

It is a history of many different cultures and many different languages, many varied histories, and just look at the difficult language problem! Just look at the different stages of development! It is not possible to have a United States of Europe.

What is possible is for the twelve countries of Europe steadily to work more closely together on things we do better together, so that we can trade more closely together and have fewer formalities across borders - but not to dissolve our own infinite variety, our own nationality, our own identity.

I think Europe will be stronger because it has Britain in as Britain, France in as France, Spain in as Spain. I do not wish them to dissolve into some common sort of neutral personality.

Commission were in great danger of tying us all up with far too many regulations, and that was not what they were there for.

There are some things which it is better that we do together for all of us, because we are more powerful if we do them.

For example, if Europe as a whole - the Community - negotiates on trade matters with, say, the United States, with China, with the Soviet Union, we are very very much more powerful negotiating on trade and getting rid of any barriers to trade, for example in Japan, getting rid of any barriers to trade with the newly-industrialised countries, if we do things together. That we can do together.

I think we are much more powerful if we do our agriculture together, although we have not managed that very well and we are having now to cut down the surpluses because it

As a first step you had better have free movement of capital! You had better drop your foreign exchange control! You had better tell your central banks that they hold other European currencies in their reserves instead of just dollars and gold! Talking about dealing in this thing called the Ecu, which is a measure of all the currencies; we do all that, so we are streets ahead of you in practical steps which are possible. You

We are not going to abolish frontiers, we are not going to abolish boundaries. We are making it easier to go through frontiers and boundaries of states.

The cradle of democracy is in Europe. The cradle of the great religions came to Europe and became the importance of the individual, the importance of the freedom of the individual - came and flowered in Europe. The importance of liberty, the importance of a rule of law, flowered under Roman law and then, as it went to the Eastern Roman Empire in Constantinople.

So all of these great concepts - liberty under the law, democracy - came from Europe.

I am the first to say that on many things Europe should speak with a single voice and we do speak strongly with a single voice, but I do not go on to say that that dissolves the British nationality. Britain will always have her own part to play in Europe.

As you know, I feel very firmly in a Europe, the sovereign nations working more and more closely together in the interests of each and every one. And I don't necessarily see 1992 as you do. I see it as a great opportunity for us in Europe but don't forget of course it's an opportunity for other people here as well.

Rediscovery of spirit of enterprise in the UK made possible by growing realisation that many of the things done by the state were done badly. That public resources are private resources taken by the state, and that the individual is better equipped to make many resource decisions than any state, however benevolent. That an admirable desire to protect the interests of the disadvantaged had resulted in a system of excess state control and union power which meant that the disadvantaged were not best protected, for growth - and hence jobs - were stifled. We had to break that crippling paralysis. Without undermining essential protections (health care, social security etc), we had to liberate enterprise at the level of industry and the individual.

- UK recovery is built on respect for the individual, encouragement of diversity and enterprise.

- Believe that a Europe open to enterprise, giving full rein to individual endeavour, is the Europe you will inherit. For that is the direction in which the consensus among Community Governments, and the thrust of Community policy-making, is now going.

Must mean more liberalisation than harmonisation, deregulation not regulation, diversity not dirigisme.

- Creation of single European market will enhance European unity without sacrificing national identity. Europe of 1992 increasingly one in which companies will

operate on Europe-wide scale. And the resultant improved efficiency will help them operate better worldwide.

- Growing European influence in trade and aid. Significance of European voice in world trade negotiations. Hence importance of ensuring our approach to outside world consistent with our internal goals. Cannot preach liberalisation at home and practice protectionism abroad. Cannot preach agricultural reform abroad without practising it at home.

- In 1942 Churchill wrote of his dream of "the revival of the glory of Europe, the parent continent of modern nations and civilisation". A dream no more: today's reality. So a fortunate generation; inheriting a Europe again self-confident and on the move.

- Even in matters of defence it is not a bi-polar world. European influence in NATO crucial. Significance of European voice at post-Reykjavik Camp David meeting.

Europe needs to develop its own identity in security, as in other areas. European security will remain critically dependent on a system of deterrence based on both nuclear and conventional weapons; and cannot be pursued only in a purely Western European framework, but must involve our transatlantic partners.

parallel need for the Alliance's European members to develop and improve their own force contributions. That means:

- more equipment collaboration;
- more open procurement;
- a clearer view of our arms control priorities; and
- more bilateral cooperation, in particular involving France and Spain, whose forces are not integrated.

May be that one day Community could develop a defence dimension, but for the present, key role for Western European Union. Last November's WEU platform sets out realities of European security from a European perspective.

- Reject accusations that British are insular. Proud of our island history, but proud too of our role in opening up distant lands. And of our share in the common European heritage. And of our record in honouring our obligations in letter and in spirit, as the history of our 20th century relationship with Belgium is eloquent proof.

British tend to be pragmatic, not visionary. Indeed regard that as a British strength. Danger of an approach which sets a distant goal is that the distant goal becomes more important than the immediate opportunity, and in the end you miss both. However far we want to go, can only go one step at a time.

- That is why the personal vision I have explained today needs no new document: the texts already exist, in the North Atlantic Treaty, the Revised Brussels Treaty, and the Treaty of Rome. Texts written by some pretty far-sighted men, a remarkable Belgian, Paul Henri Spaak, among them.

The Prime Minister's "Europe" Speech

I have no qualms
at the moment in sending to her for her consideration a
statement which I made myself in Spain recently to a (tiny)
conference of businessmen

ever since the Middle Ages we
have known that Europe should be united (or re-united).
The trouble has been that the previous efforts at
"collaboration" would always have resulted in the dominance
of a single power:

The people who have thought continually about
Europe seem to be the federalists and they, I suspect, did
their original thinking thirty years or more ago.

is there not a case for a really deep consideration in the
style and at the length of the Durham Report (150 pages of
text)? The "Europe of Nations" has never been carefully
worked out, to my knowledge.

Europeans as I understand it want to
maintain their national differences, their regional eccentricities, their
languages even their regional languages but at the same time create a
common European identity. The preservation of differences is as important
as the insistence on collaboration. The essence of Europe is surely diversity.
We all find it perfectly possible to be loyal to several foci of affection: to the
family, to the old school or university perhaps, to the pueblo, to the province
or region, and to the nation - perhaps also to the civilisation (the West for
example). Europe is a new line of affection, with the originality that it is,
shall we say, neither national nor supernational but intranational. Useless to
argue whether this intra-national focus is at a superior or lower level than
that of the state. It depends on the subject under consideration.

... we should
take the need to preserve diversity in unity just as seriously as we have
taken the need to achieve harmony.