



PRESIDENCIA DO CONSELHO DE MINISTROS

*Gabinete do Primeiro Ministro*

**Speech delivered by the  
Prime Minister of Portugal, HE Mr. Antonio Guterres,  
at the opening ceremony of the 48th academic year of  
the College of Europe**

*Bruges 16 of October 1997*

Dear Students,

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I want to express, to you Mr. Rector, my deep gratitude for your so kind invitation to speak on the formal opening of the academic year 1997-1998. I am happy and honoured. to be here today.

Herr Rektor: das ist Europa

Addressing you at the historical **Halles** of Bruges is also to go back to my country's past. Portuguese merchants came to this city as early as the second half of the **XIII** century. In 1411 they received from John the Fearless a



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statute enacting a series of privileges and immunities. Our first Consuls to Bruges were recognised in 1438. Thus, I do not feel a newcomer speaking from this chair.

Having in mind the words of the Rector on the outstanding Patron of this promotion, allow me also to pay my respects to the memory of Professor Hendrik Brugmans.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Precisely 21 years ago another distinguished European spoke from this tribune.

I am referring to Mario Soares who, in March of 1977, then as Prime Minister, sent to the European Commission the official letter requesting Portugal's accession into the European Economic Community (EEC).

As a member of the group that negotiated my country's accession, I can testify that the Portuguese willingness to join the EEC was entirely politically motivated.

With the **end** of the colonial cycle, Portugal had to



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reassess its European identity creating the conditions to prevent the risk of dictatorship for generations to come.

It is worth recalling — and I do it with some pride — that some scholars considered that Portugal's 25th of April revolution opened the way for the spreading of democracy, not only in Eastern Europe, but also in Latin America and some parts of Africa.

Permit me also to remind that those born after the war — indeed the majority of today's European population — tend to neglect that Adenauer, de Gasperi, Paul-Henri Spaak, Robert Schuman and Jean Monet's strategy meant, above all, to solidify peace in Europe. It aimed to avoid a general armed conflict to occur again in the continent.

When we reflect on the past, the present and the perspectives of the European Union peace and stability should always be at the core of our thinking. Hand in hand with the social and economic progress, one should never forget the peace legacy.



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The absence of a large conflict has been for more than 50 years a new reality in this continent, which has been through the centuries cyclically devastated by war.

And we all know that without the action of the European Union, a crisis like the Bosnian one would certainly have spilled into a wider and unpredictable conflict.

The European construction has certainly outdone the economic goals, which ordered its foundation, and it played an important role on the collapse of Communism. The post-war division of Europe has come to an end.

**Now that the IGC has been completed, what are the tasks ahead? What should be the rational agenda ?  
What are the key issues ?**

Three main tasks lay ahead:

- We must ensure Europe's collective security in a changing world.
- We must solve on a balanced way the equation competitiveness-employment-social protection. And, let



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us recognise, this goal has not yet been fully achieved by any society.

- We must answer our citizens concerns mainly regarding employment and their personal security, against crime, drug trafficking and other forms of daily violence.

But the Europeans are ever more responsive to human rights. They also crave to participate more in the political process. They want the institutional decisions to be taken on a more transparent way.

The only workable answer to all those tasks and aspirations is to deepen the Political Union and to strengthen the Economic Union.

Allow me to start with the questions related to **Collective Security:**

**Our** objective is to create a security ring **from the Strait of Bering to the Strait of Bering**. Europe must be at the core of this construction.

I would like to recall that the launching last May in Sintra of



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the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council was a step on the right direction. It took onboard both the positive experience of the North Atlantic Co-operation Council and the Partnership for Peace

At the core of this security ring is the triangular relationship among an enlarged NATO, Ukraine and Russia. It is vital that this triangular relationship ensures the continents stability. And we think that it should evolve into a genuine New Alliance.

What separates today's peoples and nations is no longer the conflict between communism and democracy, but the antagonism between the values of Enlightenment and irrationality, namely religious fundamentalism, extreme forms of nationalism, xenophobia and racism.

What should bind together the Euro-Atlantic community and the enlarged Alliance ought to be the sharing of the same values and civilisation. And the common refusal of irrationality.

The worldwide projection of our values must evolve into a



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peace and stability factor at the global level.

We must recognise that there is still much to be done. Including the building up of a stable relationship between Russia and Ukraine, as well as the strengthening of the European pillar of the Atlantic Alliance.

We have always been in favour of NATO's reinforcement. We have always considered the American presence in Europe as a key stabilising factor.

But it is important to spell out the full meaning of the European Defence Identity and the need to transform the European pillar into a fundamental element of the Atlantic Alliance.

That is **why** Portugal advocates the progressive integration of the Western European Union into the European Union. We do regret that only timid steps were taken on the right direction during the **IGC**.

As the euro-skeptics have considered the Maastricht Treaty, a "Treaty too far", I think the Amsterdam's was a "Treaty **not far enough**".



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Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let us put into to practice a more credible and efficient Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Treaty that was signed in Amsterdam two weeks ago gives us some tools to develop **CFSP**. But new provisions, even enshrined in a legal text, will mean nothing if we do not move forward advancing common political priorities.

Co-operation for enhancement of Human Rights as been at the core of European policies. But let us also not forget solidarity with the poorest regions in the world.

In a time when fragile democracies try to take root in Africa, the European Union should maintain its commitment regarding economic assistance and enlarge its action on stabilising democracy and conflict prevention. We have a strong hope in the results of the next Euro African Summit,

We should draw our attention to the evolution taking place in Central and South America. No other region in the world





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has in recent times progressed so firmly and successfully towards democratic and open societies than the whole of Latin America. And the creation of Mercosur is a key instrument for a new world economy architecture. Let us not forget how scarce has been the development of a common strategic partnership in the Mediterranean area after Barcelona, in which context Europe must strengthen its commitment to a fair solution of the Middle East problem, now clearly facing heavy difficulties.

The North Atlantic Alliance and the Marshall Plan shaped the new order and quality of relationship that linked the destiny of North American and Western European societies throughout the whole period of the Cold War. It provided the basis for the consistent and global Western policy that led us to the successful changes in the 1990's.

Let us implement the New Transatlantic Agenda and the co-related Joint Action Plan signed in Madrid in 1995, which mapped out a vast field of co-operation covering a wide range of areas. to be heard and respected.

The European Union should increase its political opening



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to the world. Obstacles remain. We need a single voice if we are to be respected.

Let us move away from introspection and face the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the contemporary world all nations belong to the same international community. The revolution in information and communication technology has transformed our knowledge of what happens elsewhere. In other words, we know now in real time what occurs in other continents. There are no longer so-called "remote places".

Moreover, during previous years the economic reality has changed. Goods, capital and services flow now globally in an increasingly competitive market.

Prices are set worldwide. Trade is accelerating twice as fast as international industrial output. Our future and prosperity depend on Europe's capacity to thrive in a marketplace that developed into this global reality.



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Unless we stay competitive, we will not be able to keep not only our industrial basis but also our social model. It is imperative to provide more and better education and the required skills to our workforce so that Europe can face technological change with confidence.

There is no chance to change that trend or to ignore the positive aspects of globalisation. But jobs are increasingly moving elsewhere. Hence, we need the ability to reform and to innovate. But globalisation must also be regulated. For that we need strong regional organisations as the European Union and we must encourage cooperation among them.

There is a need for a "**new system** of *collective responsibility*". In other words, one should start formulating the political agenda for the turn of the century. Reducing inequities, regulating abuses, trying to give a decisive contribution to a morally acceptable solution of the main problems of today's world.

Opening markets implies equilibrium between **free trade** and **fair trade**, without hidden administrative barriers, but



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with adequate social legislation and free trade union activity.

Trade should generate co-operation for jobs, not competition for jobs. Wild competition decreases remuneration levels, qualifications, social protection and safety, and it ultimately reduces product quality and aggregate demand (due to low remuneration levels and uncertainty), thus preventing the efficiency gains from trade.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In this context it is fundamental that the Single European Currency comes into being on the first of January 1999. There is no Single Market without a Single Currency. And the Euro will be a decisive factor on the deepening of the Political Union.

Portugal stands firmly committed to be in the first group of countries that will start the third stage of Economic and Monetary Union.



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But the Monetary Union will not be sufficient.

If our Governments were able to dramatically reduce the deficits and fight inflation, they must be able to cooperate promote growth and the creation of jobs.

When large countries in Europe reach their highest unemployment rates since thirties, it is vital to keep in mind that political structures will only command support and legitimacy if they reflect and respond to contemporary concerns. Common sense tells us not take democracy for granted.

With 18 million people jobless in Europe, unemployment remains one of the most painful concerns of our citizens.

High unemployment rates, low-paid, unskilled casual employment, and social exclusion, constitute one of the most serious problems of our time, and a significant threat to democracy. The policy of "laissez faire, laissez passer" has failed in this area, as it failed 60 years ago, during the great depression.



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How are we to create jobs ?

Individual countries have a common vital role to play.

But as I said, this issue has to be addressed at a global level, through the co-ordination of national economic policies, in order to implement a global recovery program, and this requires active employment policies.

It is true that the Amsterdam Treaty provides us with a basis for improved co-ordinated action at the level of the Union.

We do need to take advantage of instruments like the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Investment Fund (EIF). I do think, we should take seriously into consideration, once again, the proposal put forward by President Delors of issuing Eurobonds to finance European sponsored programs aiming to promote employment and competitiveness.



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To pay for the Trans European networks. To support the small and medium size enterprises, the more efficient employment originators in today's world.

But Europeans are not only worried with employment they do need also more security in the streets and better protection against crime.

This is, perhaps, the most impressive political argument to mobilise public opinion on behalf of the political deepening of the European Union.

In order to ensure that the Union is more responsive to the worries of its citizens, one must strengthen co-operation in the area of justice and home affairs. And that means giving an articulate response to organised crime, drug trafficking and terrorism.

The growth of organised crime has stimulated a public demand for greater security that cannot be satisfied by member states acting atone. At the Amsterdam Summit



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Portugal was prepared to go further and allow for most of **the** third pillar to be integrated into pillar one. Nevertheless we had to accept the final compromise on the table. So let us work with the instruments we have got in order to **make** the crucial combat against crime more efficient.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

**What are the new perspectives after the fall of the Berlin wall , How should we face the Unions' next enlargement ?**

The new international order that emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war confronted us with **a** set of new balances and risks of conflict, calling for new answers to new problems.

Promoting peace and stability, democracy and development worldwide means in fact to offer to all regions of the common house that is our planet the possibility of establishing similar conditions to those we have enjoyed in the last decades.





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The vast space offered to progress and consolidation of democracy and recognition of fundamental human rights after the implosion of the Soviet Union should be taken **and** fully recognised as an opportunity History gave us. We think that the consolidation of democracy is one of the most important tasks of our time.

Portugal full supports the planned enlargement of the European Union. The Portuguese experience has taught us that supporting enlargement must be a moral and political imperative. We cannot deny to the emerging democracies of Central Europe what was offered to us a few years ago.

Whereas we think that the consolidation of democracy is one of the most important tasks of our time, it should not be a surprise that we fully stand behind the planned enlargement of the European Union (EU).

The expansion of the Union to the East is the most important political project that we have to achieve. The majority of candidate countries that signed "Europe Agreements" are in fact closer to Portuguese euro-



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optimism than other more developed ones, where a sense of aloofness towards Europe seems to prevail.

We do see the applicants as objective allies in preventing the watering down of the policies inscribed in the Treaties.

The supranational character of the Union's institutions, and the commitment to its policies, must be strengthened — and not diluted — by the accession of new members. The interests of the Union and its existing Member States, and the well being of the applicant countries, can be served only by deepening the European integration.

In order to allow for accession, the institutional reform of the Union, should be based on three basic principles:

- democratic transparency;
- efficient decision making mechanisms;
- respect for the equality principle among member states.

That is not going to be an easy exercise. And the Union's agenda is already placing a heavy burden upon the Presidencies the Commission and the Member States:



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enlargement, single currency, ratification of the Treaty,  
Agenda 2000.

One more reason to be determined, to go ahead.

Mesdames, Messieurs

Arretons-nous un instant pour avoir une vue d'ensemble.

Nous reprbsentons un modele de civilisation qui place  
l'humanite au centre de l'6volution.

Nous representons une culture qui a evolue et a reflete,  
au cours des siecles, l'importance de l'individu.

Depuis les Grecs de l'antiquite, l'heritage chrétien et  
Copernic, jusqu'aux philosophes tels que Descartes, Kant  
et Freud nous reflétons la realite complexe de l'homme  
libre. Jusque dans l'adversite et les moments difficiles  
nous agissons tel un miroir de **la** realite contradictoire et  
heterogene de la dernocratie.



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C'est pourquoi, promouvoir la démocratie en tant que valeur fondamentale devrait être au cœur de l'action de l'Union européenne.

Ce souci des droits de l'homme, permettez-moi de le souligner, doit être une des pierres angulaires de **la** Politique Etrangère de l'Union.

Le droit de jouir de nos libertés est indéniablement lié avec le devoir de défendre les droits des autres. C'est pourquoi il convient de combattre l'argument fallacieux selon lequel la défense des droits de l'homme à l'étranger serait une nouvelle forme d'imperialisme culturel occidental. Le drame de Timor Oriental y est pour **nous** le rappeler.

La référence à une certaine tradition culturelle ne saurait être admise comme argument à l'encontre de **la** reconnaissance des droits fondamentaux. Ce faisant, nous ouvririons les portes à la théorie selon laquelle tous les hommes n'auraient pas été créés égaux et dotés d'une même dignité.



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il faut etabliir une ligne claire de distinction entre ouverture et respect des differentes cultures et l'opposition ferme au fanatisme xenophobe et au fondamentalisme, empreints dans certaines politiques ou religions.

Liberté politique et developpement politique se renforcent mutuellement. De nombreuses etudes recentes l'ont montre. Les economies avec la plus forte croissance à terme sont celles ou l'égalité politique a permis le partage le plus juste des revenus.

De ce fait, l'engagement de l'Union europeenne pour la defense des Droits de l'Homme sera toujours la premiere entre nos priorites.

Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, aucune nation ne peut seule decider de son destin. C'est pourquoi, contrairement a de nombreuses previsions, la reponse a apporter a la fin de la confrontation Est/Ouest était, une fois de plus, le renforcement de l'integration europeenne.

Je crois sincerement a la necessite de maintenir et



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**renforcer le processus d'integration. Si l'Europe a change c'est dans une grande mesure grace au succes de l'Union européenne.**

**L'Europe doit rester ouverte sur le monde, mais de plus en plus unie dans la recherche et la poursuite de son chemin.**