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Vielen Dank für die schöne Einführung – ich werde nicht ungarisch sprechen. I would like to speak English if it is acceptable for you.

Dear Hosts!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Dear Friends, if I might say!

I have heard so much nice things about Göttweig and I am so glad that I have been invited, that I can be here today and speak about certain issues.

I know that time is quite late but I would be glad to start my presentation with a story that I heard recently. The Rome-Treaty has been mentioned today several times. We all know that 50 years ago happened the first step, the start of our unified Europe, and the story was about the moment when the six founding fathers were about to sign the Rome-Treaty.

At it is usual also recently in Europe the text has been changing until the very last moment. And there was not enough time for the translation – to complete the translation. At the moment the founding fathers signed it was a document having the first page completed, having the last page, where the signatures were about to make and in between empty pages. I don't know whether the story is true or not, but when I heard I was really glad to hear this and I think it is somewhat symbolic for Europe and for the future of Europe. Not just because we are always troubling this time in one hand it is true, but also because I think it is a symbol of trust and confidence. All founding fathers were willing to sign something, which was not in between, just part of that.

Also, I think it is somewhat symbolic in the sense that it was created a framework which can be filled up with a little bit changing content. I think the founding fathers, the first six countries and the leaders of the six countries had a vision of Europe. They were committed to certain values; they were committed to a shared market. And they were sure that this single

market can be more competitive than the countries alone. They were willing to give up a certain part of sovereignty for this shared interest. I don't think that they could image the recent developments of Europe, of this 27 countries; having a unified Europe at a time when the division of Europe was absolutely clear and it was a given fact.

Still the framework which was created at that time is still something which is flexible enough, value-based enough to cope with this extended Europe, to cope with a very quickly changing world with its globalisation, it was also mentioned by some of you that Europe is spending time for re-organizing itself but at the same time there are very strong emerging competitors all over the world among the Asian countries. Europe has to become competitive enough also to be part of this race and also be a winner in this race.

I think if you speak about expectation of people it is worthwhile to mention but I think it is great if you speak with anybody on the street and I think we all have the chance to speak with all citizens. But they mention as their concerns is climate-change, having jobs, having certain social security, not being concerned by crimes, illegal migration. It is so obvious for all of us and sometimes it is not so easy to create a framework which gives opportunity to meet all of these requirements or expectations.

I think constitutional treaties are extremely important and we are in the middle of the negotiations and preparing the, I think it won't be a Constitutional Treaty, but we all hope that we can keep the content and the main characteristics of the Constitutional Treaty.

Speaking a little bit from the political view of Hungary, we are really convinced that having an institutional change in Europe which helps the competitiveness, which deepens the integration of EU, is important for the smaller and medium-sized countries. I also think, that it is good and important for the bigger countries as well. This Europe which is more integrated, bigger, can be more competitive in this global race, but we have to be part of. We think that Europe, in Europe of 27 countries it is not possible to find an older agreement by older countries, the geographical, the geopolitical situation is quite different. We all know for those countries which are more solvent countries have sometimes different interests than

for those countries being in the modern part of Europe and also it is true in another respect. Enhanced cooperation is something which might have to make steps forwards, in this enhanced cooperations are open and other countries can join to them if it is a transparent way of joining to this enhanced cooperation. I think it might have the effectivity of Europe and EU. I also think that those decisions which have this effectivity ... in one hand qualified majority. I know that they are debated but I think that they are absolutely necessary to be effected enough for the future.

I also would like to mention some other aspects of the future of EU in the close future. In the close future, let's say, we cannot cover everything in this conference. In one hand, again speaking about peoples' expectations and from the Hungarian political view naturally I would like to mention Schengen. You also mentioned any terms of Schengen you think that not the timing, not the speed but the quality is important. Partly I agree with you, but I would like to tell you all that although Hungary joined the EU three years ago it was a great celebration on the 1st May, it was very visible, but in the every-day life of people there were not too many things what happened after the EU-accession. I think it is true for the other countries as well, it was a continuous process that started before and it is still going on.

Joining the Schengen-zone it is something which is also psychologically very important for people. We were very much envying many many years ago those who could enter the border across the border without standing in long queues without being controlled asked different questions etc. I think joining the Schengen-zone also means a major step towards real integration. We know that there are more steps joining to Euro zone, joining to different treaties etc., but I think joining the Schengen-zone is something which is extremely important for people, for several people, almost for everybody. You also might know that the Austro-Hungarian border is a border, many people cross the border every day on both sides in both directions. It is also a question of confidence and trust.

There was a deadline for joining the Schengen-zone. We know that there were some complications with the informatical systems, might be other complications as well, but I think it is not the question of informatical

systems, it is really a question of confidence and also creditability because of the set deadline.

I would just like to mention that Hungary has been prepared, you mentioned quality, there was a very strict monitoring. We also hope that the other countries which would like to join the Schengen-zone will be also prepared. But you have to see that it is a political question, a confidence question and a creditability question, except being that it is also a question of quality.

I also would like to mention some words about Western Balkan, I also mention for Serbia. From the perspective of Hungary, but not just Hungary, but I think all of the countries into the region, it is clear that Maldivie think quite a lot about Kosovo and the future status of Kosovo and much less about Serbia. The question is the stability of the whole region. And what will happen in this region, it will clearly affect all Europe, all EU.

We also know from all our experience that the process of accession has a very important stabilising factor effect. If we can have Serbia to turn to this European part, we know that Serbia is also on a kind of crossroad, it is a very difficult time for the country. We all know that those forces which are more past-oriented, which are more nationalistic, are quite strong. But it is our responsibility to have those forces who are much more for Europe, which are the pro-democratic forces and I think it is the responsibility of Europe and all of us to have these forces and to have Serbia to choose that path which is the European path.

We all know the difficulties around this issue, we are also in the framework of regional partnership, we have been working together for setting-up or asking for a roadmap, for a visa-free regime, we all know that travelling, free travelling is very important. In terms of people-to-people-contact, in terms of personal experience, not just in a country which has been closed for a while, but also having contacts with the outside world which is more open than the country itself.

I just would like to say some words because I received several questions in the last months about the situation in Central-European and Central-

Eastern-European countries as the new member states in some of the new member states. I think it is not easy to see for us but also for the other EU-countries that a certain level of instability can be seen in these countries. And there are quite strong voices of populism, quite strong voices of radical nationalism in some of these countries, also in Hungary, there was some situation which even went beyond this. You also mentioned I am a psychiatrist if you don't mind I speak a little bit about from this perspective, from this point of view. Around the time of regime change people had extremely high expectations and now looking back we think that the expectations were some kind unrealistic. People had experienced with neighbouring countries, with Austria e. g., and their hope was that we will gain not just a freedom but also quite quickly without very strong efforts let's say a living standard like in the Western world, like in West-European countries.

In one hand it is more or less clear after 17 years, that it could not happen so quickly. People had to accept, there were all kind of hopes after the changes, than the hopes connected with the EU-accession, than from the next day it will happen. Now it is absolutely clear that it cannot happen so quickly. People and basically everybody have to make huge efforts to achieve something which is closer to this living standard, closer to these circumstances.

There is another aspect why you don't speak so much and I think it is a kind of disappointment of intellectuals. Intellectuals who are opinion-leaders and who have a special rule in all societies. Opinion-leaders and intellectuals have a very important influential rule in pre-modern societies and also in totalitarian systems and I am looking around in the room, who those of you coming from the new member states see this, intellectuals were somehow those who were living the values, who were showing something which was the moral standard in the previous regime. They had also, I think, a somekind idealistic image of democracy.

It is a kind of disappointment that working democracy is different from this idealistic picture or image of democracy. Adam Mittnik has been writing quite a lot about this, the controversy between this idealistic democratic picture and the reality. I think this two together, the disappointment of people who see that they also have to change their life and also

disappointment of the intellectuals who have an influence on the society and who are losing their special role in one hand, in other hand they are confronted with the difference between the images and the reality, are somehow together posing this type of problems, and if there are this type of tensions, than it is quite a good ground for populist and nationalist.

Turning to people that there are problems. The problems don't have to be solved through changes, changes of every individual person, but it is quite easy to find scapegoats. A scapegoat can come from everywhere. We know that scapegoats can be the national minorities, scapegoats can be the former communists, can be the capitalists and anybody else. I think we are also in a kind of crossroad similarly to Serbia, it is a little bit different, but I think in some sense it is true for these countries.

Whether or not to find a seemingly easier way saying that they are outside agents who are responsible for all difficulties and who are responsible for all future achievements or everybody, all citizens in these regions realize that they have a special responsibility in their own lives, for the achievement of the whole country and sometimes it is very painful.

Hungary was struggling and still is struggling with the financial deficit, it is closely connected with this problem and this package of this problem because we tried to keep those who were the losers of the changes, the transition, we tried to keep them inside of this social net, not let them drop out. But it is extremely costly the social expenditure of Hungary is quite high. And now I think it is time to tell people that the state cannot save them, cannot defend them from all kind of difficulties, but because people heard this for 40 years that the state is responsible for everything it is not so easy to change this type of mentality. I think those forces which are for modernisation, which are for this type of changes for reforms need some support from all of you, otherwise I think this type of problems can affect also Europe. I think that there is a very good chance that modernising forces will become stronger and stronger but it is still something what we have to overcome.

Thank you very much for your attention.

(Applause)