

# EUROPEAN UNION: ONE CHARACTER IN SEARCH OF AN AUTHOR



by Mr Giulio Andreotti

Florence, 23 November 1985

EUROPEAN  
UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE

EIGHTH  
JEAN MONNET  
LECTURE





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**Introduction by  
Mr Werner Maihofer, Principal of the  
European University Institute:  
'All for the best - all for the best'**

*Your Excellency,  
Dear colleagues and friends,  
Ladies and gentlemen,*

I would like to thank you all for accepting our invitation to the eighth Jean Monnet lecture.

I would like to welcome you all — the people of Florence and Fiesole, representatives of the worlds of politics, defence and religion, and members of the academic community of the European University Institute.

This annual lecture in honour of Jean Monnet is, in addition, a tribute to all those who, over the last forty years, have dedicated their lives, as Jean Monnet did, to achieving a united Europe. We are very happy to welcome today a member of that distinguished band which has served Europe and won its gratitude, Mr Giulio Andreotti, Italy's Foreign Minister. There is no need for me to review Mr Andreotti's political career; as you all know, he has played a prominent part in Italian and international politics, many times as a minister and twice as Prime Minister, since he began his career as Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office in 1947.

It is with great joy that we welcome him today into the groves of academe, not forgetting that he already holds honorary degrees from the University of

the Sorbonne, the Loyola University of Chicago, the Copernican University of Toruń in Poland and the University of South Bend, Indiana, in the United States.

I won't be revealing any secrets, Mr Andreotti, when I say that the tribute dearest to your heart is the Premio Bancarella, the prize awarded you this year by Italian booksellers following publication of the latest volume of your 'Visti da vicino'.

I am sure that, following the great battle for a European Union now in progress in Luxembourg and the reopening of a dialogue between the United States, the Soviet Union and Europe, which began in Geneva with the Reagan-Gorbachev summit and continued in Brussels with the meeting with the European countries, we will soon see a fourth volume of 'Visti da vicino' containing not abstract speculations on foreign policy but a concrete personal analysis of political life today.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about your contribution, throughout your career, to a united Europe. The part you played as President of the Community's Council of Ministers during the accession negotiations with Spain and Portugal will never be forgotten. At this crucial stage it would have been entirely in Italy's interests to block or at least delay enlargement of the Community. But, under your leadership, Italy demonstrated exemplary European spirit, offering a model which others would do well to emulate in the context of work on completion of the internal market, transforming the monetary system and so forth.

It is largely thanks to you, Mr Andreotti, that Italy is now one of the front-runners in the Community. Your work and the approaches of your colleagues to other European governments stand alongside the efforts of Mr Spinelli and his colleagues in the European Parliament.

If destiny, perhaps in Florence we should say 'la fortuna', continues to smile on you, there is every chance that you will be singled out in the crowd of





indecisive and excessively cautious politicians whose vision is blinkered by national standpoints and prejudices and achieve fame as one of the main architects of this united Europe whose birth, or rather rebirth, we are witnessing.

It is entirely in keeping with this European spirit that you should have done all in your power to create and foster this, the first European university, which is proud to welcome and honour you today with grateful thanks.

The title you have chosen for your speech, Mr Andreotti, typifies and exemplifies the situation of present-day Europe. If we read the newspapers and keep in touch with what is going on at meetings of Foreign Ministers in Brussels and Luxembourg, we may well be tempted to lose hope and become convinced that the dream of European Union will never be realized. But let me recall the last sentence of the speech made by Mr Spinelli on the same occasion two years ago when he quoted St Paul: 'I have fought the good fight to the end; I have run the race to the finish'.

For us this sentence has exemplary significance when uttered by a great European who certainly cannot be accused of seeking to impose Catholic domination: the message is that we should not give in to despair. We know that there are politicians like him, like you, who live and breathe European unity. Politicians who say what they mean and do what they say!

Your presence here bears testimony to that commitment and gives us grounds for hope. You have chosen a Pirandellian allusion which reminds us of doubt — the starting point of any search for truth. Before I invite you to speak, may I make another, to the title of another famous work by Pirandello which reflects precisely the hope you give us, encouraging us to go on hoping when everything appears to deny that hope:

'All for the best — all for the best'.





**Eighth Jean Monnet Lecture  
23 November 1985  
delivered by Mr Giulio Andreotti,  
Foreign Minister,  
entitled 'European Union:  
One character in search of an author'**

*High Councillors and Members of the  
European University Institute,*

*Honourable parliamentary colleagues,  
Ambassadors,*

*Regional and local representatives,  
Ladies and gentlemen,*

May I begin by saying how pleased I am to be here with you this evening at the annual gathering to pay tribute to that great European, Jean Monnet.

I would like to extend a special word of welcome to Professor Max Kohnstamm, one of Jean Monnet's collaborators and friends and the first Principal of this Institute, of which Italy is proud and happy to be the seat.

I would also like to express my thanks to the present Principal, Dr Maihofer, for the work he has accomplished, congratulate him on the Institute's tenth anniversary, which falls next year, and assure him of my personal support, and that of the government, both now and in the future.

We are in the process of building a political Europe, albeit laboriously; but a European cultural identity

has existed for centuries, not only in literature and in philosophy, but in the consciousness of its peoples. It simply needs to be brought to the surface.

Culture, real culture, involves the mastery of instruments before the mastery of ideas. It is propagated through the training of cultural workers and the development of all those structures which offer the means of cultural growth to all comers.

Hence the Italian Government, desirous of encouraging the growth of this unique European University Institute, is happy to place the Villa Schifanoia at its disposal so that it can expand its activities, notably with an eye to the imminent accession of Spain and Portugal to the Community.

I have chosen a deliberately provocative title, for reasons which I will make clear.

I believe that the main task facing all of us, at the present stage of European integration, is to breathe life into the idea of union which has been waiting in the wings for a long time and asks to be interpreted on its own terms, not in the way that we might prefer.

The task calls for considerable commitment and is complicated by the fact that the same character has to be interpreted by no fewer than 12 actors. It is quite understandable, therefore, that there should be differences of emphasis and modulation, differences reflecting specific national realities which it would be naive to ignore.

It would be less understandable, however, if excessive indulgence towards these realities were to prevail over the prospect of a Europe in which its peoples, without loss of identity, can discover what unites them.

In his essay on the American constitution and moves towards European Union, Altiero Spinelli, whose faith in federalism is beyond doubt, refers to the view of the English economist Josiah Tucker who, writing about the North American experiment in 1786, argued that:



'As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, ... it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance'.

A rash judgment to say the least, to be proved wrong by history. The American States, which Tucker condemned to be 'disunited ... till the end of time', have in fact given an admirable performance in the roles assigned them by history. They provide a model for the countries of Europe; but the fact remains that until 1787, the year in which Washington proclaimed the Constitution, Congress, which included the 13 former British colonies, continued to take decisions by unanimous vote.

I do not wish to get involved in assessing what could be achieved by a federalist approach, or the approach which Spinelli calls 'functionalist', that is by setting up supranational authorities as required. European integration as it has developed since the signing of the Treaty of Rome allows for a synthesis, possibly still imperfect but none the less adequate, of the two approaches: which means that it is possible, now that Parliament has expressed its views on the draft Treaty on the European Union and the Dooce Committee has reported, to implement the decisions taken by the Milan European Council and see the construction of the European Union in terms of concrete proposals.

As I have said, the character to be played has been standing in the wings for some time. It makes its first appearance in the preamble to the Treaty of Rome, which speaks of the determination of the Community's six founder members to 'lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe'.

We are all familiar — some of us from personal experience — with the arena of suffering and misery which gave rise to that commitment. We need only pass the years since the end of the Second World War in review to see the benefits which integration has brought to Europe. And I am not thinking purely in terms of material benefits, benefits which can be

measured in terms of economic prosperity and social stability, important though these may be, and have in fact been.

I do not know (because hypotheses have no place in history) whether, even if it had not experienced this urge to integration which galvanized the governments and peoples of Europe, our part of the continent would have overcome the traditional rivalries, often leading to outright conflicts, which have been the hallmark of recent times. What I do know is that integration and conflict are absolutely incompatible and that Europe by opting for the one has brought about the irreversible decline of the other.

Nor do I know whether the individual nations of Europe would have succeeded in so short a time in winning for themselves the worldwide prestige which the Community now enjoys, whether they would have created the expectations which so many non-member countries now have of the Community.

We must not — if I may digress a little — forget the role that Italy played in the post-war years in building the Europe we know today. Alcide de Gasperi must be given the credit for leading our country into the European adventure, for having understood that the resolution of age-old Franco-German antagonisms through the pooling of coal and steel resources offered a historic, indeed unique, opportunity for widening the scope of integration from two countries to an entire continent.

This is precisely why, as the heirs of de Gasperi, our responsibility to history is so great. We must not permit others to distort the original concept of Europe as our common heritage and our choice of civilization.

There is no *parti pris* in this claim. European civilization is not the only civilization in the world. It is, however, one basic and undeniable type of civilization, one nourished over the centuries by the spiritual and cultural contributions of the other great civilizations, with which it has always fostered and sought out contact.



A choice of civilization is, by definition, irreversible; it is a choice which involves, first of all, a way of living and thinking, a choice, therefore, which, irrespective of the form it takes, involves a whole way of being. It follows that we cannot expect to meet needs which require a contribution from everyone by recourse to more or less airy-fairy projects for a 'variable geometry' Europe.

I would like to make another point here, arising from a recent incident. Last week, the second Conference between the Community and the Central American countries took place in Luxembourg. This meeting had been planned for some time; we had not been able to hold it while Italy was in the chair at the Council because we were preoccupied by the third enlargement, a matter to which Italy attached particular importance.

We were encouraged to organize this meeting by the warm reaction of our Central American partners to last year's meeting at San José in Costa Rica.

What struck me with particular force last week in Luxembourg was the extent to which the prospect of the meeting with the Community had led the Central American countries to reach a common position.

It is hardly surprising that such a strife-torn region finds it difficult to overcome its tensions, which result primarily from imbalances in the economic and internal social situations, which have undoubtedly been aggravated by recent international events. It was no surprise that substantial divergences remained on certain issues on the eve of the Luxembourg meeting.

It is true that there were no miracles in Luxembourg. But the Central American countries and the Contadora Group did succeed in reaching a basic understanding which led to the signature of the Cooperation Agreement and the Final Act. These are important texts, not least because they institutionalize political consultations at ministerial level with the Community.

Non-member countries see their relations with the Community as a source of strength on the home front. I wonder to what extent this stems from the fact that they are dealing with a partner which they perceive as speaking with authority and capable of making a contribution, if it so wishes, to reducing tension in various parts of the world.

A short time ago I gave an example — I could have given others — of what is commonly, but rightly, termed the 'demand for Europe'. We sometimes underestimate the extent of this demand, but it exists and we must respond. Combined with the demand emanating from our own peoples, it is a standing invitation to advance with courage and conviction along the path we have chosen.

There is nothing more sterile than the attitude of those who, resting happily on past successes, ignore and refuse to accept essential change, regarding it as unnecessary, if not downright harmful. They forget that rigid adherence to a given position rarely preserves or strengthens it: it leads rather to backsliding from which it is difficult to recover.

As far as Europe is concerned, change points in one direction only: full political and economic integration.

The Community is not a self-contained, isolated structure, cut off from the world around; on the contrary, it is part and parcel of that world.

It is not hard to see that outside pressures argue in favour of greater unity — nor is it difficult to draw appropriate conclusions from this finding. It takes concrete form too. Just think of how Europe, in close collaboration with our American ally, contributed to preparations for the Geneva Summit by providing assessments and proposals designed to encourage dialogue and confidence-building measures between the two Great Powers, but also to demonstrate the need for account to be taken of more specifically European interests.

It is true that Europe's influence is not inconsiderable, thanks in particular to its economic strength;





but its influence would be greater if Europe could speak with one voice by consolidating the political cooperation mechanism in the context of the European Union.

This mechanism should be set free from the original intergovernmental arrangement, which provides no guarantee that Member States will act in concert. It should also be extended to the political and economic aspects of security.

With a European Council in the offing some plain speaking is called for. There is no point in discussing and perhaps approving a treaty codifying the political cooperation mechanism in some way, and ascribing the pompous title of the Treaty on the Union to it, if we are going to shirk the basic issue of the future of the Community in its widest sense. If we did so, we would run the risk of giving more impetus to intergovernmental cooperation than to integration. In any event, the Italian Government, backed by Parliament, is not prepared to accept in Luxembourg the minimalist approach, decisively rejected in Milan.

The scale of the problems which face society today — and will face it to an even greater extent tomorrow — calls for a commitment in terms of human and material resources that the individual countries of Europe would find it difficult to give.

The situation with regard to research and technological development is a typical example of this.

The difference between research spending by the United States and Japan, on the one hand, and the combined countries of Europe, on the other, is staggering. The United States and Japan account for two thirds of total research in the Western world. Only three European countries (Germany, the United Kingdom and France) spend enough to be classified as 'big spenders' as defined by the OECD.

Big American companies such as General Motors, Ford and IBM spend far more on research than does a medium-sized European country. I will not name

names to avoid the risk of making my own list of medium-sized European countries, but the OECD figures are available to everybody.

Admittedly the effectiveness of research policy cannot be judged by expenditure alone. Much depends on the quality of research workers — Europe is well endowed here — and on organization, which can always be improved.

But one thing is certain: the expansion of knowledge and technological development is largely determined by the volume of resources deployed. It would be pointless to embark on technological research in certain areas unless resources are above a certain threshold. This is particularly true of public expenditure, which must be directed to a wide variety of objectives. Private firms, by contrast, can concentrate available resources on specific, closely defined projects.

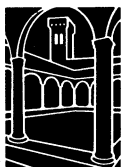
We should not be surprised, therefore, at the scientific world stressing — as it has for some time — the importance of a coordinated policy and closer European collaboration on technology.

I would like to be absolutely clear on this point: there are still enormous differences within Europe. The United Kingdom, France and Germany alone account for 80% of all research carried out in the Community.

I believe that we must do everything possible to avoid the serious risk of some countries collaborating among themselves to the exclusion of others.

I am not saying this because I am afraid that Italy might be excluded. Our scientific traditions, the solidity of our structures and the quality of our research workers and technologists are such as to make us feel safe from discrimination. In any case, here as elsewhere, our loyalty to the Community method is beyond question.

I am saying it rather because I am convinced that only collaboration between a large number of countries — even if some make no more than a small



specific contribution — can contribute to the cohesion of the Community and a qualitative leap which will have widespread beneficial effects on employment and on the European economy as a whole.

It is in this light that we regarded and still regard the Eureka programme as a preliminary, not an alternative, to the European Technology Community.

Common policies, including a common policy on research, which is, as I have said, of the utmost importance, cannot develop unless we can create an appropriate framework.

There are a number of aspects to this, the most important being completion of the internal market, economic convergence, strengthening of the European Monetary System and institutional reform.

In the short time available — I have no wish to try your patience to the limit — I cannot illustrate and comment on all the topics being discussed by the Intergovernmental Conference in preparation for the Luxembourg meeting of Heads of State or Government. I would just like to concentrate on a few, which strike me as the most important.

We all know that, leaving the flexibility or rigidity of the instruments aside, creation of a truly integrated market will not be easy.

There are considerable physical and technical obstacles, as well as problems of taxation. And then there is the failure to achieve economic convergence.

We cannot achieve economic union by using the process defined by the Treaty of Rome for the creation of a customs union. This involved a transitional period comprising a number of stages for the gradual reduction of internal duties, paralleled by the erection of a common external tariff. In other words, progress towards the customs union could be measured in precise numerical terms: the level of existing duties in each Member State.

But there must be some way of defining principles for the gradual achievement of economic union! Let

me try to illustrate a few. While it may appear logical that there should be 'upwards' harmonization of legislation, that is to say, on the level of the most advanced, we must also safeguard the principle of free movement and avoid laying down conditions which would force the economies of the weaker countries out of the market.

Even if we stop short of this extreme position — which cannot be regarded as a merely academic hypothesis — I feel that it is essential to ensure that steps towards completion of the internal market are accompanied by a gradual reduction of existing regional imbalances within the Community. This implies a social leap forward, which will be achieved in the main through more coherent action by the special funds to assist less-favoured areas.

Another important aspect of integration, as I hinted earlier, is monetary policy.

I should like to digress a little here, if you will bear with me.

The present international monetary situation, which has risen from the ashes of Bretton Woods, has serious shortcomings. Distortions in the values of certain currencies which, far from reflecting the real situation described by economic indicators, are becoming more and more out of tune with reality, feed dangerous protectionist tendencies and make it harder to allocate resources efficiently.

The further extension and strengthening of a homogeneous area, such as the Community would be if grouped around an ECU regarded as a real currency rather than a unit of account, would certainly provide greater stability. This would benefit not just the Community but the whole international monetary system.

Europe would be an important component of any new international system, particularly if the European Monetary System were to make further progress. Europe must play its part.



We need to be very careful here. There can be no question of free movement of capital unless we can create the conditions for more stable exchange rates. Nor can free movement of goods and services be regarded as permanently secured as long as each Member State is allowed to manage its economic and financial policy without reference to the integrated market.

This, then, is one of many areas in which the politicians have the right and the duty to take courageous and far-sighted solutions, as Germany's leaders did in 1978 when they gave the green light to the EMS despite the Bundesbank's misgivings.

Finally, I should like to say a few words about institutional problems, and in particular increased powers for the European Parliament, whose members have been elected by direct universal suffrage for the last six years.

There is no need for me to dwell on the importance and significance of this development. Let me simply say that no-one can or should be surprised that direct elections to the European Parliament led to an intensification of the debate on the balance between the Community institutions and ways of achieving the European Union.

Whether we realize it or not, direct elections introduced an element of disequilibrium into relations between the institutions. Like it or not, it is a fact to be reckoned with.

I must confess in this connection that it is not always easy to understand some of the arguments against increasing Parliament's powers and, in particular, giving it a greater say in decision-making.

I find them difficult to understand on what I may term the functional level, since it is quite clear to me that there is no question of increased powers for the European Parliament eroding the powers of national parliaments. It is, rather, a matter of securing a more balanced division of the responsibilities now allocated to the Community institutions by the Treaties.

I sometimes have difficulty in getting this point across to some of my counterparts in the Community.

Parliament's role is not merely procedural — contrary to the views of some of those who fear that greater involvement in law-making would slow down and complicate the process rather than streamline it. I see the problem differently.

The European Parliament is the only Community institution which derives its legitimacy from the fact that its members are directly elected at Community, not national, level. It is through Parliament alone that the people of the Community can experience any feeling of involvement. In this sense, Parliament is the real psychological basis, the real driving force behind integration, not in terms of structures but of the peoples of Europe.

In this connection, it is curious that in many multilateral meetings, particularly meetings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, delegates from Western Europe quite rightly draw attention to the unrepresentative nature of some Eastern - Bloc institutions. This is a hallowed tradition. But it is then unacceptable to turn a blind eye to the fact that the European Parliament, elected by direct universal suffrage, is being restricted to a merely consultative role. It is even more unacceptable to pretend that the problem does not exist or to refuse to discuss the matter. Representativeness may be purely formal in the case of a constitutional monarchy, but it must have some substance in the case of a directly-elected Assembly.

As with majority voting in the Council, by defending Parliament's role, we are defending a principle, not an instrument.

At the Milan European Council, we succeeded, backed by the efforts of those, particularly the European Parliament, who had previously sketched an outline for the European Union, in mapping out the path to be followed.



In Milan we were well aware — we meaning not only the majority which supported the convening of an Intergovernmental Conference to consider reforms but also the minority who attended the Conference with an open mind, untainted by preconceptions — that to talk of a treaty on European political cooperation meant tackling the systematic formulation and implementation of a common foreign policy, including the security aspects.

We knew that to talk of completing the internal market and developing new policies meant securing improved decision-making in the Council, returning to the principle of majority voting and extending this principle to new fields. We knew that integration meant restoring the Commission's right of initiative and giving it genuine executive powers. And we knew that the free movement of people, goods, services and capital — the 'four freedoms' — could not be envisaged without a specific commitment in the monetary field and increased cohesion among the regions of the Community.

Lastly, we knew that the crux of the exercise was increased powers and an equal say in decision-making for the European Parliament.

This then was the package of measures on which the Intergovernmental Conference worked.

My overall impression is that, in preparing for the European Council, the attitude of many Member States was influenced by fear of a void, or should I say fear of innovation, rather than the enthusiasm which might reasonably have been expected of countries engaged in a historic task.

I hope that the meetings scheduled for the next few days, the last of which will be held immediately before the European Council, will give some vitality to proceedings which have been rather moribund so far.

These meetings have been described as 'a conclave'. But real conclaves, those meetings to elect a pope, usually last rather longer, despite the help of the Holy Spirit.

Be that as it may, they are important and, I hope, decisive meetings. Because — and it would be as well to bear this in mind — decisions on genuine reforms must be taken in Luxembourg. These are the reforms which were heralded in Milan, reforms which, taken as a whole, will help us to create the European Union.

I can understand hesitation in the face of a new situation: it is a very human reaction. Even a man of action like Julius Caesar must have hesitated for a moment on the banks of the Rubicon. No one approaches the supreme test lightly. The drafting of the Treaty of Rome was an exercise in prudence and patience. Some words, such as 'supranational' and 'High Authority', were consciously discarded and it was only at the last minute, when it was giving a final polish to the text, that the drafting committee opted for the word 'Community'.

I can see history repeating itself when, now as then, terminology becomes all important and we shrink from replacing 'Community' by 'Union'.

But we know from experience that courage often prevails over prudence and that prudence is not always synonymous with farsightedness.

I am not ruling out the phased implementation of general principles over a predetermined period. But this, of course, presupposes that the European Council in Luxembourg, in accepting principles, fixing objectives and adopting the measures required to achieve Union, leaves no room for ambiguity and that the starting point is at least the minimum level below which the exercise would lose all credibility and substance, not to speak of utility.

We believe that this minimum level can be guaranteed only if we are in a position in Luxembourg to give concrete undertakings on the adoption of the institutional measures (the most important being increased use of majority voting and more powers for the Commission) which are vital for the completion, by 1992, of the internal market whose scope has still to be defined; to fix a precise timetable for Parlia-





ment's involvement in legislation, with a firm commitment to the ultimate objective of full powers of co-decision; to give greater prominence to cohesion among the regions of the Community so that the solution of economic problems acquires a social dimension; to include a reference in the Treaty of Rome to the need to strengthen the European Monetary System; and to institutionalize political cooperation.

We also believe that Parliament must be consulted at the appropriate time on all aspects of the package after its adoption by the Intergovernmental Conference and approval by the European Council but before it takes the form of Treaty articles to be submitted to national parliaments for ratification.

Under no circumstances can we accept the Conference producing nothing more than formulae or institutional blueprints which may look promising but are in fact devoid of substance. Nor can we allow progress on one or more issues — I am thinking in particular of political cooperation — to mask failure in all the others.

In his 'Memoirs', Jean Monnet wrote: 'We should look for stages, not time-limits: we should keep on course, and not worry too much about deadlines. There is nothing talismanic about this or that month; about dates, I make no wagers. But I am certain that the passing seasons will lead us inevitably towards greater unity; and if we fail to organize it for ourselves, democratically, it will be thrust upon us by blind force'.

What is required is the unremitting and sustained commitment of all concerned to European integration.

Our achievements thus far have not been the result of spontaneous generation, like flowers in a spring field. They are the fruit of a clear political will, such as the one which led de Gasperi to urge us to 'read, to write, to argue without respite, to ensure that Europe is always the main subject of debate'.

I was very impressed by a recent opinion poll which showed that 76% of Europeans are in favour of a European Union.

Public opinion cannot be underestimated indefinitely. Neither, like latter-day descendants of Lampedusa's 'Leopard', can we continue changing things simply to keep them as they are. If the European Union cannot find actors capable of interpreting it, it can find in the peoples of Europe an author who, more clearly than ever before, is calling it into existence and asking us to explain our hesitations.





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