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#### **The New Europe in an Interdependent World.**

To complete the grand schemes of enlargement of Europe is the essence of our present historic assignment. We have embarked on this journey, and we know not how or when it will end. The organization of Europe started as a peace-project and remains so beyond this day. We should never lose sight of this.

The ashes of the cold war are still warm as long as the borders of our originally Western common institutions only slowly follows the forward moves of democracy. We must take great care to ensure that the enlargement processes which we have embarked upon, are firmly politically rooted in our own people.

In terms of material well-being people in Western-Europe have never been better off. But such a statement fails to take account of the millions who are unemployed and of the feeling so prevalent among youth who now acquire the right to vote, - that they feel they have nothing for which to vote.

We live in the early years of the communication revolution - but is it really also the information-revolution - How much is electronic noise? Youth from all our countries can hum the same commercial tunes - but many don't know the names of the countries of the European Union. Everybody is competing for our attention, but not every message is worth it.

It would be fatal if the discussion about our political future is confined to a narrow tier of people - and if the larger majority confine themselves to be entertained. Jacques Delors has said that it is the conservative side who have an interest in reducing people to being consumers, TV-viewers and, only occasionally - voters.

It does not make our political task easier that the media can be counted on to cover every conceivable crisis, but not the long-term, patient work going on to build better and more just societies. An American commentator summarized the situation as follows: Had the media been around 2000 years ago, it would have covered the crucifixion - and ignored Christianity.

Most of our political institutions were created during serious times, when the seriousness was perceived by a majority. The United Nations was created before the war was even over. NATO, WEU and the Council of Europe and the Coal and Steel Union were created in the wake of Soviet aggression.

How can we generate widespread support for enlargement without a widespread consensus that this is the right thing to do? Unless we enter the communication arena, and compete for attention with the quiz-shows, car-commercials and comedies, we risk widening the gap between national and international political institutions and the people which those institutions are established to serve.

Enlargement will ensure a new and unprecedented stability, and room for an unprecedented prosperity and welfare, in an unprecedented wide area.

Today, I will emphasize three political areas and one overriding responsibility for us social democrats, which permeates them all.

First: Security policies must work. We are in a transitional period, where grand schemes aimed at preventing conflict between major blocks are receding in importance. Gradually inter-regional and intra-regional security needs are ascending.

Speakers here today from war-torn former Yugoslavia, and conflict-prone Ireland, testify to an incomplete security picture in this new Europe. These conflicts have little in common in terms of suffering and origin, but they affect the lives of millions of Europeans perhaps even more than the Cold War ever did in this part of the world. Minority issues are imminent in many countries in East and Central Europe. In the South of Europe the Mediterranean region has its own potential problems. While the Barcelona Conference was a timely initiative aimed at anticipating and preventing future conflict, it was a timely reminder that we must rethink our priorities and stay ahead of time, recognizing potential for conflict.

In the wider Europe, we are developing Partnership for Peace and studying the whys and the hows of NATO enlargement. Those who are opposed to such enlargement will have a hard time justifying their position in a way that will stand the test of decency between democracies. But we will all see a different picture when these countries, aspiring towards prosperity, align with us, trade with us, and invest here as naturally as they today receive our investment.

British Labour Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin said, during the darkest Cold War hour, that his dream of the world was to go down to Victoria Station and buy a ticket to wherever he pleased to go in this world. And now, when we soon can go anywhere in Europe, by any means and by the electronic super-highways, - when soon we will have an integrated, truly European economy, - then talk of unequal levels of security for the peoples of Europe will seem arcane and artificial. And any such division will fall to the ground.

Our responsibility will extend beyond the borders of Europe. In Asia, Latin-America, and Africa, we Europeans have interests and obligations. We shall not hold military ambitions, but security ambitions, helping these regions as best we can to construct their own security.

We will need forceful persuasion, not persuasive force, to help those countries create their own security. By long-term economic and political involvement, we can help to establish the kind of mutual interdependence, also beyond the borders of Europe, that is the best line of defense for all people.

Following Willy Brandt's own Commission, the Socialist International also inspired the Palme Commission which coined the concept of Common Security. We should not shelve this seminal report, but apply its principles to a world of increasing interdependence.

And frankly, in the settlement for Bosnia, Europe did just that. By emphasizing the needs of civil society, by emphasizing economic reconstruction, and the building of democracy, we are building common security.

Second: The fabric and politics of civil society must work. It comprises environmental policies, gender equality, workers rights and just distributions. However, we must recognize in time that generations are threatened in new and frightening ways. We, not the conservatives, must be the most credible, most effective and most just defenders of everybody's right to secure and meaningful lives.

Our societies are threatened by organized crime, by accidental crime, drugs, environmental threats and threats to our internal cohesion. Crime and drug cartels operate scrupulously across even the most closed border.

We can never be satisfied as long as parents worry that their sons and daughters may fall victim to drug abuse. Each one of our countries is too small and weak to fight those exploitive viruses - those scums who make their fortunes by ruining other people's lives.

We must, as social democrats, improve and support the public international networks and rules that will work. Schengen is a starting point which must be expanded and improved.

Generations are being born which have a much harder time than we had distinguishing between right and wrong. It is permissible and desirable to care and to interfere. We must strengthen our codes of social ethics. This is our inheritance, our values, to protect the weak, and to provide equal opportunity. We fail abysmally if by promoting tolerance, we promote instead misunderstood and destructive permissiveness.

Third. Jobs and growth are essential. We have made progress in adjusting growth to the limitations of the environment. But the number of unemployed people is clearly unacceptable. The markets must work. We recognize that. But working markets are more easily obtained than markets which invites all our people to use their skills in a meaningful employment.

The market institutions and the rules incepted in the fifties are gradually expanding eastwards. This process cannot and must not be stopped. We can count on the conservatives to be a driving force in purely economic integration. Our role is to ensure that we expand market economy with a human face. Workers protection and worker's rights, consumers protection, environmental requirements, - this must spearhead Europe's expansion.

So what is the overriding responsibility of social democrats. About five years ago, we had euphoria. "New Europe". Sooner than many expected. But we are only seeing the beginning. We must enlarge. But not in a way that people don't understand, or only half-heartedly support.

Let us be honest about Maastricht. It did not fully reach the hearts and minds of people. Not enough people saw it as necessary. We talk about it in too complicated terms. We talk about NATO in too complicated terms. And the evening news continue to cover the daily crisis.

We must describe reality as it is. We must say things as they are. We are the parties of the majority of Europeans, who depend on what they earn every month, who have their worries about mortgages to pay, their children's education, and the security of their neighbourhoods.

We must discuss and explain that the drugs sold in the neighbourhood comes from an intentional cartel and that we need international networks between governments to stop that traffic.

We must discuss and explain political initiatives that may be costly in the short run but will benefit us all in the longer run.

We must discuss and explain our goals for society, and why sometimes sacrifices must be made in order to secure a better tomorrow.

And we must but solidly on the agenda the basic ethics and values that must permeate all our societies.

Most of us have experienced how we face difficulties in engaging people in real dialogue about political issues. But we must never waver in our efforts. Europeans are among the best educated people in the world. They are interested in their futures, in their children's futures and the futures of their countries. To complete the grand schemes of enlargement of Europe - this essence of our present historic assignment, - which comprise so many aspects and affect the lives of so many people - we must walk decisively into that great struggle for attention.

Amidst electronic noise, entertainment and commercials, social democratic ideals must prevail. With persistence we can do that job.