

PLEASURE TO BE HERE, ETC  
GOING TO AVOID THE SLOUGH OF EUROCOMMUNISM - THOUGH I  
HAPPY TO DISCUSS IT AFTERWARD, AND ADDRESS MYSELF TO  
READ OTHER DAY THAT "EUROPEAN INTEGRATION" IS AT A <sup>SUBJECT OF EUROPEAN</sup> STANDSTILL. <sup>INTEGRATION</sup>

FLORA LEWIS WROTE IN LAST SUNDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES  
MAGAZINE THAT THE DREAM OF FEDERAL UNION IN EUROPE IS FAINT  
WHAT IS THIS INTEGRATION? AND IS IT AT A STANDSTILL? <sup>AWAY.</sup>

IT IS ALL A QUESTION OF HOW YOU LOOK AT IT.

WHEN OTHERS, YOU HERE AT GRINNELL FOR EXAMPLE, LOOK  
AT WHAT IS GOING ON IN EUROPE FROM OUTSIDE, DO YOU HAVE  
A SET OF EXPECTATIONS WHICH WE ARE EITHER SATISFYING  
OR FAILING TO LIVE UP TO?

WHEN WE LOOK AT OURSELVES AND AT WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED  
AND WHERE WE HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED, HOW DO WE JUDGE  
OURSELVES? -- AND ARE EITHER OF US, YOU, OR WE

OURSELVES, RIGHT? <sup>AND IS EITHER OF THESE A USEFUL</sup>  
~~AND IS THERE, IN ANY CASE, A RIGHT OR A WRONG~~ <sup>PERSPECTIVE?</sup>  
~~IN THIS MATTER?~~

THE PROBLEM THAT I FIND IN CONSIDERING THE IDEAS, THE  
FACTS OF "EUROPEAN INTEGRATION", IS THAT THE WHOLE SUBJECT  
IS EMBEDDED IN WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED "THEOLOGY".

FOR MANY, INCLUDING THE FOUNDING FATHERS, THE IDEAL OF  
A UNITED EUROPE HAD, AT LEAST IN PART, WHAT CAN FAIRLY  
BE DESCRIBED AS <sup>AN ALMOST</sup> RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. -- IT WAS IN  
ALL SORTS OF WAYS AN ACT OF FAITH.

FOR IT IS FORCING US TO EXAMINE THE REAL PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY WORLD ~~POWERS AND PRINCIPALITIES~~ <sup>PROBLEMS</sup>. IT IS FORCING US, AND ME TO ASK TONIGHT, WHAT IS INTEGRATION? DO WE IN EUROPE NEED IT AND IF SO, WHY AND HOW MUCH? HOW FAR HAVE WE GOT WITH IT? AND FINALLY, HOW FAR CAN WE GO WITH IT,

AND WHAT FORMS WILL IT POSSIBLY TAKE? - I CAN'T, OF COURSE, BEGIN TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS, BUT I SHALL TRY AND STRIKE A GLANCING BLOW AT JUST ONE OR TWO.

I THINK THE FIRST THING IS TO STRESS THAT

~~FOR~~ THE INTEGRATION OF EUROPE IS NOW ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL PROCESS, IN WHICH <sup>THE FOUNDING</sup> IDEALS, OF NECESSITY, WILL PLAY A COMPARATIVELY SMALLER PART. THEY ARE ESSENTIAL, THEY WERE, PERHAPS, THE SPARK, THE PRIME MOVER, BUT I DOUBT IT. IN DEALINGS BETWEEN NATIONS IDEALS HAVE NEVER PLAYED A VERY LARGE ROLE. COLD POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN MINGLED WITH THE IDEALS, AND WE ARE SAFER BECAUSE OF THE MIX, I THINK.

AND MORE, AS A EUROPEAN BELIEVER -- EVEN IDEALIST, I AM FACED WITH THE PARADOX THAT IN ORDER FOR THAT UNION TO CONTINUE AND GROW, THERE IS NEED FOR THE UTMOST REALISM AND POLITICAL SKILL.

PROPOSE  
ANYWAY, TONIGHT I ~~PROPOSE~~ TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
CAST OFF THE MANTLE OF ~~THE~~ THEOLOGY, TO SETTLE THE  
EURO-SAINTS REVERENTLY INTO THEIR NICHEs, AND CONCERN  
MYSELF WITH THE REAL POLITICS AND PROBLEMS OF  
INTEGRATION WITH ITS STRENGTHS AND ITS LIMITATIONS,  
~~TO SOME EXTENT IN THE PAST, BUT MORE IN THE PRESENT~~  
~~AND FUTURE.~~

FIRST PERHAPS, IT'S WORTH ASKING WHAT WE MEAN BY  
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. THE ANSWER IS, OF COURSE,  
THAT IT CAN MEAN ALMOST ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN.  
BUT LET'S TAKE ONE PREVAILING NOTION AS A MEANS OF  
ILLUMINATING THE CENTRAL PROBLEM.

DOES IT MEAN "A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE", A FEDERAL  
EUROPE? *THAT WILL EVENTUALLY BE LIKE THE U.S.A.*  
THOUGH THERE ARE <sup>ALREADY</sup> SOME SUPERFICIAL SIMILARITIES, I  
THINK NOT. YOU ARE DEALING, IN THIS CONCEPT, AND IN ALL  
OTHER POSSIBLE MODELS OF INTEGRATION WITH THE PROBLEM  
OF SOVEREIGNTY. YOU HAVE TO ASK THE QUESTION THAT ANY  
GOVERNMENT ELECTED BY ITS PEOPLE MUST ASK WHEN CONFRONTED  
WITH THE PROSPECT OF GIVING UP SOME OF ITS POWER, WHETHER  
SUCH AN ACT WOULD BE IN THE "NATIONAL INTEREST" BOTH  
IN THE SHORT-TERM AND IN THE MORE DISTANT FUTURE. *BY "NATIONAL*  
*INTEREST" IN THIS CONTEXT I MEAN: FOR THE WELL BEING*  
*OF THE NATION AND OF ~~THE~~ <sup>THE</sup> MAJORITY OF ITS PEOPLE.*

FOR EACH FURTHER DEGREE OF INTEGRATION THEY WILL HAVE TO BE PERSUADED, AND THEIR PEOPLES PERSUADED, THAT THEY WILL DO BETTER BECAUSE OF IT. *AND, OF COURSE, EACH GOVERNMENT MAY TAKE A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE SAME SITUATION. THERE WILL BE* SO/NO "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE" *IT'S* AS HOPELESS A DREAM *FOR THE FORESEEN FUTURE* AS TENNYSON'S "THE PARLIAMENT OF MAN, THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD". ~~BUT NOT A HOPELESS POLITICAL SITUATION.~~

*BUT* ~~FOR~~ WE DO HAVE A WHOLE THING GOING IN EUROPE, *A TOTALLY NEW POLITICAL SITUATION,* WHICH MAY NOT BE *FULLY* "INTEGRATED" *FOR*, BUT IS WORKING. HOW DOES IT WORK POLITICALLY?

THE FIRST THING TO REMEMBER WHEN THINKING ABOUT THE COMMUNITY AS IT IS, RATHER THAN AS IT SHOULD BE, IS THAT THERE ARE NO MODELS. IT IS A UNIQUE ENTITY EVOLVING IN ITS OWN WAY, THE LIKE OF WHICH HAS NEVER EXISTED BEFORE. WITH APOLOGIES TO SOMETHING THAT, I BELIEVE, IS CALLED "INTEGRATION THEORY" -- I DON'T THINK IT'S WORTH BOTHERING TO APPLY IT TO US, BECAUSE WE ARE A POLITICAL ENTITY WITH NO PRECEDENT, AND LIKE ALL OTHER POLITICAL ENTITIES THAT HAVE DEVELOPED OVER THE CENTURIES, WE ARE JUST MUDDLING ALONG ON AN "AD HOC" BASIS. ~~WE MAY NOT FIT THE CURVE, BUT I'M REALLY SURE WE SHOULD GET AROUND IT.~~

PERHAPS THE MOST AMAZING THING IS THAT WE HAVE SURVIVED AS LONG AS WE HAVE AND WORKED TOGETHER AS SUCCESSFULLY AS WE HAVE.

WHO WOULD HAVE GAMBLED \$10 AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II, IF SOMEONE HAD OFFERED THE BET, THAT IN THIRTY YEARS ALL THE EUROPEAN ENEMIES WOULD HAVE BEEN WORKING TOGETHER IN COMPARATIVE PEACE AND HARMONY? -- THE ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS THE USA, BECAUSE TO AN UNMEASURE- ABLE EXTENT EUROPEAN UNITY WAS A CREATION OF U.S. POLICY AFTER THE WAR. ~~--- BUT~~ I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO THAT

IN ANY DEPTH, *BUT IT IS AN EXTRAORDINARY THOUGHT THAT A WAR IN EUROPE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY IS NOW UNTHINKABLE.*

AND WE ARE WORKING TOGETHER. IN FACT, IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS, THE COMMUNITY HAS WOVEN US TOGETHER WITH A NETWORK OF INSTITUTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES THAT IS VIRTUALLY UNBREAKABLE. IT WOULD BE A VERY HARD AND VERY DESTRUCTIVE EXPERIENCE FOR THE MEMBER STATE WHO NOW ~~WANTED~~ ~~WANTED~~ TO LEAVE.

AND WHY ARE WE WORKING TOGETHER? -- BECAUSE IT IS IN OUR INTERESTS. WE ARE RICHER BECAUSE OF IT, MORE POWERFUL. WE, THAT IS THE COMMUNITY, AND WE THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER NATIONS.

FOR THAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE COMMUNITY, IT IS NOT  
*I STRESS AGAIN, TO DO WITH PROSPERITY AND STABILITY AT*  
IDEALISTIC, ~~IT IS SPECIFIC, BOTH IN TERMS OF DOMESTIC~~  
*HOME, AND THE FURTHERANCE OF ONE'S INTERESTS ABROAD.*  
~~POLITICS IN THE MEMBER, AND TO AN INCREASING EXTENT IN~~  
~~THE FOREIGN POLICIES.~~ *FOR EXAMPLE* BRITISH CONSUMERS *HAVE* DONE  
BETTER UNDER THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY OVER THE  
PAST COUPLE OF YEARS THAN THEY WOULD *HAVE* WITHOUT IT.  
BECAUSE OF A COMPLEX SYSTEM OF MONETARY COMPENSATORY  
AMOUNTS THE COMMUNITY HAS BEEN SUBSIDISING BRITISH  
FOOD PRICES DURING THE PERIOD OF STERLING'S WEAKNESS  
TO THE TUNE OF SOME THREE MILLION DOLLARS A DAY.

THE GERMANS ARE STRONG BELIEVERS IN FREE TRADE, THE  
COMMUNITY ACTING AS ONE IN THE GATT TALKS IN GENEVA,  
IS ENDEAVOURING TO PRESERVE, TOGETHER WITH THE USA AND  
JAPAN, SOME SEMBLANCE OF FREE TRADE IN THE WORLD,  
THUS GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY AIMS ARE EVEN MORE VIABLE  
WITHIN THE COMMUNITY.

AND BECAUSE WE ARE ACTING TOGETHER IN CERTAIN AREAS, WE  
ARE ONCE MORE FIRMLY IN THE EYE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY  
AS A UNIT, AS WELL AS *THE* NINE SEPARATE STATES. THE VISIT OF  
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO BRUSSELS VERY EARLY IN THE LIFE  
OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, THE MORE RECENT VISIT OF PRESIDENT  
CARTER, THE INCLUSION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION,  
ROY JENKINS, FOR AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE MAY 77 SUMMIT

IN LONDON, AND THE CERTAINTY THAT HE WILL BE IN BONN IN JULY THIS YEAR, ALL TESTIFY TO THE FACT OF A NEW KIND OF INTERNATIONAL ANIMAL, IF NOT AN INTEGRATED WHOLE, AT LEAST WITH <sup>CLOSELY</sup> COOPERATING PARTS, WHO BY ACTING TOGETHER HAVE MORE CLOUT THAN THEY WOULD INDIVIDUALLY.

IT IS NOT, I THINK, CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD HERE THAT THE NATURE OF THIS COOPERATION IS EXTREMELY POLITICAL -- AND GOING TO BE MORE SO, *AS THE COMMON PROBLEMS GROW MORE AND MORE INTRACTABLE.*

THE PROCESS IN ITSELF AND THE VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND LEVELS THAT TAKE PART IN IT, ARE FASCINATING EXAMPLES OF HOW THIS COOPERATION HAS LED TO INTEGRATION. SO HOW IS THIS COOPERATING BIT OF EUROPE MADE TO WORK?

FIRST THERE IS THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION -- A BUREAUCRACY COMPOSED OF MEN AND WOMEN FROM THE NINE NATIONS, NUMBERING ABOUT 9000 AND WORKING IN SIX OFFICIAL LANGUAGES -- A VERITABLE TOWER OF BABEL. IT IS PRESIDED OVER BY 13 COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY THE MEMBER STATES, TWO EACH FROM THE FOUR BIG NATIONS, BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY, AND ONE EACH FROM THE ~~OTHER~~ <sup>OTHER</sup> MEMBERS, BELGIUM, DENMARK, IRELAND, THE NETHERLANDS, AND LUXEMBOURG.

THE JOB OF THE COMMISSION IS TO PUSH EUROPEAN INTEGRATION; TO APPLY THE TREATIES, TO COME UP WITH EUROPEAN POLICIES IN AREAS WHERE IT HAS COMPETENCE; AND TO PROPOSE THEM TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

THE COUNCIL OF MINSTERS IS COMPOSED OF THE RESPONSIBLE, ELECTED MINISTERS OF STATE FROM THE MEMBER NATIONS.

FOR AGRICULTURAL MATTERS IT WOULD, <sup>UNSURPRISINGLY</sup> ~~NATURALLY ENOUGH~~, BE THE AGRICULTURAL MINISTER, FOR FINANCE, <sup>MINISTERS</sup> FINANCE, AND

SO ON. THEY MEET TO DISCUSS THE COMMISSION'S PROPOSALS ON EUROPEAN MATTERS AND ACCEPT OR AMEND OR REJECT THE PROPOSALS. THREE TIMES A YEAR THERE IS A EUROPEAN

SUMMIT, AT WHICH THE MOST IMPORTANT OR DIFFICULT

OR SIMPLY <sup>THE MOST</sup> GENERAL ISSUES ARE DISCUSSED BY THE PRIME MINISTERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS AND <sup>USUALLY THOUGH NOT ALWAYS</sup> RESOLVED.

THERE ARE PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN BRUSSELS TO

THE COMMISSION FROM ALL THE MEMBER STATES WHO PREPARE

FOR THESE MEETINGS AND COORDINATE COMMUNITY <sup>POLITICAL</sup> POSITIONS <sup>LARGELY</sup> ON EXTERNAL ~~AND INTERNAL~~ ISSUES IN COOPERATION WITH

THE COMMISSION. THEY WERE, FOR EXAMPLE, RESPONSIBLE

FOR HAMMERING OUT THE EC POSITIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

AND SOUTH AFRICA.



THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HAS NOT, IN REALISTIC TERMS, BEEN VERY IMPORTANT UNTIL NOW. ITS MEMBERS ARE APPOINTED BY THE MEMBER STATE PARLIAMENTS FROM AMONG THE MEMBERS, AND THEY SPEND A GREAT DEAL OF THEIR TIME TRAVELLING TO BE DUTCH MP'S OR FRENCH ASSEMBLYMEN OR BRITISH MP'S AND SO ON.

BUT FROM NEXT YEAR, ~~PERHAPS EVEN LATE THIS YEAR,~~ THEY WILL BE A DIFFERENT "KETTLE OF FISH," FOR SOMETHING STAGGERING WILL HAVE HAPPENED IN EUROPE; A REAL INTEGRATION, A HUGE CONSTITUTIONAL BREAKTHROUGH AND CONUNDRUM. THERE WILL BE DIRECT ELECTIONS TO A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. IN OTHER WORDS, PEOPLE IN BREST, OR THE MEZZOGIORNO, IN THE HAGUE AND BIRMINGHAM, ALL OVER THE COMMUNITY, WILL GO TO THE POLLS AND ELECT MEMBERS TO A EUROPEAN ASSEMBLY. THERE WILL BE A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT FOR EUROPE WITH A MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE TO DO WHO KNOWS WHAT?

THIS WILL CERTAINLY CAUSE CHANGES IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED. FOR THESE MEN -- EVEN IF ONLY HALF OF THEM ARE HALF WAY COMPETENT -- WILL WANT, AND WILL HAVE, A RIGHT TO A BIGGER SAY IN THE FORMATION OF EUROPEAN POLICY. AND THEY WILL GET IT! -- IF THEY HAVE TO TAKE IT FROM THE COMMISSION AND THE COUNCIL -- THEY WILL MOST PROBABLY DO SO.

THEIR TAKING IT WOULD, AFTER ALL, BE AN EXPRESSION OF ~~AT LEAST A PART OF~~ THE WILL OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE.

*IF THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS DECIDE TO ACT STRONGLY,*  
MEMBER STATE PARLIAMENTS WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH THEM,  
AND MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THEM. THE FRENCH ARE ALREADY  
AWARE OF THIS, AND THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HAS  
PASSED AN ACT LIMITING THE POWERS OF THE EUROPEAN  
PARLIAMENT TO THE MINIMAL ONES NOW GRANTED BY THE  
TREATY.

BUT AN ELECTED PARLIAMENT IS AN HISTORICAL ROGUE  
ELEPHANT, WHO CAN SAY WHAT IT WILL TRY! -- AND THAT  
WILL BE A NEW DYNAMIC <sup>IN</sup> ~~FOR~~ EUROPEAN INTEGRATION,  
A CHAMBER OF <sup>-OR SO</sup> 400/FELLOWS WITH NOTHING TO DO BUT  
WORK OUT WAYS OF PUTTING EUROPE TOGETHER. ~~JUST~~  
~~IMAGINE IT!~~

ALREADY, IN THE PRESENT, NON-ELECTED, EUROPEAN ASSEMBLY  
THE PROCESS OF REAL POLITICS IS BEGINNING -- THE  
PARTIES ARE ORGANISING ON A EUROPEAN BASIS, PREPARING  
FOR THE ELECTION.

ON A MORE SOBRE NOTE THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE  
FUTURE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION RESTS TO A LARGE  
EXTENT WITH THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF <sup>THE</sup> ~~THE~~ ELECTED  
ASSEMBLY.

IF THE PARLIAMENT IS ESTABLISHED AS THE EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE COMMUNITY, AND THROUGH IT THEY EXPRESS THEIR CONVICTION THAT IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO BE BROUGHT CLOSER TOGETHER IN AN INTEGRATED EUROPE, THEN THAT WILL HAPPEN.

*THIS POLITICAL IMPETUS DOES NOT OCCUR, THEN PERHAPS THERE SHOULD BE NO FURTHER INTEGRATION.*  
IF ~~IT~~ / ~~THEN PERHAPS IT SHOULD NOT HAPPEN.~~ THE COMMISSION

HAS NOT, AFTER ALL, THE RIGHT TO BE A BENEVOLENT DESPOT. IF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE DO NOT WANT CLOSER TIES WITH EACH OTHER, THEN, DESPITE THE GOOD INTENTIONS OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE THEY SHOULD BE INTEGRATED, THEY SHOULD NOT, INDEED WILL NOT, BE FORCED INTO IT.

I EVEN DOUBT, WHETHER PUBLIC MONEY SHOULD BE SPENT PERSUADING THEM THAT AN INTEGRATED EUROPE IS A "GOOD THING", BUT THAT IS NOT AN ARGUMENT FOR NOW.

IT OCCURS TO ME THAT I HAVE NOT FULLY ANSWERED THE QUESTION, HOW FAR HAVE WE GOT? AND GIVEN YOU A DESCRIPTION OF THE SORT OF INTEGRATION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN EUROPE ALREADY AS A RESULT OF THE TREATIES OF ROME AND THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS DESCRIBED; AND I THINK, I SHOULD PROBABLY DO THAT BEFORE GOING ON TO TALK A BIT ABOUT THE PROBLEMS AND THE FUTURE.

SO WHAT DOES INTEGRATION MEAN FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE;  
HOW DOES IT AFFECT THEIR LIVES?

WELL, AS I SAID, IT HAS MEANT CHEAPER FOOD FOR THE  
BRITISH -- BUT THAT IS AN ABERRATION! MUCH MORE  
IMPORTANTLY, IT MEANS THAT, IF MEMBER STATES CITIZENS  
SO WISH, THEY CAN BECOME EUROPEAN. THEY CAN GO AND LIVE  
AND WORK ANYWHERE IN THE COMMUNITY AND RECEIVE THE  
SAME TREATMENT AND BENEFITS -- SOCIAL SECURITY,  
MEDICAL INSURANCE AND SO ON, AS A NATIONAL OF THAT  
COUNTRY.

SOON NOW THEY WILL BE ABLE TO TRANSFER ASSETS TO AND  
FRO BETWEEN MEMBER STATES WITHOUT LET OR HINDRANCE. --  
THAT MIGHT NOT SEEM SO AMAZING TO YOU AMERICANS, BUT  
I COME FROM A SUPPOSEDLY "FREE" COUNTRY WHERE, EVEN  
IF YOU EMIGRATED, YOU COULD ONLY TAKE THE EQUIVALENT  
OF \$10,000 WITH YOU, THE REST OF YOUR ASSETS <sup>IF YOU HAD MORE!</sup> HAD TO  
BE LEFT IN FOR FOUR YEARS! -- AND I STILL CAN'T GET  
MY PENSION MONEY OUT. ~~AND~~

SO THE COMMUNITY IS GRADUALLY FREEING ITS PEOPLES  
FROM BURDENS LIKE THAT. *THINGS IN BRITAIN,  
FOR EXAMPLE HAVE BECOME MUCH EASIER.*

WITH ITS REGIONAL FUND THE COMMUNITY IS PROVIDING HELP FOR THE POORER AREAS OF ITS MEMBERS, GIVING MONEY FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN PLACES LIKE SCOTLAND, LORRAINE OR SOUTHERN ITALY, ATTEMPTING TO BALANCE OUT THE WEALTH MORE JUSTLY.

IT IS INVOLVING TRADE UNIONS, GOVERNMENTS AND EMPLOYERS IN ALL NINE MEMBERS TO TRY AND DEAL WITH THE HUGE STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS FACED BY MOST OF THEM.

IT IS ENFORCING A RIGOROUS SYSTEM OF ANTI-TRUST LAW THROUGHOUT THE EC, BREAKING MONOPOLIES AND INSISTING ON JUSTICE FOR THE CONSUMER. INDEED, THE COMMISSION HAS JUST BEEN SUPPORTED BY THE EUROPEAN COURT IN ITS DECISION TO FINE THE "UNITED BRANDS" COMPANY ONE MILLION DOLLARS, OR THEREABOUTS, FOR FIXING PRICES IN THE BANANA MARKET.

THE EUROPEAN COURT IS, PERHAPS, THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL THESE INSTRUMENTS OF INTEGRATION. IT IS THE MOST "AMERICAN" OF OUR INSTITUTIONS IN A WAY AND COMPARABLE IN PURPOSE, AND EVENTUALLY, I HOPE, IN IMPACT, TO YOUR SUPREME COURT. IT HAS JUDGES FROM ALL MEMBER STATES, AND ITS DECISIONS AUTOMATICALLY BECOME LAW IN ALL MEMBER STATES.

THE SORT OF IMPACT IT CAN HAVE IS ENORMOUS. MY FAVOURITE CASE IS THAT OF A SABENA, BELGIAN AIRLINES, STEWARDESS, WHO WENT BEFORE THE COURT IN A "WOMEN'S RIGHT" CASE, CLAIMING EQUAL PAY WITH MALE STEWARDS. SHE WON, AND THAT MEANT THAT EVERY AIRLINE IN EUROPE HAD -- AND QUITE JUSTIFIABLY -- A BIGGER WAGES BILL.

SO MUCH FOR HUMAN INTEREST! OF COURSE, THE MAJOR FORCES FOR SUCCESS HAVE BEEN THE COMMON MARKET, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY, THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY AND EURATOM. THE COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, AND CERTAINLY THE OLD COMMUNITY OF SIX, OWES ITS LONG PERIOD OF PROSPERITY TO THE CUTTING OF INTERNAL TARIFF BARRIERS AND THE RESULTANT INCREASE IN TRADE BETWEEN THE MEMBER STATES INSIDE THIS "COMMON MARKET".

AGAIN, IT IS WORTH STRESSING THAT THIS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION HAS BEEN MASSIVELY IN THEIR INTERESTS. GERMANY, THE MOST PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY, OFTEN DESCRIBED AS "THE PAY MASTER" OF THE COMMUNITY, HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST COMMITTED MEMBERS FOR MANY REASONS, NOT LEAST OF WHICH IS THE FACT THAT SHE SELLS SOME 40 % OF HER DOMESTIC PRODUCTION TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY.

SO SHE DOES VERY WELL OUT OF THE REST OF US AND WE OUT OF HER. FRANCE, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS DONE WELL OUT OF THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY. FRENCH FARMERS, AND OTHERS OF THE LESS EFFICIENT FARMERS OF EUROPE, HAVE BEEN GIVEN A PROPER LEVEL OF INCOME THROUGH PRICE SUPPORT SYSTEMS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE POLICY.

~~BEFORE~~ <sup>AND</sup> OTHER FARMERS IN THE COMMUNITY HAVE SHARED THE BOUNTY, TO SUCH AN EXTENT IN SOME CASES, THAT EMBARRASSING SURPLUSES HAVE BEEN CREATED WHICH HAVE TO BE DIMINISHED, AND LOWER PRICE INCREASE LEVELS ARE HAVING TO BE AGREED TO KEEP DOWN INFLATION. OF ALL THE EXISTING SYSTEMS THAT NOW EXIST IN EUROPE, THIS IS THE ONE WHICH MOST PEOPLE AGREE NEEDS SOME MEASURE OF REFORM.

SO THERE IS MUCH EVIDENCE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION OF EUROPE. BUT WHAT HAS TO BE FACED, AND IS BEING FACED, PARTICULARLY BY THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION, ROY JENKINS, IS THAT IF THERE IS A "LEAGUE" OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, THEN THE AREAS BEING DEALT WITH IN COMMON, DOMESTICALLY AT LEAST, ARE MINOR LEAGUE.

IN TERMS OF FOREIGN POLICY IT IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT, AND I WILL DEAL WITH THAT LATER, BUT IT IS WORTH CONSIDERING, SINCE WE ARE BEING REALISTIC RATHER THAN IDEALISTIC, THE AREAS WHERE THERE IS <sup>LITTLE OR</sup> NO COMMON POLICY IN EUROPE, WHERE MEMBER STATES STILL ACT LARGELY ON THEIR OWN.

*MACRO-*

AND THEY ARE ALL THE BIGGIES -- <sup>^</sup> / ECONOMIC POLICY, ENERGY POLICY, LESS SO INDUSTRIAL POLICY. LET US JUST TAKE THOSE THREE.

AS I SAID EARLIER ON, EUROPE, THAT IS THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS, EXCEPT FOR GERMANY, ALL ARE STILL STUCK IN OR JUST EMERGING FROM A RECESSION. THEY ARE ALL, EXCEPT AGAIN FOR GERMANY, SUFFERING HEAVILY FROM EITHER HIGH INFLATION OR HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, AND IN SOME CASES A RICH MIXTURE OF BOTH. IT CAN BE FAIRLY SAID, THAT UNTIL NOW THERE HAS BEEN NO COMMUNITY INITIATIVE FOR THE MEMBERS TO HELP EACH OTHER OUT OF RECESSION. IN FACT THERE HAVE BEEN REFUSALS, IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST. / GERMANY, THE "LOCOMOTIVE OF THE COMMUNITY", HAS REFUSED TO STIMULATE ITS ECONOMY -- ON THE GROUNDS THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD SIMPLY LEAD TO THE THING THE GERMANS FEAR MOST -- INFLATION, AND ON THE GROUNDS THAT MOST OF ITS BEST EXPORT CUSTOMERS, ITS FELLOW COMMUNITY MEMBERS, ARE AT THE MOMENT IN NO CONDITION TO ABSORB MORE OF ITS PRODUCTION.

BUT THERE WAS RECENTLY AN IMPORTANT NEW INITIATIVE, OR PERHAPS REBORN INITIATIVE, ON COMMUNITY ECONOMIC POLICY. -- THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION SUGGESTED, THAT THE EC SHOULD ONCE AGAIN SET ITSELF THE OBJECTIVE OF MONETARY UNION.



THIS WOULD MEAN EUROPE MOVING TO A COMMON CURRENCY,  
CONTROLLED BY SOMETHING LIKE A EUROPEAN FEDERAL RESERVE.  
THERE ARE MANY ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THIS AND NO  
TIME TO DEAL WITH THEM HERE -- EVEN IF I WAS COMPETENT,  
WHICH I DOUBT! -- BUT THE POINT OF THE EXAMPLE IS,  
THAT THE IDEA HAS NOT BEEN LAUGHED OUT OF COURT  
BY THE MEMBER STATES -- IT IS BEING SERIOUSLY, *IF SERIOUSLY,*  
CONSIDERED AS A MEANS TO GREATER ECONOMIC STABILITY  
IN EUROPE, AND IF IT HAPPENS, IT WILL REQUIRE A LARGE  
HANDOVER OF SOVEREIGNTY BY THE MEMBERS AND BE A HUGE  
STEP FORWARD IN INTEGRATION. AND TO CONTINUE TO  
BORINGLY MAKE MY POINT, THERE CAN AND WILL BE ONLY  
ONE YARDSTICK FOR BEING EITHER FOR OR AGAINST THE  
PROJECT -- AND THAT IS THE WELFARE OF THE INDIVIDUAL  
CITIZENS OF THE NINE COMMUNITY MEMBERS.

ANOTHER FAILURE OF INTEGRATION TO DATE IS THE ENERGY  
FIELD. HERE, IT MIGHT BE SAID, IS AN AREA WHERE A COMMON  
POLICY WOULD CERTAINLY BE SEEN TO BE IN THE COMMON  
GOOD. -- INDEED, A GREAT DEAL OF LIP SERVICE IS BEING  
AND HAS BEEN PAID TO THIS IDEAL. BUT THE FACT REMAINS,  
THAT NOTHING MUCH HAS BEEN DONE DESPITE THE EXISTENCE  
OF THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY AND EURATOM.

EACH STATE HAS CONTINUED TO SEEK TO ENSURE ITS ~~OWN~~<sup>OWN</sup> OIL SUPPLIES IN ITS NATIONAL INTEREST, FOR EXAMPLE, AND WILL FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE CONTINUE TO DO SO AND GET THE BEST DEALS POSSIBLE WITH OPEC. THIS, IF YOU ARE A EUROPHILE, IS A TRAGIC EXAMPLE OF THE INEVITABLE EFFECT OF SHORT-TERM NATIONAL INTEREST POLITICS ON THE LONG-TERM EUROPEAN, AND THEREFORE ALSO NATIONAL, WELL-BEING. EVERYONE WOULD DO BETTER HERE, IF WE WORKED TOGETHER, BUT THE NATIONAL POLITICIANS ARE NOT PREPARED TO SEE IT THAT WAY. OIL IS ALSO, OF COURSE, A DEFENCE CONSIDERATION, AND IN THAT THE COMMUNITY HAS NO PART.

THE AREA OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY IS ALSO INTERESTING. IN OUR EXAMINATION OF INTEGRATION, BUT IN A DIFFERENT WAY, HERE IS AN AREA WHERE UNDER THE PRESSURES OF RECESSION ON OLD INDUSTRIES, LIKE STEEL AND TEXTILES, AND UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF M. DAVIGNON, ONE OF THE MORE DYNAMIC COMMISSIONERS, THE COMMUNITY IS AT LAST COOPERATING. (IT ALREADY HAD THE POWER TO ACT IN STEEL UNDER THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY TREATY.) THE PARADOX IS, THAT ~~THE~~<sup>THE</sup> NATIONS ARE COOPERATING IN THE TEETH OF ~~THEIR OWN~~<sup>COMMUNITY</sup> REGULATIONS.

*- THOUGH NOT ADMITTED AS SUCH -*

AS WHAT IS EFFECTIVELY A CARTEL IS FORMED TO CUT DOWN STEEL PRODUCTION ON AN AGREED BASIS, AND TO AGREED LEVELS, IT COULD BE SAID THAT THE COMMUNITY WAS CONSPIRING TO DEFEAT ITS OWN ANTI-TRUST LAWS -- ITS RULES FOR INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION. BUT THIS MUST, I THINK, BE SEEN AS YET ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE POLITICAL REALISM BY WHICH THE EC SURVIVES. WE NEED TO CUT OUR OVERPRODUCTION OF STEEL -- SO WE ARE. WE ALSO NEED TO WORK TOGETHER TO DO IT -- SO WE ARE DOING THAT. IF WE ALSO NEED TO AMEND OUR RULES TO SUIT OUR OWN INTERESTS IN THE SHORT-TERM, THEN THAT IS THE SORT OF "GROWN UP" POLITICAL DECISION THAT THE REAL WORLD DEMANDS. THE TREATY OF ROME IS A TOOL FOR OUR MUTUAL USE. WHEN PARTS OF IT NEED TO BE SHARPENED, WE CAN DO IT, WHEN PARTS NEED TO BE BLUNTED, WE CAN ALSO DO IT.

THE THING IS NOT "HOLY WRIT".

ABOVE ALL, I THINK, THE LESSON OF THESE THREE EXAMPLES IS THAT, EXCEPT OVER OIL, <sup>FALTERING</sup> ~~STEPS~~ ARE BEING TAKEN TOWARDS INTEGRATION EVEN IN GENUINELY DIFFICULT AREAS. *WE ARE USING THE COMMUNITY TO TRY AND DEAL WITH COMMON PROBLEMS.*

THEY ARE IN PARTICULAR USEFUL AS EXAMPLES OF THE FACT, THAT ALL THE EASY THINGS HAVE BEEN DONE IN EUROPE.

-- TARIFF BARRIERS AND OTHER BARRIERS HAVE BEEN  
TORN DOWN, SOME PRODUCT STANDARDISATION HAS OCCURRED,  
THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY SORT OF WORKS, AND SO ON.

BUT THE THINGS THAT REMAIN TO BE DONE TO THE POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC FABRIC INSIDE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, IF  
IT IS TO DO ANY MORE <sup>USEFUL</sup> INTEGRATING, ARE MUCH MORE  
DIFFICULT. THE STEPS THAT REMAIN TO BE TAKEN ARE VERY  
BIG ONES, ALL INVOLVING CONSIDERABLE LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY  
FOR THE MEMBER STATES, AND EACH ONE CAN AND WILL ONLY  
BE TAKEN, IF IT IS TAKEN AT ALL, AFTER LONG AND COMPLEX,  
PERHAPS EVEN BITTER, POLITICAL NEGOTIATION.

I SAID I WOULD RETURN TO FOREIGN POLICY, AND I AM GLAD  
TO, BECAUSE FIRST IT OFFERS ME A CHANCE TO DISCUSS  
SOME OF THE MORE HOPEFUL ASPECTS OF THE WORK OF THE  
COMMUNITY, SOME MANIFESTATIONS OF ITS IMPORTANCE AND  
SUCCESS. IT ALSO ALLOWS ME TO DISCUSS PERHAPS THE MOST  
DIFFICULT AND FASCINATING CHALLENGE THAT THE COMMUNITY  
NOW FACES, THAT OF ENLARGEMENT TO TWELVE NATIONS FROM  
NINE, TO INCLUDE GREECE, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN. ALL THESE  
NATIONS, RECENTLY EMERGED FROM ~~WHAT I BELIEVE~~  
~~WITHOUT RHETORIC TO BE GENUINELY THE SHADOW OF~~  
DICTATORSHIP, HAVE APPLIED TO JOIN US AS FULL MEMBERS.  
AND THAT THEY WILL JOIN HAS BEEN ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE --  
ALTHOUGH NEGOTIATIONS REMAIN.

BUT ALLOW ME THE LUXURY OF BUILDING UP TO THIS CLIMAX AFTER SOME BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE COMMUNITY'S COLLECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH, WHILE STILL SEPARATE FROM THE INDIVIDUAL POLICIES OF ITS MEMBERS, IS INCREASINGLY LESS SO.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S IMPORTANCE AS A WORLD FORCE -- AND IT IS MORE AND MORE EXACTLY THAT DESPITE ITS INTERNAL CONFLICTS -- THE REASONS FOR ITS IMPACT ON WORLD AFFAIRS IS VERY SIMPLE -- ECONOMIC POWER, *AND POLITICAL ATTRACTION. - GOOD EXAMPLE NEW MFN TRADING AGREEMENT WITH CHINA.*

WHEN THEY ACT TOGETHER IN THE WORLD, THE NINE NATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY REPRESENT 250 MILLION PEOPLE WITH A GNP APPROACHING THAT OF THE USA. WE ARE THE WORLD'S LARGEST TRADING BLOC, AND YOUR MOST IMPORTANT TRADING PARTNER, CLOSELY FOLLOWED, I THINK, BY JAPAN. WE MATTER VERY MUCH.

NOW, HOW HAVE WE USED THIS CLOUT? THE ANSWER IS, OF COURSE, NOT AS MUCH AS WE OUGHT TO, THOUGH WE ARE, MORE AND MORE.

IN ALMOST ALL IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC FORA THE EC NEGOTIATES AS A BLOC.

WE ARE AT THE MOMENT HAVING VERY HEAVY DEALINGS WITH YOU AND THE JAPANESE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA ON THE GATT, THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE -- AS I MENTIONED EARLIER. IT IS THE COHESION -- THE INTEGRATION, IF YOU WILL -- OF THE COMMUNITY'S POSITION IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS THAT IS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT MAKES IT ~~ANY~~ POSSIBLE THAT ANY SENSE AT ALL WILL EMERGE FROM WHAT IS A PARTICULARLY STICKY SESSION. ~~AT~~ ~~A TIME,~~ WHEN THE PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENTS <sup>now</sup> TO PROTECT THEIR HOME MARKETS, IS VERY STRONG. IF NINE NATIONS FROM EUROPE WERE BICKERING SEPARATELY WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH THE OTHER PROTAGONISTS, YOU CAN IMAGE HOW MUCH NASTIER THINGS MIGHT GET *IN GENEVA.*

WE WORK TOGETHER, TOO, IN ANOTHER DIFFICULT FORUM -- THE UNITED NATIONS, WHERE THE COMMISSION AS SUCH HAS OBSERVER STATUS. INDEED, WE HAVE A DIPLOMATIC DELEGATION TO THE U.N. BASED IN NEW YORK.

THE COMMUNITY ACTED AS ONE ALSO IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE TALKS, THE COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, WHICH ENDED NOT SO LONG AGO IN PARIS. THE CONFERENCE ITSELF WAS NOT A MARKED SUCCESS, BECAUSE THE DEVELOPED NATIONS, IN GENERAL PRESSED BY RECESSION, WERE, AND ARE, NOT EAGER TO HAND OVER VAST AMOUNTS OF RESOURCES TO LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES -- OR HELP DEVELOP

INDUSTRIES, WHICH WILL BE IN COMPETITION WITH <sup>THEIRS</sup> OURS.  
IN FACT, ALL IN ALL IT REMAINS ONE OF THE LESS CHEERFUL  
EXAMPLES OF THE PRACTICE OF "REALPOLITIK" BY ALL SIDES.

BUT THE COMMUNITY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE THIRD WORLD  
HAS NOT SUFFERED GREATLY, <sup>THANKS TO</sup> ~~BECAUSE OF~~ A UNIQUE EC  
POLICY TOWARDS THE THIRD WORLD, WHICH IS MANIFESTED  
IN A VARIETY OF WAYS.

THE BACKBONE OF THIS POLICY IS THE LOMÉ CONVENTION;  
AN AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SOME 56 COUNTRIES IN AFRICA,  
THE PACIFIC AND THE CARIBBEAN -- MOST OF THEM FORMER  
COLONIES OF EC MEMBERS.

UNDER LOMÉ THE COMMUNITY RECOGNISES EXPLICITLY THE  
DUTIES OF THE DEVELOPED WORLD TOWARDS THE LESS DEVELOPED.  
IT IS A COMPLEX AGREEMENT -- AND THE RENEGOTIATED TERMS,  
NOW BEING PREPARED, WILL MAKE IT MORE COMPLEX. --  
BASICALLY, UNDER IT THE COMMUNITY AGREES TO OFFER ACCESS  
TO ITS MARKETS TO ALL SIGNATORIES ON A PREFERENTIAL  
BASIS WITHOUT ASKING THE SAME PRIVILEGES IN RETURN.

THERE IS NOT TIME TO GO INTO MUCH DETAIL ABOUT THIS  
REMARKABLE AGREEMENT, BUT THERE IS ONE ASPECT I SHOULD  
LIKE TO DISCUSS -- THE SO-CALLED STABEX SCHEME.

UNDER THIS WE OFFER TO NATIONS DEPENDENT ON, SAY, A FEW CROPS FOR THEIR EXPORT INCOME, A WAY TO STABILISE THAT INCOME IN BAD YEARS. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, THE BANANA CROP IN AN AFRICAN NATION FAILS ONE YEAR DUE TO DISEASE OR WEATHER, WE GUARANTEE, UNDER THE CONVENTION TO PAY IN THE FORM OF A LOAN TO THAT COUNTRY THE AVERAGE AMOUNT OF ITS INCOME OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS GAINED FROM EXPORTS TO US. THIS MEANS IT DOES NOT SUFFER A DRASTIC DROP IN INCOME, AND CAN KEEP ITS DEVELOPMENT PLANS GOING AND SO ON. -- SUCH A SCHEME MIGHT NOT BE A BAD MODEL TO BE ADOPTED ON A WIDER SCALE.

SO THE COMMUNITY -- AS A GROUP -- IS DOING ITS BIT FOR THE THIRD WORLD. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT IS DOING ITS BIT FOR THE FREE WORLD. -- AN OLD-FASHIONED PHRASE PERHAPS, BUT ONE THAT MEANS SOMETHING, AND LEADS ME INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE MOST FASCINATING AND DIFFICULT CHALLENGE YET TO BE FACED IN THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION -- THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER, IN THIS CONTEXT, THAT ALL NINE MEMBERS OF THE EC ARE DEMOCRACIES. GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE TREATY OF ROME IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR A NON-DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY TO BELONG TO THE COMMUNITY.



*AS I HAVE SAID*

WE ARE NOW FACED WITH THE FACT THAT THREE BRAND NEW EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES, GREECE, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, ~~ALL~~ ~~NEWLY EMERGED FROM DICTATORSHIP,~~ WANT TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY.

THEIR MOTIVATION IN THIS IS CLEAR. FIRST, WE ARE A RELATIVELY PROSPEROUS GROUP, AND THEY WISH TO SHARE IN THIS PROSPERITY, AND -- EQUAL FIRST ONE MIGHT SAY -- BELONGING TO US WOULD BE A STRONG INSURANCE AGAINST ANY THREAT, EXTERNAL OR INTERNAL, TO THEIR NEW DEMOCRATIC STATUS.

THESE APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP PRESENT US AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME WITH THE GREATEST HOPE YET FOR WIDE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, AND THE GREATEST THREAT YET TO THE FABRIC OF INTEGRATION THAT NOW EXISTS IN EUROPE.

*SITUATION*  
IN OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC ~~DIFFICULTIES,~~ TAKING INTO THE COMMUNITY THREE NEW MEDITERRANEAN POWERS WILL BE VERY *COMPLEX* DIFFICULT. IT WILL EXACERBATE OUR ALREADY ~~DIFFICULT~~ PROBLEMS OVER HOW TO DEAL WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF SOUTHERN FRANCE AND ITALY.

IT WILL STRETCH OUR ALREADY BELEAGERED REGIONAL AND SOCIAL FUNDS.

IT WILL ADD TO THE LINGUISTIC DIFFICULTIES AND PUT THE MUCH STRETCHED INSTITUTIONS AND DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF THE COMMISSION AND OF THE COMMUNITY IN GENERAL UNDER EVEN GREATER PRESSURE.

BUT THE REALITY -- THE POLITICAL REALITY IS, THAT THESE NEW MEMBERS CANNOT BE TURNED AWAY. THE COMMUNITY CANNOT BE SEEN IN A FREE WORLD CONTEXT TO BE TURNING A COLD SHOULDER TO THREE NASCENT DEMOCRACIES, AND LEAVING THEM STANDING ON ITS DOORSTEP, PERHAPS TO DIE. THEY HAVE APPLIED FOR ENTRY, AND THEIR ENTRY MUST BE NEGOTIATED -- THEY MUST COME IN. -- AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION MUST ENTER A NEW, AND EVEN MORE DIFFICULT STAGE.

AND MY FEELING IS THAT DESPITE THE PROPHETS OF DOOM AND OF DESPAIR WE SHALL PREVAIL. THE PROCESS OF WORKING TOGETHER -- HOWEVER COMPLICATED, WILL GO ON -- BECAUSE IT HAS TO. WE NEED IT, WE NEED EACH OTHER. NONE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL NATION NOW FACES IN EUROPE CAN BE SOLVED WITHOUT COOPERATION. SO WE SHALL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE, BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY.

WHETHER THE FORM OF THAT COOPERATION WILL BE  
"THEOLOGICALLY CORRECT" --WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF  
IDEALS, THAT IS THE CREDO OF THE EUROPEAN  
FEDERALISTS, I DO NOT KNOW. *FRANKLY IT DOESN'T MATTER.*

BUT I DO BELIEVE WE SHALL ACT INCREASINGLY TOGETHER  
TO MEET OUR NEEDS; THAT THE POLITICAL IMPETUS PROVIDED  
BY A DIRECTLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT WILL PUSH US ON;  
THAT WE SHALL FURTHER DEVELOP AND EXTEND THE INSTITUTIONS  
THAT WE NOW HAVE IN COMMON TO MEET CHANGED SITUATIONS.

I BELIEVE, TOO, THAT WE SHALL CONTINUE TO LIVE  
IN "CRISIS". THERE WILL ALWAYS, AND SHOULD ALWAYS,  
BE THE DYNAMIC POLITICAL CLASH BETWEEN NATIONAL  
SOVEREIGNTY AND EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNTY WITH NEITHER  
SIDE WINNING OR LOSING, BUT ALWAYS NECESSARY COMPROMISE  
TAKING PLACE, AND LINKING US CLOSER TOGETHER.

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE IS A CONTINUING  
POLITICAL PROCESS, A PROCESS CENTRED ON THAT QUESTION  
THAT HAS FACED AND WILL CONTINUE TO FACE ALL MEN AND  
WOMEN FOR ALL TIME -- THE BASIC POLITICAL QUESTION  
OF "HOW TO LIVE" *SENSIBLY ALONGSIDE EACH OTHER.*