This week sees the inauguration of a new Community, a Community of nine proud and resolute peoples that is to replace the old Community of Six.

It is not only a time of present rejoicing at the increase in our numbers, but a time of hope and promise for the future - and of forewarning.

The main purpose and function of the Community of Six was to give effect to the Treaty of Rome. This meant establishing a customs union and a common agricultural policy, so as to allow industrial and agricultural products to move freely within the Community's borders.
Now these were rather limited, unromantic tasks. By and large, they failed to fire most people's imagination.

I do not think I am going too far when I say that what we have done so far has not come up to the European public's expectations. People cannot feel that what we have done is anything new: "Europe" has still not given a new dimension to life. Admittedly some sections of the population definitely have benefited from the developments of these twenty years - industry, in particular, has found the opening-up of frontiers a great blessing, and some categories of farmers certainly cannot complain at what the agricultural policy has brought them.
But it is also true that the progress of integration has led to major social stresses, that the disparities in standards of living between different areas of the community have become more marked rather than less, and that for the great mass of the population there has been no broad improvement in conditions generally.

Dissatisfaction is indeed widespread, notwithstanding the solid achievements of these twenty years. The Norwegian referendum came as a blunt reminder, when great numbers of Norwegians voted against entry because they simply could not...
SEE THE POINT OF WHAT WE ARE DOING. IN BRITAIN,

TOO, NOT EVERYONE IS PLEASED AT THE DEVELOPMENT

WHICH HAS TODAY BECOME HISTORY; HERE TOO THERE

IS A TENDENCY TO THINK OF THE EUROPE OF THE

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS RATHER THAN THE EUROPE

OF THE PEOPLES.

NOR IS IT ONLY THE YOUNG AND THE POLITICAL

LEFT-WINGERS WHO CARP. OTHERS TOO ARE CRITICAL:

THEY COMPLAIN FOR INSTANCE THAT THE COMMUNITY IS

UNDEMOCRATIC. AND IT IS A FACT THAT THE COMMUNITY

HAS DEVELOPED A NETWORK OF "OFFICIAL CHANNELS"

WHICH THE MAN IN THE STREET CAN MAKE NOTHING OF.

HE KNOWS....
He knows that important decisions, which affect his own immediate affairs, are being taken at European level, but he does not know exactly who takes them, or who has to carry them out, or how.

The Commission proposes, the European Parliament gives opinions, the Council decides, and without more ado the individual citizen is committed. Of course, influence is exercised on the decision-making process. National and European civil servants have been meeting and discussing for months and months before a draft instrument is ready for adoption at all.

National and European statesmen confer together
AND REACH AGREEMENT—USUALLY IN THE MIDDLE OF
THE NIGHT. BUT THE ORDINARY DEMOCRATIC
DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AS WE KNOW IT IN THE
INDIVIDUAL STATE DOES NOT YET EXIST IN THE
COMMUNITY; THE COMMUNITY IS NOT A STATE—NOT YET;
AT ALL EVENTS—AND DOES NOT YET PRESENT, AT
ALL LEVELS, THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ONE.

IN STATES, POLITICAL PARTIES ARE CLOSELY
INVOLVED IN DECISION-MAKING; IN THE COMMUNITY
THEY ARE INVOLVED LITTLE, IF AT ALL. THE THING
IS, POLITICAL PARTIES AT EUROPEAN LEVEL HAVE
NOT YET BEEN FORMED. THERE ARE, I AM GLAD TO
SAY, THE SUPRANATIONAL PARTY GROUPINGS IN THE
European Parliament, and that is something, but

it is nothing like enough. For the Community
to receive the injection of democracy it so
badly needs, the political movements will have
to organize themselves at European level, as a
counterpoise to the apolitical civil service.

So far it is only industry and business that
have realized the need for European partnership,
with the political parties and the trade unions
trailing miles to the rear.

All this criticism and dissatisfaction
must be a stimulus to us to create a different
Europe. And everyone must join in: not to join

in this is to evade the responsibility that
RESTS UPON US ALL. IT IS FOR US - ALL OF US -

to create Europe for ourselves on the lines we

desire, for unless we do, Europe will be made

* for us by others. Not to join in is, I repeat,

to evade our responsibility - not only the

responsibility we bear for the inner development

of the Community itself, but responsibility for

meeting the international obligations which arise

from the fact of the Community's existence. The

eyes of the world are upon us.

In Eastern Europe they are observing the

course of the Community's affairs with keen

interest, and considering what their future

attitude to it should be. The Community's
relationship to the United States is becoming a more and more vital issue, on which important discussions and negotiations are to take place this year. And far more important even than this is our relationship with the Third World.

The Community already has special ties with a great many African, Mediterranean and Caribbean countries, but obviously this is not enough.

We must have a genuine development policy for the whole of the Third World, which is waiting for us to help it. We must make the necessary arrangements to enable the developing countries' products to be sold in our markets, we must provide financial...
PROVIDE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL AID, AND GENERALLY
DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP THESE COUNTRIES RAISE THEIR
STANDARD OF LIVING.

AND THESE INTENTIONS HAVE GOT TO BE ACTED
UPON. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO ENUNCIATE NOBLE
PRINCIPLES: WE HAVE GOT TO SHOW THAT WE ARE
PREPARED TO MAKE SACRIFICES TO HELP DEAL WITH THE
SITUATION.

THE PARIS SUMMIT A FEW MONTHS AGO TOOK
ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL FEELING THAT CHANGES WERE
NEEDED. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS, I CAN CONSIDER
THE SUMMIT TO HAVE BEEN A TURNING POINT IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COMMUNITY - A COMMUNITY WHICH
MUST BE TRANSFORMED INTO A EUROPEAN UNION BY 1980,
THAT IS TO SAY A POLITICAL UNION OF WESTERN EUROPE.

IT IS CLEAR BY NOW TO ALL THAT WE CANNOT SIMPLY GO ON IN THE SAME OLD WAY -- THAT WE MUST SEEK NEW WAYS TO REALIZE NEW IDEALS. THE FUTURE NEEDS A LESS FORMAL APPROACH, AND GREATER POLITICAL ACTION AND IMAGINATION.

I REMEMBER THE WISE WORD OF A GREAT GERMAN STATESMAN, A MAN WHO HAS PLAYED SUCH A GREAT PART IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE, KONRAD ADENAUER.

HE USED TO ACT IN POLITICS "ZEITGEMÄSS" -- WHEN THE TIME WAS RIPE.

WELL, I THINK THAT THE STATESMEN WHO WERE IN PARIS FOR THE SUMMIT ACTED WHEN THE TIME WAS RIPE.
When President Pompidou says, "We do not want a mercantile Europe, we want a human Europe". That means everyone everywhere has grasped that we have now to set about giving Europe a human face.

When Chancellor Brandt calls urgently for "A great social action programme", that means everyone everywhere now recognizes that the new community must frame and conduct a really comprehensive, large-scale policy in the social field.

When Prime Minister Heath is pleading for a regional policy in the Community with the purpose to undertake a common action for the
REGIONS WHICH ARE LESS DEVELOPED, THEN I CONSIDER THAT AS THE CREATING OF A SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE POOR AND THE RICH PARTS IN THE COMMUNITY.

IN ALL THESE CONTEXTS NEW MOVES WILL HAVE TO BE UNDERTAKEN AND NEW PLANS LAUNCHED IN THE COMING YEARS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THERE WILL NEED TO BE A POLICY, IN INDUSTRY, DIRECTED TO ENCOURAGING WORKERS' PARTICIPATION AND ESTABLISHING WHAT THE LAW IS TO BE ON THE SUBJECT; THERE WILL NEED TO BE A REGIONAL POLICY GIVING EVERYONE, EVEN IN THE LEAST PROSPEROUS AREAS, THE FEELING THAT THEY BELONG TO EUROPE; WE NEED TOO AN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY TO ENSURE CONDITIONS SUCH THAT HUMAN LIFE IS DECENTLY LIVABLE, AND AN
ECONOMIC ANDMONETARY POLICY WHICH CAN GIVE
US THE STABILITY THAT IS THE BASIS FOR ALL THE
REST.

WHAT THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE DID IN EFFECT WAS TO WRITE A NEW CHAPTER TO THE TREATY OF ROME,
WITH THE FOCUS NOW NOT ON FREEDOM OF TRADE AND
THE OPENING OF FRONTIERS, BUT, FIRST AND FOREMOST,
ON THE PRACTICAL CONTENT OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF
COMMON POLICY. AT THE SAME TIME THE CONFERENCE
PRESCRIBED THE LEGAL PROCESSES ON WHICH THE NEW
PROGRAMME IS TO BE BASED. THE COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS
WILL HAVE TO ENGAGE IN A CONCERTED DRIVE TO
ACCOMPLISH THIS TASK, WORKING TOGETHER AND
NEGOTIATING TOGETHER TO COMPLETE THE WORK ASSIGNED THEM
them by the Conference. The programme is an immense and demanding one: we shall all have to give of our utmost to achieve results within the time appointed.

This applies above all to the Community's international obligations. In the year ahead, the negotiations between the United States and Europe are going to claim a great part of our time and attention, yet I venture to say that the relationship between Europe and the United States is less important, as such, than the common responsibility of the two together vis-à-vis the Third World.

President Nixon...
President Nixon may say that 1973 is

Europe's year: I for my part say no, 1973 must be the year of Europe and the United States acting together for the Third World.

There lies our highest duty — there we can show that we are not concerned simply to keep what is ours, that we are still capable of displaying the solidarity the world expects of us.

If we can tackle our task in this spirit, if we are able to effect the necessary changes in the community and at the same time to answer the cry of the developing countries,
THEN I SHALL FEEL WE HAVE NOT LABOURED IN VAIN.

FOR THEN AND ONLY THEN CAN WE WIN THE TRUST OF
EVERYONE, AND PRESS AHEAD WITH THE NOBLE PROJECT
OF BUILDING EUROPE AS WE SET OUT TO DO TWENTY
YEARS AGO. I WISH YOU ALL COURAGE, ENERGY AND
CONFIDENCE IN THE MIGHTY WORK THAT IS ONLY NOW
BEING TRULY BEGUN.

My Lord Chairman,

Many great statesmen have already applied
their courage, energy and sense of vision to the
creation and the development of the European
Community.

Now, Mr. Prime Minister...
Now, Mr. Prime Minister, your name
takes its place quite normally and naturally
among the founders of the united Europe.

So I am sure I am expressing the feeling
of all of us this evening, all of us throughout
Europe who believe in the unity of our continent,
when I propose the toast to a united Europe,
coupled with the name of Edward Heath.