

AR SCÁTH A CHÉILE
WE ARE ALL SO INTERDEPENDENT
THAT EVERY ACTION BY EACH ONE OF US
AFFECTS IN SOME WAY OR OTHER
THE WELFARE AND DESTINY
OF THE REST OF US



by His Excellency Patrick J. Hillery

Florence, 1 December 1988

EUROPEAN
UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE

ELEVENTH
JEAN MONNET
LECTURE



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THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

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BY HIS EXCELLENCY
PATRICK J. HILLERY,
PRESIDENT OF IRELAND, DELIVERED AT
THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE,
FLORENCE, 1 DECEMBER 1988

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**Address by Mr Emile Noël,
Principal of the European
University Institute**

Mr President,

It is a very great honour for the European University Institute to be welcoming the Irish Head of State today for the Eleventh Jean Monnet Lecture. Allow me to express the gratitude of all of us, professors, fellows, research students and staff members of the Institute. The fact that you have come here in this year dedicated to Jean Monnet lends added value and meaning to the occasion.

Your Excellencies,

Members of Parliament,

Mr Minister,

Mr Prefect,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to thank you very cordially for having answered our invitation and come to join us in welcoming President Hillery. We are aware of the sympathy that you bear the Institute. Your presence here honours and confirms your attachment.

Mr President,

Since the Institute began its work in 1976, Ireland's participation has been active, constructive and stimulating. This has been true academically, and also on the Institute's governing body, the High Council, chaired this year by the Irish representative Mr O'Callaghan. Nor should I forget the part played by

Professor Masterson, High Council member since its first meeting in March 1975, nor the help given us by Mr Nolan, Chairman of the Budget Committee.

By paying us this official visit as President of your country, you have emphatically underlined the importance you attach to the Institute's role. Through its research activities, the Institute supplies an international opening and a European training for some of your best students and researchers. That opening and that training are particularly useful for a country located on the edge of Europe which wishes to be fully a member of it.

Allow me, Mr President, to say something about the extent to which you yourself were part of the European commitment by Ireland, before you took up the highest office. As Foreign Minister you headed the delegation that negotiated Ireland's accession to the Community. As first Irish member, and Vice-President, of the European Commission you assumed responsibility for social affairs. Under your guidance, the Community's action grew enormously in the area of health and of promotion of equality of opportunity for women, while you also secured a considerable increase in the role and resources of the European Social Fund. And 'Hillery the European' was proposed by all of the Irish political forces as President of Ireland at the end of his term of office as European Commissioner. Neither the members of the European Commission nor those who work for it will forget those days, nor the political scope of the decision.

Your presence here is further testimony to this European policy, a policy whereby Ireland, after centuries of trials, is again finding its universalistic vocation, as at the times when it was the brightest burning torch of faith, culture and learning in Western Europe.

And that line is being continued by the message you are going to give us here, a call for interdependence and solidarity as the expression of the shared destiny of our peoples. Mr President, we are here to listen to you.



**Jean Monnet Lecture
by His Excellency Patrick J. Hillery,
President of Ireland,
delivered at the
European University Institute,
Florence, 1 December 1988**

Ar Scáth A Chéile a thogh mé theideal ar a bhfuil le rá agam libh. Is seanfhocal Gaelach é *Ar Scáth A Chéile* a aithníonn chomh mór is a bhraithimid ar a chéile. Is léir gur thuig ár sínsir cé chomh mór agus a théann gach a ndéanaimid, bíodh sé olc nó maith, i gcionn ar dhaoine eile. Tá sé de dhualgas orainn mar sin a chinntiú gur chun tairbhe agus leas an phobail a rachaidh toradh ár ngníomhartha.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I chose as the title of what I propose to say to you — ‘ar scáth a chéile’, which is an old Irish proverb recognizing our interdependence. Clearly our ancestors were conscious of the extent to which our activities, be they good or bad, impinge upon others. Thus we have an obligation to ensure that the consequences of our actions are conducive to community harmony and wellbeing.

It is a great personal pleasure to have been invited to deliver the Jean Monnet Lecture in this the centenary of his birth. I must say at the outset that I feel a particular sense of kinship with the spirit of my ancient fellow countryman, Saint Donatus, the eminent scholar, poet and statesman who was bishop of

Fiesole in the ninth century and whose tomb is in Fiesole Cathedral. A poem of his, written in Latin, remains one of the earliest examples in the long tradition of Irish exile poetry.

I can think of no more appropriate place to commemorate a founding father of the European Community than in this European University Institute which, of its very nature, approaches its work from a European perspective and thereby enriches Europe's cultural heritage in both its unity and its diversity. Jean Monnet, to whose vision and determination we owe so much, would surely have been happy here. Throughout his life he recognized the importance of tranquillity and the beauty of nature. However hectic his schedule, it was his habit to go for long daily walks. On these walks he accomplished his deepest, clearest and most creative thinking and drew inspiration to overcome the complex challenges of each day. In these beautiful buildings and in this most beautiful city of Florence, surely if anywhere, it is possible to garner a perceptive insight into the complex workings of the European Community of today and to shape a vision which is both ambitious and practical for our common future.

A former rector of the University of Salamanca once said of his University: 'This is the temple of the intellect and I am its high priest'. In the construction of Europe, this European University Institute is the temple of the intellect; and it is in good hands for you, Emile Noël, my old friend and colleague, are its high priest.

I intend today to reflect on some of the challenges which face the European Community in the years ahead. It is the opportunities of the future not the achievements of the past which should command our attention. It is for that very reason that we accord special honour to Jean Monnet today, as indeed he has been honoured throughout Europe in recent months. For his inspiration remains entirely relevant to the common task before us; his voice does not echo in the dim and distant past but rather reverberates for



those who will hear it in the conference halls and meeting rooms of today; and the singular motivation of his richly varied life — *unir les hommes, régler les problèmes qui les divisent, les amener à voir leur intérêt commun* — should be the watchword not just of our Community but of this generation of mankind.

I would like to commend for your reflection, therefore, the following thoughts on what Jean Monnet might have said to us, if he were present with us today in reality as he most surely is in spirit. He might, I venture to suggest, have made six points:

First he might say to us today, as he said to so many of his colleagues — whether in the High Authority of the Coal and Steel Community, or elsewhere in the many walks of his life — *D'abord faire un bilan d'ensemble*. For Jean Monnet the starting point in confronting any problem was the drawing up of a balance sheet, identifying the resources available and the problems to be overcome.

In reply we could I think lay before him a balance sheet with which he would, by and large, be satisfied. We can point to a Europe which has recently overcome a decade of relative stagnation and equipped itself better to attain its fundamental objectives. The Treaties have been amended to improve the Community's decision-making process, to accord a greater role to the directly-elected European Parliament and to strengthen the Community's commitment to economic and social cohesion. The Delors Package has guaranteed the Community adequate and stable resources to meet its commitments and to develop its policies over the years ahead. The question is no longer *whether* to remove the remaining barriers to trade within the Community but rather *how best* and *how quickly* this can be achieved. The very utterance of the year '1992' carries an unprecedented resonance not just in Europe but throughout the industrialized world.

The Community has been strengthened by its successive enlargements; and other democracies in Europe

have found themselves obliged to think seriously about the possibility of accession. The stature of the Community in the wider world — in Washington and Tokyo, in Lomé and San José, in Jakarta and Moscow — grows by the year. We are better equipped as interlocutors for those who wish to consult with us, as partners for those who wish to cooperate with us and as competitors for those who wish to compete with us.

Of course the balance sheet of Europe also has its less positive aspects. Progress towards closer integration has not been as rapid as most of us would have wished. The Community has not yet come close to realizing its full potential as a market of 320 million people. The Community's commitment to cohesion and the real transfer of resources to its less prosperous regions have not yet achieved the fundamental objective of cohesion, namely the reduction of the disparities between the various regions. The high level of unemployment in the Community represents a fundamental challenge for the years ahead. To the extent that we are unable to provide employment for our young people, to that extent we fail to live up to the notion of 'Community' whether at the national or European level.

But I do not believe that Jean Monnet would judge us too harshly today. An outstanding perfectionist when it came to setting his own objectives and to making his own personal contribution to their attainment, he was an inveterate pragmatist when it came to approving the necessarily gradual, piecemeal and sometimes even halting progress along the path which he had mapped out. He accepted, as he said himself, *que l'on ne pouvait progresser sans un certain désordre*.

The drawing up of a balance sheet for Jean Monnet was not, of course, an end in itself. It was rather the necessary impetus to consider further action. His *second* message for us today might therefore consist of his advice on the spirit in which the Community should tackle its problems and chart out its future.



At the age of 18, Jean Monnet went on family business to Canada. At Winnipeg station he witnessed the arrival of trainloads of immigrants who had come to settle and work and make a future for themselves and their families on those vast and as yet uncultivated lands. *Pour la première fois, wrote Monnet, je rencontrai un peuple dont l'occupation n'était pas de gérer ce qui existait, mais de le développer sans trêve. On ne pensait pas aux limites, on ne savait pas où était la frontière.*

Monnet might advise us today to share the spirit of those immigrants. On the one hand we should not be content with the status quo, merely to rest on our laurels and to manage and administer the Community as it is today. We should have the enterprise and imagination to venture forth resolutely further along the rewarding path of closer European integration. On the other hand, we should not seek to define in advance the precise nature of our destination or the precise limit of our journey; not because we wish to travel blind but rather because we in the European Community have entered territory as yet unexplored in the history of relations between free and democratic nations. The frontier of its very nature is beyond our ken. What is needed is not a precise definition of the form which European Union will take. Indeed like those immigrants at Winnipeg we cannot know exactly where our journey will lead us. What is needed rather is their spirit of confidence, enterprise and prudent adventure as we travel in the direction which we have set ourselves of European unity.

Thirdly Jean Monnet would have given us much practical advice. Indeed his strength lay largely in his ability to combine unshakeable idealism with unwavering pragmatism. His vision had both a broad sweep and a sharp focus. His practical advice to us today might well have focused on how the Community ought to function in the years ahead. He would in this counsel us rightly against a narrow interpretation of national interest. The inspiration of the Community is that we have all committed ourselves to a

common task, to a common process and ultimately to a common goal. The nature of the Community is that together we can be greater than the mere sum total of the constituent parts. The very success of the Community is that we are stronger and more prosperous together than we could ever hope to be apart.

It is for that reason that Monnet would undoubtedly emphasize the central role of the Community institutions. It is those institutions which make the Community such a brave experiment as we face the new world tomorrow.

Where else in the world is there a democratic body like the European Parliament, elected directly by the people of 12 free and independent countries, playing an increasingly important role in the shaping of a common destiny?

Where else is there a decision-making body like the Council of Ministers taking decisions across such a wide range of matters, often by majority vote, which are in the interests of an entire community of nations?

Where else is there an executive body like the Commission empowered to implement those decisions and entitled, as guardian of common treaties, to make proposals for the future? As Jean Monnet would remind us, *Rien n'est possible sans les hommes, rien n'est durable sans les institutions.*

Jean Monnet would, of course, emphasize that the purpose of our common institutions and common efforts is not to impoverish the richness of our different cultures nor to forget the uniqueness of our different histories. Our aim is not to reduce our highest aspirations nor to settle for some lowest common denominator. It is not to abandon our different identities but rather to enable them to grow together. Our aim is not to transform the Irish, or the Danes or the Italians into Europeans separate from their national roots. That aim would not only be foolish, it would be impossible. Our aim is rather to draw strength and create opportunities from the realization that, with our many differences, we are all Europeans.



It is in that context that Jean Monnet would today attach great importance to European initiatives in the area of culture. He once remarked — *L'Europe sera culturelle ou ne sera pas*. For Monnet, if Europe was to work, it must entail not just a free movement of commodities and capital, but more importantly of human beings with their values, memories, images and ideas. He would have recognized that the challenge of 1992 is not merely the lifting of tax and tariff frontiers but the lifting of the frontiers of the mind, frontiers which have so often tragically divided the various communities of Europe from one another. Such a transcending of divisive barriers is, above all, a task of culture. Monnet would, moreover, recognize the importance of education for the future development of European culture and he would, therefore, welcome the many projects which have been launched by the European Parliament and Commission in recent years to promote educational cooperation between the Member States. In particular, Monnet would recognize the importance of youth. For Europe's young people are both our greatest responsibility of today and our hope for a better tomorrow. Freedom for young people to travel throughout this Community, opportunity to learn from each other, to study where they wish, encouragement to learn each other's languages, confidence that their qualifications will be recognized wherever they are presented, freedom to seek experience or work without hindrance wherever they are available — these are the bricks and mortar of European construction. This University Institute is an important symbol in that construction for there is no greater dimension to culture than the formation of the intellect — the passing of knowledge and wisdom from one generation to the next.

Fourthly Jean Monnet, who always saw the Community as much more than a free trade area, would, I think, emphasize the importance of the social dimension in the Community and welcome the fact that in this area also, to borrow a recent phrase of President Delors, 'Europe is again on the move'.

As the first member of the European Commission from Ireland I was responsible for Social Affairs at a time when social policy in the Community was given its first real impetus. The Paris Summit in 1972 could be said to have laid the foundation for the establishment of a comprehensive Community social policy. The Heads of State and Government in Paris emphasized the importance of vigorous action in the social field and requested that a programme of action providing for concrete measures be drawn up.

The Social Action Programme, which was formulated in response to that request, was intended to form the basis of a Community social policy which would in turn form part of a social charter for the Community. A great deal of social progress was achieved under the Programme which was of direct and immediate benefit to people throughout Europe. Advances were made, for example, in relation to migrant workers and the disabled. Improvements were made in respect of safety and health protection at work. Equal pay, established as a principle, became a reality for many.

But towards the end of the 1970s growth gave way to stagnation, and optimism to doubt. Fundamental changes, particularly in the economic context, became apparent. The economies of the Member States were characterized not only by slow economic growth, but also by rising unemployment. In these circumstances, social policy came to be regarded by many as either an obstacle to necessary change, or as the cause of unwelcome change; in short, something which aggravated the economic crisis.

But social policy, which figured prominently on the agenda of the Hanover European Council in June, has recently been given a new impetus and a new energy as part of the Community's commitment to the creation of the internal market by 1992. The European Council, in stressing the importance of the social aspects of progress as we approach 1992, recognized that one of the essential pre-conditions for the successful completion of the internal market is the social dimension. Our Heads of Government recognized, as



Monnet would surely have urged them to do, that the internal market must be conceived in such a manner as to benefit all the people of Europe. They emphasized that existing levels of social protection could not be diminished. They called for the provision of better safety and health for workers, improved access to vocational training, and the stepping up of the social dialogue between management and labour. In effect, social policy is once again where it ought to be, high on the agenda of Community priorities. The Community is now systematically promoting the development of social policy in a planned and programmed way. We are, in effect, witnessing the birth of a new Social Action Programme.

There is a common recognition now throughout Europe that economic and social progress are inseparably linked. There is a common aspiration that a stronger Community should result in an increase in economic and social cohesion for the benefit of all its citizens. There is a common acceptance that the creation of the unified European market must go hand in hand with the creation of a coherent European social area.

Jean Monnet would have been the first to agree with Jacques Delors when he said that 'it would be unacceptable for Europe to become a source of social regression, while we are trying to re-discover together the road to prosperity and employment'.

Jean Monnet in addressing us today, would not, of course, have focused solely on developments and opportunities within the Community itself. He had a vast knowledge of the wider world, as far afield as China and North America and Eastern Europe. His *fifth* exhortation to us might therefore be that the Community should remain open and constructive in its dealings with the rest of the world.

Other countries and regions look increasingly to Europe for partnership. The countries of Central America and Asean not only seek closer relations with the Community but are increasingly turning to our experience in Europe as a guide for organizing

relations amongst themselves. The countries of Eastern Europe are also seeking closer relations and this year for the first time recognized the Community. Most African and Caribbean countries have joined with Europe in an original and mutually beneficial pattern of cooperation and development through successive Lomé Conventions. Europe's influence is recognized and courted in the Middle East. The question now is not *whether* Europe has a world role but *how* we exercise it.

In Europe we all have histories in which we can find some cause for pride. But in determining Europe's role in the world of the future we should draw lessons as well as inspiration from the past; for there are many lessons there to be learned. History, even the recent history of our own 12 countries, is littered with national rivalries and strife. Right across our continent old battlefields remind us only of broken dreams, of broken promises and most tragically of broken families. The European Community is a shining example of how the worst mistakes of the past can be left behind without losing what was good.

Jean Monnet, who was not only a citizen of Europe but a citizen of the World, would undoubtedly have urged us today that Europe should rededicate itself to the spirit of the Paris Treaty; 'to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of ... essential interests; to create ... the basis for a broader and deeper community among people long divided by bloody conflicts'. He would urge us that that spirit must be given expression not only, as it has been, in the construction of our own Community but, also, as it urgently must be, in the construction of a more just and peaceful world. We Europeans, while protecting and promoting the essential interests of our people, seek no domination other than through the recognition of our values. We seek no expansion but the expansion of our ideas; and we seek no victory but the victory of all.

Finally, I believe that Jean Monnet would have one message for Europeans today on which he would place particular emphasis. He would address this



message neither to Governments nor Parliaments, neither to politicians nor officials. He would not address the message to Brussels or Luxembourg, to Strasbourg nor, I strongly suspect, to those of us who are gathered together today in Florence to honour him. Mr Monnet would address himself directly to the young workers in Jutland, to the school-leavers in Birmingham, to the university graduate in Lisbon, to the small farmer in Thessalonika and to the young entrepreneur in Dublin. And his message would be this:

Today, more than ever before, the European Community belongs to you.

The responsibility for its future rests on your shoulders.

The opportunities of the future rest with you.

The European Community is now on a stable footing. The institutional mechanisms have been improved. New resources have been made available. The targets have been set. Monnet would point out that Europe is not a bureaucratic construction in Brussels nor a political experiment in Strasbourg and Luxembourg. It is a common enterprise in which we all share and the ultimate success of which depends on our business people and farmers, our fishermen and teachers, our workers and our artists. '1992' is not a code word for the few who are initiated in the mysteries of Community vocabulary; it is an opportunity which beckons all the people of our Community.

And I have little doubt where Jean Monnet would be found if he were still active today. He would not be a bureaucrat or a Eurocrat or a public man or a political philosopher although he would fulfil all those important roles with great distinction. Monnet used to quote an American friend who said that 'there are two kinds of people — those who want to be someone and those who want to do something'. Monnet always saw himself in the latter category. He was a man of action. He appeared to drift with the tide of history, not because he was powerless to influence it, but

precisely because he wanted to be — as he often was — at the eye of the storm, at the watershed of destiny, in short, where the action was. The action is now in the market place of Europe and the question he would put to all our people is whether they are ready to face its challenge.

Where then would Jean Monnet be? He would today, I have no doubt, be in the town of Cognac ensuring that his family business was ready to seize to the full the new opportunities which lie ahead as we approach 1992.

It is well known that many of my countrymen over the centuries have made their home on the continent of Europe. They are perhaps best remembered for their learning and their faith. Our national links with the continent are therefore most often associated with places of learning from Rome to Louvain, from Paris to Salamanca.

But in rereading the *Mémoires* of Jean Monnet I was reminded that one of the leading rival brands of cognac to that produced by the Monnet family bore an Irish name, Hennessy. This testifies to the fact that those who have left our shores over the centuries to seek their fortunes on the Continent often had a healthy sense of enterprise. I am encouraged by this to have confidence that my countrymen will continue not just to feel at home in great institutions of learning such as this University Institute in Florence but will seize to the full — as I hope all Europeans will — the economic opportunities offered by the Community in the years ahead.

