL HAVE TO FACE. THESE INCLUDE THE ACCESS BY THE EFTA COUNTRIES TO THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET, CLOSER COOPERATION WITH EFTA COUNTRIES ON CULTURAL MATTERS, EDUCATION, SECURITY, DEFENCE OR HUMAN RIGHTS; AND BEYOND THIS THE PROSPECT OF NEW RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

BUT WE MUST BE ON OUR GUARD AGAINST EASY ROMANTICISM. WE MUST BE WARY OF SINGING THE PRAISES OF A LARGER EUROPE. THE REAL QUESTION IS HOW WE ARE TO GO ABOUT IT. ONLY THE COMMUNITY, PURSUING ITS OWN AMBITIONS, OFFERS A SECURE, REALISTIC SOLUTION.

THE HISTORY OF THIS NEW EUROPE HAS STILL TO BE WRITTEN. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO SHAPE IT USING A METHOD, FOLLOWING SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES. LET ME REPEAT WHAT I HAVE SAID ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN THE PAST: EUROPE, UNITED IN ITS DIVERSITY, MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN PLURALISM AND EXTINCTION.

IT WILL BE NO SURPRISE TO YOU TO HEAR THAT I SET GREAT STORE BY PROFESSOR HOFFMANN'S ANALYSES AND REFLECTIONS. THE CHALLENGE HE PUT TO EUROPE IS NEVER FAR FROM MY MIND.

AS LONG AGO AS THE AUTUMN OF 1964 HE WROTE IN THE REVIEW DAEDALUS :

"NOBLESSE OBLIGE MEANS ALSO THAT EUROPEANS HAVE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR DROPPING WHAT MADE EUROPE GREAT -IT WAS THE CONTINENT OF THE EXAMINED LIFE. ITS SPIRITUAL SILENCE OF TODAY IS AS DEAFENING AND DISHEARTENING AS ITS EARLIER CLAMOR OF DESPAIR.

ONE OF THE CHOICES EUROPE STILL HAS TO MAKE CONCERNS ITS FUTURE ROLE IN THE WORLD. FOR IN THIS RESPECT ALSO, THERE IS FREEDOM OF CHOICE, BUT IT HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY USED."

LIKE STANLEY HOFFMANN, I DO NOT BELIEVE IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DETERMINISM. BUT I AM HAUNTED BY THE FACT THAT WITHOUT ECONOMIC POWER CONFIDENCE WANES AND DYNAMISM FADES, EGOISM TAKES OVER. LIKE HIM, I AM AWARE OF WHAT MAKES UNDERSTANDING AND PULLING TOGETHER SO DIFFICULT FOR THE OLD AND PROUD NATIONS OF EUROPE. BUT I HAVE MADE A POLITICAL PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD NOT OBLIGE THEM TO RENOUNCE ALL THAT IS BEST IN THEIR TRADITIONS AND IN THEIR PERSONALITIES. I AM ACUTELY AWARE THAT WE MUST TRANSFORM OUR PATIENT EFFORTS INTO A NEW SPIRITUAL ADVENTURE FOR EUROPE.

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