

**S p e e c h**

**by M. Jean MONNET**

**on receiving the Robert Schuman Prize**

**Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität**

**B O N N**

**December 6, 1966**

I

It is a great honour for me to receive the Robert Schuman Prize and I should like to express my thanks to the Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelm University, to the F. V. S. Foundation of Hamburg, and in particular to Mr. Alfred Toepfer.

It is also a great pleasure to receive it in Bonn. In Bonn, of which Robert Schuman was an honorary citizen, where he studied in his youth, and whose University he loved - in Bonn where I first visited Chancellor Adenauer, on May 28, 1950, to discuss with him how to carry out the French proposal and achieve its essential objective, which was human as well as political.

Germany was occupied. For France and for Germany, it was a difficult time and the future was uncertain. One imperative need stood out clearly : to overcome our difficulties, we had to unite , and we had to unite in equality with the other countries of Europe.

The initiative came from Paris : what made it possible to put into practice was the response it received from Bonn. Public opinion enthusiastically welcomed it.

In this way, five years after the war, Frenchmen and Germans took the path of reconciliation.

We have had the rare privilege of seeing a generous idea - which at that time was no more than an idea - take life and become the great European enterprise of our time.

The privilege is ours. We owe it to all those who for more than fifteen years have worked and are working to organise Europe - to those who were there at the beginning of this great enterprise, to Robert Schuman, to Chancellor Adenauer, and to many other Frenchmen, Germans, and Europeans, including those who are no longer with us - de Gasperi, von Brentano, Erich Ollenhauer, and the trade union leaders Freitag and Imig.

## II

To-day, we see the national markets merging into one great European Common Market.

But still more important - and that was the main objective of the Schuman Plan - we see the attitude of men gradually being transformed. We see their concern to develop their common heritage - Europe - still growing despite all the difficulties with which we are familiar.

To transform in this way the relations between peoples is the great problem of our time. To this transformation, the Schuman Plan made a vital contribution.

It laid the basis for the work of European unification that has given France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries a fundamentally new conception of their future and of the relationship between them.

This relationship, once based solely on national sovereignty and national interests, is beginning, in the economic field, to be

based on their common European interests. It is through common European institutions and by accepting the same rules for all that our countries now seek the solution of their economic problems.

For centuries, the working of institutions, and equality between men, have been fundamental to the transformation and the progress of human relationships.

Law, authority, justice are the necessary bases for life in any society.

While in foreign relations our countries have always been animated by a sense of superiority that has sometimes turned into the will <sup>to</sup> dominate, within their frontiers they no longer allow relations between citizens to be determined by force or domination : they have striven to organise equality.

They have ensured it by establishing rules which are common to all and democratic institutions which see that the rules are applied.

What our six European countries have begun to do is to apply the same principles to the economic relations between European countries.

It is the new institutions of the European Community that to-day are enabling France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries gradually to form a new economic entity that matches the scale of the modern world.

The British Government is showing once more its intention to join the Common Market. We can now hope to see a European

Community of 250 million people with the resources and the ability which would make it the world's second greatest economic power.

### III

We are pressed for time. Before our eyes, America is building a growing mass of resources and military power that is making it impossible to measure her on the same scale as the separate countries of Europe.

The cold war, which has greatly influenced the attitude of European countries, of America, and of the USSR, is beginning to come to an end.

East-West relations are in flux.

It is clear that this new situation makes it necessary and possible to seek agreements which have not been feasible until now.

At the same time, there is an ever-growing gulf between the unchanging forms of relationship between countries and the ceaseless scientific and technological progress in every field.

Man is preparing to go to the moon - to cross the Atlantic in three hours; computers are performing tasks that outstrip human capability; the arms race is multiplying and perfecting weapons of mass destruction, and it continues without respite. The world's population, which in 1950 was two-and-a-half thousand million people, is three-and-a-half thousand million to-day.

In face of these gigantic changes, illusions of superiority persist, and tendencies leading to an anachronistic rebirth of nationalism threaten to revive behaviour like that which has already led Europe to catastrophe.

All these changes and dangers which surround us make it all the more necessary to apply - extended and adapted to the new state of the world - those principles that our countries are following as they continue to organise united Europe.

To establish lasting peace, goodwill and the desire for peace are not enough. Men need common rules and institutions in order to banish from human relationships the temptation to take the law into their own hands or to divide and rule.

#### IV

We must continue the transformation of relations between states that has begun in Europe. But we have to recognise that for the moment we face immense difficulties which must be overcome if we are to advance.

The organisation of united Europe today remains confined to economic development : it stops short of the progress which is possible in political unification and which is nevertheless indispensable for the organisation of lasting peace. The problems which in Europe divide East from West - and in particular the inhuman division of the German people are still unsolved.

Uniting Europe, the United States, and the USSR, must come together in a common effort. It is they who at present possess

the greatest resources, while the United States and the USSR have the greatest means of destruction.

The problems which divide them are all common problems - whether it is the Vietnam tragedy or new crises which might arise - they can only be solved in common.

But one cannot do everything at once.

To begin with, if we Europeans do not unite and do not organise ourselves to speak with one voice, we shall drive the United States to decide alone in an attitude of superiority such as her resources make possible ; and it will be the worse for everyone.

We should drive America into isolation, and at the same time cause the USSR to seek safety by maintaining the division of the West.

In such circumstances, might we not one day see the United States and the USSR seek agreement for their security without waiting indefinitely for Europe to know where she wants to go and to say so ? It would be an illusion, but an illusion with dangerous consequences.

The future of relations with the East depends very largely on relations within the West.

For America and united Europe to achieve the collaboration they both need, they must accept the notion of equality between them.

Already, in the economic field, the European Economic Community has established a relationship of equals with the

United States as regards international trade.

But on other questions there is as yet no effective European partner. Separately, the countries of Europe are not big enough in face of the greatest power in the world.

Between the United States and Europe there can be no question of an integrated community.

The situation calls for the union of Europe including Great Britain and the establishment with America of appropriate institutional arrangements so that these two separate and powerful entities can effectively discuss the great political and military issues that face them. In particular, they must be able to seek, together with the USSR, an agreement for peaceful coexistence and for the reduction of armaments which is indispensable to peace.

With the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the way to a new relationship must be opened, beginning in the economic field. The European Economic Community must lay the basis of institutional cooperation between the Common Market, the countries of Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union.

## V

At the heart of Europe's future lies the question of the German future.

The coming together of East and West, which is indispensable will inevitably be limited so long as men who wish to live together are kept apart by force. It is essential to give



them as soon as possible their freedom of movement, and to remove the barriers that divide them. This is a fundamental human problem.

As for the West, it is our task to show beyond question that we do not intend to return to the past, to reawaken old fears, or to open new wounds.

The policy followed since 1950 is not a policy of power.

It does not seek to rebuild a European state system on the old model, with absolute sovereignty. It aims at creating a European Community which will be for its members and for the whole of the West and the East an unequalled guarantee of stability, security and peace.

Thus, by gradually changing the context of present disputes, conditions would be created for a constructive debate which would make it possible to reach a settlement of the problems that have divided East and West since the end of the last war, and in particular to reunite the Germans who are separated to-day.

## VI

All this requires prolonged effort.

But the history of European unification shows us that when men are convinced that a change is taking place and leading to a new situation, they act according to that situation even before it has fully come about.

No great change can be achieved without efforts and setbacks.

I would like in conclusion to tell you a story that I often quote and that for me well illustrates the attitude we should adopt in face of our present difficulties.

A certain statesman had come to the end of his life. His career had always been marked by great reverses before being crowned with success.

He was asked what was the secret of his achievements. He answered that as a young man he had met God in the desert ; and God had said to him : "All things are means to an end, even the obstacles. "