

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.../

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 ADD 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 -

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. ~~THESE 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 AND MONETARY 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-A-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.

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