MR. POWELL ,

Prime Minister's speech on Europe

I have discussed this speech with Robin Harris and both of us feel that the EDG are likely to react badly to it. The situation is made worse by the fact that it is to be delivered during the middle of the EDG's "Information Week" which is supposed to emphasise the EDG's commitment to Europe. Robin is therefore of the view that Peter Brooke should speak to Christopher Prout to warn him of what is coming and prevent him from publicly reacting to it. I fear it is too much to expect Prout to persuade his colleagues to show similar restraint.

Robin, in a fit of enthusiasm, has also been through the speech and made a number of suggestions, along with two extra sections for your consideration. He stresses that you are at liberty to do with these as you would wish.

JAW

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12.9.88

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CONFIDENTIAL

Da John,

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH: 20th SEPTEMBER

Thank you for sending me the draft speech for Bruges. You are aware of EDG sensitivities. Someone - perhaps the Chairman? - should speak to Christopher Prout, I am sure, before this is delivered.

... Could I offer the following thoughts? (I attach your draft with one or two textual suggestions).

The section which I find least convincing, though I suppose it is the least important, is pages 2 to 14. Rather than go in to quite so much about Britain's role in defending Europe against 'tyranny' (some of which, I fear, might look just a little odd to a professional historian anyway) I wonder whether we should not stress the extent to which Britain is a European nation. The European idea is not synonomous with the European Community - let alone federalism. I offer a shorter re-draft which seeks to make these points and on which you might like to draw if you see any merit in them.

The second point relates to the section on defence (pages 45 et seq). It is a matter of judgement how much we associate the European Community with defence - as opposed to the WEU and individual nations. I think this needs to be spelt out.

Third, I do not believe that we should leave it to the federalists
... to monopolise the European 'vision'. I have provided a passage
which might go at the end of the speech which seeks to show that
the Prime Minister has a 'vision' of Europe too - and which is

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a good deal more practically attainable.

As regards my initial point you may want to have a further word after discussing handling with Charles Powell.

ROBIN HARRIS

Like any Conservative, I am distrustful of political dreams.

Too often, one man's dream is another man's nightmare. And much of my purpose today is to urge European Governments to be less visionary and more practical in the future.

But I refuse in any case to allow the federalists some kind of monopoly of ideals and vision. I too know what I want Europe to be like in the next decade and beyond: and I suspect that many more Europeans share my view than their Leaders might admit. For I want Europe to be a family of nations - understanding each other better, appreciating each other more, having better acquaintance of each other's language and customs, but relishing our individual identity no less than our common culture. I want to see the barriers against individual enterprise and initiative brought down to create one real common market in the common interest I want to see a society in which ownership of property and shares is more widely spread, in which personal responsibility for one's self and one's children is strongly encouraged. society in which standards are upheld and the terrorist, the criminal and the fraudster brought to book. And this new Europe must look outward not inward. It must share with our American partners the heavy responsibility of providing sure defences so that European peace is never again put at risk.

We British are proud to be Europeans - not despite but because

we are proud to be British. The finest hours of our history

have been spent in defence of the liberties of Europe. We bring

to the European Community a huge experience of representative

democracy and - as its essential counterpart - a healthy scepticism

of blue-prints and bureaucracy. We bring in our thriving economy

/the living evidence...

the living evidence that free enterprise, liberated from the shackles of State power and open to competition, is the most powerful engine for economic progress that the world has known. When people look back at the contribution which Britain is making to the European Community I would like it said of us - as William Pitt the Younger said almost two centuries ago - that 'England has saved herself by her exertions and will, I trust, save Europe by her example'. It is a noble aspiration.