Speech by Monsieur Jean MONNET

at the presentation to Chancellor Konrad ADENAUER

of the first gold medal of the Association of Friends

of President Robert Schuman, on July 2, 1966 at

Montigny-lès-Metz

Mr. Chancellor,

It is an honour and a great pleasure to present this gold medal to you. I do so in the name of the Friends of Robert Schuman, to mark our gratitude for your contribution to the building of Europe, and for the perseverance with which, for so many years and despite all the difficulties, you have worked for understanding between Germany and France.

This medal is the first. There will be others in the years to come. None could be given to a man who more fully personified the beginnings of the European Community and of its practical application.

I vividly remember our meeting in your office in the Schaumburg Palace, in May 1950, five years after the end of the war. The Palace still bore the marks of violence. Germany was occupied. In East and West, men's minds were obsessed by the cold war.

Were we, despite the sufferings of war, to fall back once again into the errors of the past - to maintain between victors and vanquished a relationship imbued with the spirit of domination, as it had been for so many centuries ?

Or were we to reconcile Germany and her neighbours, and in particular Germany and France ?

Would our countries, no longer big enough by themselves, be able to adapt to the new world brought into being by war, by scientific invention, and by the emergence of states the size of continents - the United States and the U.S.S.R.?

How could we achieve the changes that had become indispensable to us ?

The history of our own countries showed the way.

In their relations with others, our countries have always been imbued with a feeling of superiority, sometimes even the will to dominate. But within their own frontiers they have gradually organised equality. They no longer allow relations between their citizens to be ruled by force, superiority, or dominance.

In each of our nations, to take the decisions that concern our citizens as a whole, we have set up - often after bloody conflicts - institutions that express, confront, adjust, and integrate individual and collective interests.

This was the path we had to take in Europe: gradually to apply to European life those same principles that we already apply to national life. We had to organise a united Europe — that is, to establish step by step among European nations, through freely concluded agreements, common bases for economic development and common institutions.

To have begun this process, making it open to all European countries that accepted its rules and obligations, is

the great merit of Bobert Schuman and of the French Government's Declaration of May 9, 1950.

It is also yours, Mr. Chancellor. You have long proclaimed that lasting peace between Germany and France can only be ensured by establishing between them common economic interests.

Coal and steel had furnished the weapons of past conflicts and had been the key to industrial development. It was natural to pool these heavy industries first, as the Declaration of hay 9, 1950 proposed, in order to achieve "the fusion of interests which is indispensable to the establishment of an economic community and to introduce the ferment of a broader and deeper community between countries long opposed to each other by bloody conflicts."

This European Economic Community, which now has 180 million inhabitants, is finding concrete forms and is being built, year after year, before our eyes. The governments, farmers, industrialists, workpeople have a growing common interest in the Community's development for which, owing to the rules and institutions of the Common Market, they are working together.

This is the policy that is being pursued, amid many difficulties, by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Scon, I hope, Great Britain will join them. The constant support of your successor, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, shows the continuity and firmness of the European policy of democratic Germany.

But the gradual transformation that is going on is more than a matter of production and trade - for the reason which you yourself, Mr. Chancellor, have recently recalled in your Memoirs: "The principle underlying the Schuman Plan was the creation of a community of European countries, on the basis of complete equality of rights. A community is only possible when all its members enjoy such equality. This principle was of immense importance for the policy of Germany, France, Europe, and the world."

This while approach meets the new needs of our time. It is beginning to change the attitude of European countries to each other and to the rest of the world.

The Schuman Plan and the Common Market are a first application to relations between European countries of those civilising principles that have made progress possible in relations between men: equality, and the acceptance of common rules and institutions.

But although economic unification is under way, our countries'foreign and defence policies are still divergent. No beginning has yet been made upon military and political unity in Europe. The institutions of the European Community are not yet based on direct universal suffrage.

To many people, the obstacles to be overcome before we reach the United States of Europe appear insurmountable. And faced with the changes that are taking place in the East and in the West, many people wonder if we should not now try to solve the political and military problems of our time by separate national action.

To steer these changes in the direction of a steady, peaceful transformation, in the age of nuclear weapons, are European nations to return to the concepts and conduct which they adopted when they dominated the world, and which led to two world wars ?

It must be obvious that the organisation of a strong and united Europe is indispensable in order to establish collaboration on equal terms with mighty America, and to organise

peaceful coexistence between East and West guaranteeing the essential interests of all against unilateral action and thus making it possible thereby to unite the German people, who today are still divided.

We have the good fortune to live at a time when we can envisage the organisation of a stable peace between Europe, America, and the Soviet Union, for their own sake as well as for that of the rest of the world.

This can be achieved if we continue to establish between our countries, in order to treat their common concerns, European rules and institutions which will make it possible gradually to give them a cohesion and to unite them in a collective action similar to those that we have successfully achieved within each of our nations.

I believe that our countries will not fall back into the errors of the past. I believe that the need and the hope that are driving them to unite will gradually lead to a European democratic authority — as you, Mr. Chancellor, Robert Schuman and all of us have always hoped since the beginning of this great enterprise of progress and peace.