

# OUR EUROPE



by the Dutch Prime Minister,  
Mr Lubbers

Florence, 26 October 1991

EUROPEAN  
UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE

FOURTEENTH  
JEAN MONNET  
LECTURE





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**European University Institute, 1993**



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**Opening address by Mr Émile Noël,  
Principal of the European  
University Institute**

**Badia Fiesolana, 26 October 1991**

*Mr Prime Minister,  
My dear Professor Lubbers,*

First of all, let me thank you for having been so kind as to agree to come to the European University Institute to deliver the Jean Monnet Lecture, which marks the start of each academic year. At the point when the Netherlands are taking over the Presidency of our High Council, your presence testifies to the interest that the Dutch Government bears the Institute. I am not forgetting that in this same second half of 1991 the Netherlands have the much heavier burden of chairing the Council of the European Communities, and that you will yourself personally chair the meeting of Heads of State or of Government of the Community. You have come to be with us here despite the burdens and the increasing concerns that preparing for the next session of the European Council in Maastricht must mean for you. Your presence at such a time deserves particular gratitude on our part.

Your career has been a happy combination of professional and political activity. After your studies at the Rotterdam School of Higher Economic Studies (where you concentrated particularly on monetary questions and international trade), you turned to economic research, when family circumstances brought you to join the management of the engineering construction firm your family owns. This in turn

led you to join the Association of Young Christian Employers, which you chaired in 1964, and then to sit on the board of the Dutch Federation of Christian Employers.

It was in 1973 that your political career as such began. You were Minister for Economic Affairs till 1977, then member of the Second Chamber, where you became chairman of your party's parliamentary group and were thrice called on, in 1982, 1986 and 1989, to lead the Dutch Government, each time without a break. That means that in a few days you will be able to celebrate your ninth year in that high office. You are, accordingly, the living confirmation of the classic saying that in the Netherlands it takes a lot of time and labour to form a government, but those governments, born in pain, are made to last.

But I wish to welcome you not only as a political leader, but still more as a European. Your party has certainly always shown great attachment to the pursuit of European integration, the strengthening of the Community institutions, and advance towards the political union of Europe. But over and above that collective commitment, you have acted within the European Council as a force for movement and for progress, through the depth of your convictions, the boldness of your initiatives, the vigour of your interventions, and also your sense of negotiation and, if necessary, compromise. It is not a matter of indifference that the chairmanship of the European Council should lie with you, given that this meeting at Maastricht will be particularly hard to lead, and that much depends on its success, for Europe as a whole.

This concern for the greater Europe was brilliantly displayed by you last year when you launched the idea of a European energy charter as the basis for active cooperation among all the countries of our continent, including the Union of Soviet Republics, in liaison with the other interested powers. This project is due to begin soon. It will be the first pan-European structure in the economic sphere.

For four months, the Dutch Presidency has been engaged on pushing forward the heavy machinery of the two Intergovernmental Conferences, on monetary union and on





political union. Its initiatives have met with criticism and even indignation among some of the Twelve. But their immense merit has been to highlight fully the most sensitive problems in the two negotiations. This has already enabled the position to be clarified and agreement to be picked out on one of the essential points of the Treaty on monetary union: the conditions for movement to the final stage and the provisions to be adopted for countries not able to join the monetary union immediately, whether because of economic difficulties or because they do not (one would hope provisionally) wish to participate.

Similar clarification was needful on the Treaty on political union, specifically as regards foreign policy and common security, an area where wishy-washy formulas or compromises for the sake of appearances would have been disastrous for the future of European integration. The Dutch Presidency has helped to launch a great public debate, and initiatives have multiplied. Your firmness and lucidity are certainly going to be necessary in order to steer the Maastricht meeting towards the agreement that is essential.

All these problems, those of the Twelve and those of the broader Europe, are what you are going to talk to us about now. I do not wish to delay the commencement of this communication between you and the professors and researchers of the European University Institute and its guests any further. Let me merely add one word to say how delighted we are at your proposal to follow your talk by an open debate with those attending the lecture. I am sure that a few testing questions will give you a chance to show the scope of your well-known talent as a debater.

Thank you.





**Fourteenth Jean Monnet Lecture,  
delivered at the European University Institute,  
by the Dutch Prime Minister, Mr Lubbers**

**Florence, 26 October 1991**

**Our Europe**

*Mr President of the European University Institute,  
Ladies and gentlemen,*

It is only a few years ago that the principal characteristics of the continent of Europe were apathy and stagnation. The European Community was then described as suffering from what was referred to as Euro-sclerosis. Accusations were frequently made that Europe was in the grip of inertia, that it lacked dynamism and that it was lagging behind the United States and Japan. And in that period Central and Eastern Europe were still sunk in the darkness of communism with all the repression and stagnation that entailed. From the mid-1980s onwards the European Community rediscovered its dynamic and was on the move once more. At the same time, possibly as a result of this to a certain extent, in Central and Eastern Europe, the communist world began to fall apart. In addition to the successes achieved by the European Community, the Helsinki process probably made a significant contribution to the collapse of communism. Although the CSCE that was created at the time, has now in fact acquired a new meaning, it is appropriate to say a few things in line with the original principles of Helsinki. We formulated our programme in Helsinki in terms of three baskets: human rights, economic

cooperation and arms control. Let me first say a few words about economic cooperation. And I do this of course in the context of the Europe of today.

What do we have on the agenda, what do we have to do at this stage? Let me start with the negotiations concluded only five days ago on the European Economic Area with the former EFTA countries. The result we reached was a very important one for a number of reasons, for in fact it brought a new group of countries into our market system. The main issues, the main difficulties to which we finally found solutions had to do with transit. This was especially important for Italy too. We found a solution in combining our differences of opinion in the field of transport by looking at our common opinion on environmental needs and the burden that we still considered acceptable from that point of view. For those who are interested I hope to explain this a little more in the discussion later on. This element was an important one. A totally different issue was important for other countries. There, the issue was fish. And so you have a nice example of how interesting negotiations in Europe can be. For other countries yet again, the issue centred around cohesion. To what extent were those new countries entering our market system also prepared to pay for the structural Funds? And finally, a point which is also very interesting, the jurisdiction of the European Court. So this is one of the first items I would like to mention in the Europe of today in terms of economic cooperation. Related to this of course is the progress we have to make ourselves in finally realizing the single market, which is still not 100% complete.

Then of course, and that is also on the agenda for this semester in Maastricht, there is economic and monetary union. As you know, progress is being made in formulating a proposal for gradually moving towards economic and monetary union in three phases, in three steps. The first will be free capital movement, the second, starting on 1 January 1994, will be to make institutions more successful in the process of converging our economies and then in 1996, there will be the third phase. The idea is that we do this together, that we take the decision as a European



Community. There may have to be some derogations for certain countries, but the political point of departure, as we decided recently, is that it has to be Europe as a whole taking that decision, if possible in 1996, leading to total integration in the field of monetary and economic policies.

Another issue on the European continent is Central Europe. We now have a network of association agreements with the Central European countries giving them the right to eventually become a member of our Europe in the future and at the same time organizing the instruments to make that possible. A very important aspect of course is market access. This is also a difficult issue. Of course there is always a tendency in our negotiations with other countries, outside the European Community, to pay them off with money. To minimize market access. In my opinion it has to be the other way around and market access has to come first. It takes a lot of time to integrate economies. The general picture is that these countries have most of their labour in sectors with rather low productivity so that if integration were to proceed too fast, you would in fact be organizing unemployment. The process takes time.

Related to our approach to Central Europe is the political aspect. The prospect of becoming a member of our Europe, becoming a member of the Community and part of the political union in the future is important. Another related theme is the GATT negotiations, especially when one is talking about economic cooperation. This semester, before the end of the year, we have to make the breakthrough leading to results, so we are in quite a hurry to settle this. In other words there is a broad range of problems.

A particularly special item is the organization of agriculture, our common agricultural policy. To what extent can we accommodate this and incorporate it into the world trade system? Formally agriculture is now included in GATT. But we have to give substance to what this entails in GATT. We all realize that agriculture is a special field. Nevertheless, I hope we can find ways and means of reaching solutions that are vital for the process as a whole, for the industrialized world, for our continent and also, of course,

for the Third World. To do this, to bring our system more into the world trade system, also in the field of agriculture, we will need a second element at the same time. I am referring to structural programmes, because agriculture is more than just economy; agriculture is also about the social fabric of society and the meaning of those who work in agriculture for the regions. There is also a very important ecological aspect to agriculture. So there are different reasons why we need structural programmes besides integration. In fact we have to find a balance between the two. GATT is important in Europe, but for the world trade system, too.

Let me move from Central Europe, the European context, to the Soviet Union. It is a little bit further away, but it is part of our continent. A little bit further away both geographically and in the opportunities of working together. Nevertheless we cannot afford to take a defensive attitude, to be passive or do nothing. We cannot be neutral, as it were, about the developments in the Soviet Union. We have to do our utmost, we have to offer them in the economic basket of the Helsinki process, in the context of today, ways and means of integrating themselves into our continent of Europe. In fact that was the reason I proposed cooperation in the field of energy at the European Council meeting in Dublin last year. Energy is always a key item in economies. It is an instrument for transferring capital, management, know-how. In fact for integrating them into our economy. And I hope, too, that in December we will be ready with the charter to be signed by the Member States, in the context of the CSCE again — not only European countries, but those countries which are members of the Helsinki process.

The charter is not only about energy; it is to a large extent also about the environment. There are good reasons for this, reasons in the environmental field itself, because the technologies used these days are very poor. There are enormous losses of up to 30% for example in the transport of gas. Such losses are totally unacceptable if you are looking to conserve energy. So there is a lot to be done in this field. But there is also an opening here for injecting



capital, not in an abstract way, by giving money away through aid or credit, but by linking it to real investment. And we very much hope that such investment will be forthcoming on a large scale, too, from private companies. For this we need a market situation in which energy has a price in the Soviet Union related to world market prices. But having said this, it is not just a question of a market system. In countries like our own in Western Europe, we know that public utilities and companies work together in this field. Sometimes electricity is produced by a public utility company owned by the government. Sometimes it is privatized. If you look at transport, railways for instance, you see the same type of thing. So in our societies we have a number of companies that are partly organized as normal enterprises, as market organizations and partly as government agencies. You find them in different forms. A company owned by the government is asked to function as if it were a normal enterprise, for reasons of efficiency. An enterprise with private shareholders is asked to enter into a special relation with the government, by way of a concession or under special conditions, because the public aspect has to be integrated as well. We have developed these structures in our countries and there are differences between the Member States in the way they are organized, but the fact is that we do have the know-how and management organization in these companies and we should look to the possibilities of conveying this mechanism to the emerging economy of the Soviet Union and the republics in the future. It is a little too facile to say: all we want in the Soviet Union is a market economy and everything will flourish and produce results. A little more is needed. Energy, the environment and perhaps related to that, too, infrastructure. I hope in the future that there will not only be a Europe of energy, but a Europe of transport. What we really need is a kind of network in transport that provides opportunities for expanding the successes of this part of Europe eastward, allowing the countries there to become integrated into our systems. So much for the Soviet Union.

The last point I should like to make on this topic is related to a certain extent to economic cooperation, though it is

also somewhat separate at the same time; that is the environmental aspect. I have already mentioned it in relation to energy. It is in fact becoming more and more important. I think if we were to have another Helsinki, we would create a special basket for environmental problems. We have them in every country, citizens and enterprises alike. We have them on a continental scale, on the European continent and we have them on a global scale. The environment is a very intriguing problem. It involves changing methods of production and consumption. And while we realize that we have to make these changes, especially when it comes to production, we have to bear in mind international competition. So the environment has to be tackled on a much larger scale than a single country, or even a continent. It needs a global approach, if possible.

But there is a third aspect involved and that is the aspect of incomes. As long as you are in a situation of being relatively well-to-do, as one is in Italy and in the Netherlands, you have the potential to save income to improve the environmental situation. And all of us realize that we really have to do this for the sake of our own health and that of future generations. But when you look at the situation in Third World countries, with lower incomes and the political situation, the picture is a totally different one. They are still in the process of bringing up their incomes to a very minimum level and the idea of worrying about environmental problems is completely alien to them. So we have two problems if we want to link all this into an international system. The industrialized world has to exert an influence on the production techniques or companies. That is the one international aspect and the other international aspect is that we need to transfer resources and management to enable poorer countries to be part of a common endeavour for a better environmental situation in the world as a whole. In fact these are the fundamental questions which we are currently studying and for which we will have to come up with solutions, fortunately not in Maastricht, but next year in Brazil at the conference on the environment.

Let me now say a few words about another basket of the Helsinki process, that is arms control. It is a subject that





might appear to be outdated, but it is still a highly topical issue. It is true that we now see relations between East and West in a completely new light, and that the Warsaw Pact is a thing of the past; and it is also true that we already have very important agreements on nuclear weapons and a major treaty on conventional forces. However, the agreements have to be implemented. That is the enormous task and an equally heavy responsibility. Nuclear arsenals must be phased out with immense care and while they are still in existence they must be managed in an orderly fashion. The reduction of conventional forces poses organizational, political and social problems of the first order. We need NATO and other organizations to carry out these tasks. So in fact we are now at the stage of implementing arms control of both conventional and nuclear weapons. Although we are not really discussing these practical problems, they are very important for all the countries and organizations involved. But there is more. The NATO Summit to be held here in Italy, in Rome, in November, will also have to decide on the role and operations of the Alliance. We need to acknowledge its responsibility for stability following the fall of communism. That is the new issue. Consideration will also have to be given to the future of the WEU, the Western European Union. What role should it play in ensuring the stability of Europe and what countries should be able to join? We should realize that we not only have to cope with the grim legacy of the Iron Curtain, now that it has finally disappeared, but we are also faced with the aftermath of the Second World War which left the Federal Republic of Germany with a constitution which, at present at least, allows it no scope to assume responsibility for international stability apart from its own defence. Developments in the role played by NATO and the WEU will affect the foreign and security policy of the European Community and ultimately also Europe's defence efforts. The time has come in the 1990s for Europe to make a mature contribution by means of security policy and defence to the preservation of peace and stability. It is thus that Europe can secure lasting respect for human rights, continue opposing the use of force and, of course, provide a basis on which prosperity can increase. And here you

see the relationship with arms control but also with the organization of a European defence security identity for the whole of our continent.

On the subject of defence and security, I should like to say a few words about the proposals which have been made, the Anglo-Italian proposal and the proposal of Paris and Bonn on this topic. Let me begin with the latter proposal of President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl, which in fact has three components. The first is the text of the treaty for political union. The second relates to the WEU and the third to NATO. If you read the proposal, you find that it has a footnote. And the footnote is about a European army or more precisely a common effort of France and Germany. I say this so explicitly to avoid the misunderstanding that has arisen in some quarters that the proposal itself is about this united military effort. It is only a footnote to the proposal of these two members of the European Council.

What are the main differences between this and the Anglo-Italian approach? The first relates to the wording in relation to NATO. It is as if the Anglo-Italian approach takes the NATO aspect more into consideration. I myself do not see a fundamental difference. It is more a question of language and wording and it can be solved in my opinion.

Another aspect of course relates to the membership of the WEU, in other words membership of the instrument of European defence identity in the future. How do you see this? If you see this in the first place as an instrument of political union then of course you want to grant the same status to all members of that political union and a different status to outsiders. If you start with NATO, and you think in terms of a European identity within NATO of course, you take the NATO members and try to give them the same position in the WEU. And you realize that that brings you to different conclusions when you are talking about countries like Turkey and Norway. So this is a second aspect.

The third aspect of course is in the organization of the WEU. I think in both approaches, people have thought about the system of what you call double-hatting. Double-hatting in the military field but also double-hatting in the



field of ambassadors, representatives and ministers when they meet together. Double-hatting means that the same people are often used to do the job but in different capacities. Now the way you work this out has a real psychological meaning in relation to the question of whether or not a European defence identity, which we all want, will erode NATO, or more specifically, will give an alibi to those in Washington who want to opt out of Europe in the sense that they will say: if they are organizing it this way it is clear that we are no longer needed and we can afford to step back from Europe. I am very confident and I have a strong feeling that both the Anglo-Italian proposal and especially the attitude of Chancellor Kohl guarantee the Atlantic aspect for the future.

In fact if you study both the Paris-Bonn, London-Rome papers, both are written in terms of organizing things in the 1990s with a reappraisal in 1996. And I think this is a good thing. It is very wise to do it this way. In our own Member States we need time to accommodate ourselves to a new situation: doing these things together. Secondly, we need time to take a gradual path in relation to the United States, as I explained earlier. The third reason is that we should keep our options open in relation to Central and Eastern Europe. It will be better to have another look at the situation in relation to them, and not to say that everything has been finally settled in Maastricht, in the sense that some are in, others are out and this is the final state of affairs.

Therefore in this field, too, we are heading towards a political union. Going towards a political union and defining what we have to do in the 1990s in the several fields to achieve this. There are more reasons for taking time over what one might call a learning process. I shall give you a few additional examples.

Let me start with the concept of neutrality. Only a few years ago everybody knew exactly what that word meant. You had the East and the West, when you took sides, you were not neutral, when you wanted to stay out you were neutral. But this is over, we have no second world any more, no communist world. So we have to think about what neutrality

is after all. And that is especially true of a country like Germany; as I said earlier, that still has a problem left over from the Second World War. Under its own constitution Germany can do nothing to defend itself in the face of any military presence outside its own area. Whether it is a question of peace-keeping or peace-enforcing this is a question of the future. So in fact we have two questions. Some of the European countries have to think again about the concept of neutrality. Take, for instance, Austria, Sweden or what have you, maybe Ireland. Others, even members of NATO like Germany, have to think about the consequences of the terms of neutrality in the future. If Europe does not want to be neutral in terms of staying out of international problems, of peace-keeping and peace-enforcing responsibilities, then there will be no problem. But if we say Europe has to fulfil a role, of course there is still a lot to do. And there again I see a political union treaty in Maastricht as a way of getting a little further. But we need the learning process.

France, too, is in the throes of a learning process: achieving a balance between its own sovereignty and being prepared to be part of a more integral system which involves working together. There is a certain paradox in that Paris in particular is in the forefront of developments on the European security front while at the same time France is one of those Member States that is most attached to its own sovereignty, since it is not part of the military organization of NATO. So for that reason, too, we also need time.

And a last point I want to mention here, a different one again, is the relationship with the role of the United Nations. Here again we do not know exactly how things will evolve. First of all, will there be a seat for Europe in the Security Council or will we continue with the situation of having seats for London and Paris? Given the last option of course, it might be wise to rethink this again in five to ten years from now. And another vital point is that if we speak about stability in the world, peace-keeping, peace-enforcing, where does the responsibility lie and how are these matters going to be handled? As I see it we will always need two instruments. One is the instrument of interna-



tional responsibility and authority, that can be borne perhaps by the United Nations, or do we also need the CSCE process for that and do we need a court of arbitration to keep peace and to guarantee that people, governments especially, stick to what they have promised? That is one avenue as it were. The second avenue of course is where we need to enforce this. And then we are talking about peace-keeping and peace enforcement. These two new avenues are not clear at all for Europe. Europe is a giant in economic terms, but is still very weak in this sort of thing. What we hope to realize this autumn through a good declaration on the future of the WEU in relation to a good result in Rome at the NATO conference, and the political union treaty, is a programme for the coming years which is, on the one hand, very concrete, involving improvements and achievements, but at the same time still keeps some options open for the future.

That brings me to the third and perhaps most important issue — human rights. They were formulated in Helsinki as a counterblast to communist repression. And certainly they have encouraged those in Central and Eastern Europe who were brave enough to resist the communist system. The role of these brave men and women should be remembered, time and again. Here, too, I think. Now that communism has failed, the human rights basket is gaining even more significance in my opinion. The aim is no longer to guarantee a minimum level of human rights, it is rather to safeguard and foster the essential values of European civilization. What are those values? Respect for every individual, the avoidance of force, giving scope to minorities as well as to majorities and, in relation to that, recognizing the importance of tolerance in pluriform societies. Together these values make up the complex of cultural values which we derive from our Christian and humanist heritage. The task facing us now, after the fall of communism, is to give contemporary substance to these ideas and values in every country in Europe. The Council of Europe plays a major role in these efforts. And it is highly gratifying that country after country is applying for membership. In addition to the role of the Council of Europe, as

individuals we must look beyond the frontiers for ways of working together in all manner of spheres, in other ways than through the formal relations between States. The reason we should do this is to inform European culture and civilization of these values and ideas. As a matter of fact, in my opinion there is a close link between the essential values I have just mentioned and the type of society in which they can flourish, in democracies and pluralistic societies. In this connection cultural identity, 'bottom-up' society, personalism are key words. In terms of the European political union we have been saying a lot about subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is a principle which plays a vital role within our social and constitutional frameworks. The people's Europe in which the individual both enjoys freedom and accepts responsibilities can only flourish if it is not too strictly regulated. Too strictly regulated in our terms, in Brussels or in the capitals. And when we talk about subsidiarity we are referring both to the areas in which the Community is involved and to the degree of detail with which it exercises its powers. But in fact the concept of subsidiarity goes further: it applies in each of our nations and Member States. The perennial question is what can be done from the bottom-up by citizens themselves, by intermediate structures, non-governmental organizations, groups of individuals, universities, your type of institutes and what have we. These bottom-up efforts and intermediate structures are in fact the threads which make up the fabric of society. Society is more than the State alone. Government and politics are important but they are certainly not the whole story. Much more is required to safeguard European civilization and to guarantee that societies create their own dynamic. In fact this aspect of life, this basket, human rights in an extended form, is relevant both to our concept of political union and to our cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe.

In Maastricht I hope we are going towards a political union. And there in fact we have to be honest, there is a difference with the ambition we still had in Dublin. My strong impression is that for two reasons we are now a little bit more modest, we are now drawing up a working programme



rather than a final result. What are the two reasons? One of them is that we realize these days more than before that we have to think in terms of the European continent as a whole. So we have already started to be outward looking, which is a good thing. That is one aspect.

The second aspect is that we are finding out in working on this political union, that not everything is clear in our own minds yet. For example, subsidiarity. I have just mentioned the concept. It is a very good concept. We know how it functions in every country. But we do not really know how it must function in a political union. So here, too, we are in a learning process with regard to subsidiarity.

And related to this to a certain extent is the matter of sovereignty. Sovereignty is the second item. I have said a few things about it in relation to defence and foreign affairs, but it is also an issue in other areas, with regard to internal and legal cooperation for example. And some of us have to find out and some of you know exactly, that the institutional equilibrium we have developed in our own Community, from the Treaty of Rome until today, cannot be used to the full extent in this area. The reason for this is that we still have the feeling that we are not really in a position to do this to the same extent, bringing together the responsibility in the system of the Treaty of Rome as it is today. And therefore people are exploring alternatives, not only in the area of defence and foreign affairs but also in this area. We are still in a learning process; and it entails a certain paradox. On the one hand politicians say we have to work together in relation to problems of immigration and asylum seekers, on questions to do with drugs, international crime. But at the same time, and there is the paradox, the same politicians which say this in their speeches, realize when they come to the practice that these matters are so closely related to their own constitutions that a little more care has to be taken; that, today at least, we should not be according the Commission and the Parliament the same role as in the traditional areas; and of course in the case of a political union, that we should have more breathing space and time to converge our economies. I have said this in relation to the monetary economy.

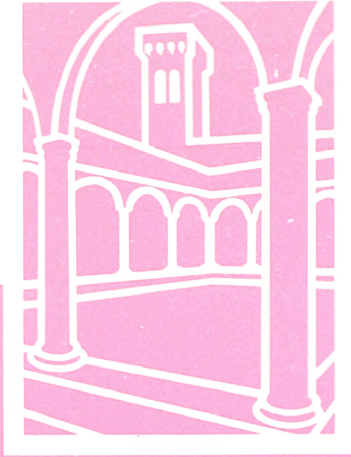
Does this mean, dear friends, that we are heading for modest results in Maastricht? The answer is not at all. I could say that we are going to achieve quite a lot. We will realize the economic area, we will have our economic monetary union treaty, we will have our political union with the common European defence perspective, with the extension to new areas, European citizenship and what have you. Then we should be ready at least for a major breakthrough with GATT and I hope, too, we will sign the famous European Energy Charter. So altogether I think we will be successful in Maastricht in these five areas. And after Maastricht, we will have a programme to work on for quite a number of years, say five, six, perhaps seven years after which we will again sit around the table, when we may perhaps have a Dutch Presidency again in six years from now. I am talking as a politician but at the same time what you need in politics is to be very pragmatic, the art of the possible as we say. But equally, you need a very fundamental perspective. And I must confess to you my perspective is that of the European values which we need to implement and keep dynamic in each of our countries, in our people, by our own efforts, bottom-up, as they say. And at the same time we should find ways and means of assisting each other in this endeavour, across the borders on a European scale. The fantastic and fascinating aspect of the present time is that while we can say that a problem has to be approached on a continental scale and sometimes even on a global scale, we are members of one family and that while we are organizing this, we realize that to be really successful we need a bottom-up society. A society of free citizens and personalism. This is the fascinating aspect of the present era and it is a pleasure to work in this period. Thank you so much.











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