

Democracy in Free Europe

I am delighted to be here at the Youth for Europe⁴ Rally, just five days before voting takes place for the first elected Parliament of the European Community.

We've won one election - now let's go for the double.

Next week, 180 millions ~~of the free peoples~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ nine ~~free states~~ ^{different countries} will go to the polls in ~~freedom~~ to elect ~~a free Parliament, to represent themselves~~ ^{one} ~~representatives~~ ^{to a single free} ~~to a single~~ ^{democratic} assembly.

They will do so in a Western Europe which ~~is~~, for the first time in its history (~~following recent constitutional changes in Portugal and Spain~~)

is composed entirely of democratic Governments. *And now we all welcomed Portugal and Spain into the democratic family.*

The new Assembly will be the first multi-national, multi-lingual Parliament ever to be elected ~~throughout~~ ⁱⁿ the long ~~history~~ ^{story} of man's continuing struggle for peace and ~~for~~ freedom.



That is why this great Rally in Birmingham has such special significance.

This is not just another routine political meeting. History is being made in this month of June 1979. Next week's election marks a crucial milestone in Europe's journey.

A Conservative Assembly

And you are here to show your faith in the future of a free Europe, and your determination that it shall have a ^{predominantly} democratic Conservative Parliament.

The present nominated Assembly has 66 Socialist and 18 Communist Members.

Thus the left has 84

11/27/84



Thus the Left has 84 Members | compared with 114 for
the Centre Right Parties.

We should remember that three years ago, 12½
million people voted Communist in Italy and that
just over a year ago nearly 6 million people
voted Communist in France.

We are determined to do our utmost to see that in the
new directly elected Parliament of 410 members,
there is a clear majority for the Centre Right
Parties.

There is every prospect that we will achieve
this, with British Conservative Members as the
largest single national group.



The Socialists may be divided ~~and badly organised~~
in this country, but the Communists and
Socialists are ^{well} ~~better~~ organised elsewhere.
Wherever there is a representative Assembly,
Conservatives and those who share our beliefs
in a free Society, must fight with that zeal
and dedication which, too often in the past,
has been the prerogative of the Left.

Whenever a representative Assembly is ^{being} elected, those
who believe in democracy have a duty to cast
their vote.

Next Thursday we are asking not only for a massive
turn-out of voters, but for a massive
Conservative vote.

Conservative principles do not change when we
cross the Channel.

~~For~~ There must be a golden thread of consistency
running through our policies for Britain and our
policies for the ^{European} Community.



Our policies - same everywhere.

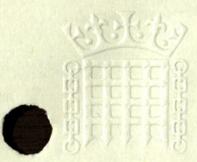
During our own ~~General~~ Election campaign, we argued for reduced public spending, lower taxation, more effective competition and a relentless war on bureaucracy.

~~We shall pursue these same objectives in Europe.~~

we shall pursue these same objectives.

During this European Election, ~~we~~ we argue for reduced spending on the Common Agricultural Policy; a lower ^{net} Budget contribution from Britain - indeed we could do with some of the money that we pay to the European Budget to reduce income tax here - ^{to bring it} nearer to European levels; and we argue strenuously against the unnecessary deluge of detailed directives.

But above all, we stressed in the General Election and we stress now the overriding need to preserve and defend the ideal and the reality of freedom.



We may ponder for a moment what that ideal of European freedom means to us.

Just after the War, when most of Europe lay in ruins, Winston Churchill spoke at Zurich of what he called "the European Family."

He taught us that we must provide that Family "with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom".

Other Declarations have spelt out the philosophy of freedom in the most compelling terms - The American Declaration of Independence, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the Roosevelt Declaration of Four Freedoms.



These earlier declarations proclaimed the freedoms which we in this country have long taken for granted. But they said nothing about the economic structure necessary to put them into practice.

There can be no freedom without a free enterprise economy. Every free country in the world is a free enterprise country. That is a truth which some have been slow to accept.

Indeed there are those who attack free enterprise, while formally proclaiming political freedom.

In so doing they are preaching the virtue of liberty, while plotting the ^{downfall of the} very economic organisation which ~~would lead to its downfall.~~ *in its foundation*



(The Treaty of Rome, unlike those earlier Declarations,
said little about the ideal of freedom,
but defined at length the economic structures
necessary to sustain it.

It is a Treaty based on free and fair competition in
trade, on the free movement of people, goods
and capital across traditional frontiers.

It is a treaty between peoples who have no time for
hate, but only for living together in liberty,
mutual cooperation and security.

Above all, it is a treaty which gives to the young
people of Western Europe the opportunity
to live in peace with one another ^{an opportunity} which was
denied to previous generations.



That is why we in the Conservative Party reaffirm our commitment to the European ideal before 2,000 young Europeans.

But when we speak etc.
(1)

We believe in a free Europe but not in a standardised Europe.

The intellectual and ~~natural~~ ^{material} richness of Europe lies in its variety.

Diminish that variety within the Member States, and you impoverish the whole Community.

We in Britain came late into membership and have been slow to find our role within it.

Next week's elections give us a chance to find a new role and to give a fresh impetus to Conservative influence in the Community as a whole.

You will have read news etc.
(2)

... European is ideal though we are



though

European in ideal ~~as~~ we are, we shall nevertheless argue tenaciously for our national interests when these are at stake.

~~the~~

We are not alone in that.

isn't? (3) >

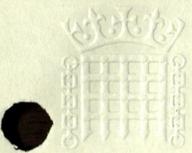
more things

But we shall do ~~so~~ as whole-hearted supporters of the of the Community and as resolute champions of the European ideal.

In politics it is the half-hearted who lose.

It is those with conviction who carry the day.

In Europe, as in Britain, the Conservative Party is the Party of conviction.



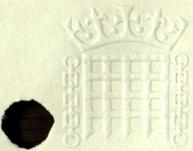
We are convinced that it is in the interests of
Britain as well as Europe that our partnership
should succeed.

We insist that the institutions of the European Community
are managed so that they increase the liberty
of the individual throughout our continent.

These institutions must not be permitted to dwindle
into bureaucracy.

Whenever they fail to enlarge freedom the
institutions should be criticised and the
balance restored.

But the real benefits will come to your generation
and to those who come after, in years which my
generation will not see.



In the preamble to the Treaty of Rome, the founder members affirmed their commitment to eliminate the barriers within the Community.

I can think of no more exciting prospect for the youth of Europe than to be able, as you will, to move freely without a passport from one Member State to another or to acquire a qualification or a skill which will enable you to work anywhere within the Community.

Just as we have insisted in our own elections on the need to strengthen our defence forces, so our European ideal insists on the ^{capacity} ~~ability~~ of the ~~Community~~ ^{Community} ~~together with our~~ ^{countries together with our other} NATO allies to defend ^{our way of life} ~~its freedom~~ against any military threat from outside.



Communism never sleeps, never changes its objectives.
Nor must we. Our first duty is to
defend our own. Then we must

~~Communism never sleeps, never tires in its efforts~~ ^{by the}
~~to undermine our way of life.~~ ^{captains & leaders to those}
^{people who have to}
^{live without it.}

Let no one be under any misunderstanding about
the inflexible resolve of Her Majesty's
Government to strengthen our defences and to play
our full part in the defence of a free Europe.

The population of the nine Member States is as large
as that of the Soviet Union.

Add Greece and the two other applicant countries which we
hope soon to welcome as full members, and the
Community will exceed 300 million free people.

There is no need for Europeans to quake before any threat
from the Soviet colossus.



One of my wisest predecessors, Lord Salisbury, made the point very clearly 100 years ago:

"If we mean to escape misery and dishonour, we must trust to no consciousness of a righteous cause, to no moral influence, to no fancied ~~restrictions~~ ^{restraints} of civilisation We must trust to our power of self-defence, and to no other earthly aid."

Today, Europe is still divided by opposing concepts

of human rights in the Western and Eastern halves of our continent.

where human rights are concerned all true Europeans are evangelists.

So long as men and women are persecuted or imprisoned for their political beliefs - for daring to assert the right of every individual to dispute the official line.



So long as people are denied the right to worship
as they wish, freely and openly -

~~anywhere~~
~~So long as religion is relegated to the status of
an eccentricity or tourist attraction -~~

So long as constraints are imposed on where people
may go, what they may read and what they
may say -

So long as dissent - the inborn right of every
human being and the cherished legacy
of our European individualism - is regarded
as treason or betrayal -

So long as the Berlin Wall and the fortified frontiers
divide East from West.

- the European ideal, the European values
which we cherish and the ~~European treasure~~
~~house of freedom~~, will never be secure.



No country in the world

~~None of us~~ can practice isolation or neutralism
and hope to live in safety.

Only if we pool our resources and share in each
other's strength will free Europe survive.

Only if we speak together can we expect the world
to heed the voice of Europe.

The new directly elected European Parliament will be
one expression of that voice.

Let us ensure that the Voice of Freedom speaks with
firmness and courage and imagination to a
troubled world.



Europe has been a seed-bed for all our ideas of
freedom and liberty under the law. *with ? Law* *democracy.*

It is the storehouse of Christian belief.

In the words of Goethe:

"Resolute, now claim your hour,
For the throng may quail and drift;
For the noble soul has power
To compass all if wise and swift."



DRAFT PARAGRAPHS TO BE ADDED AFTER SECOND PARAGRAPH
ON PAGE 10 (Not to be included in the handout)

3

-- We are not done with that.

There are two parts of the Community policy which are long overdue for reform.

First, the United Kingdom pays more than any other Member Country to the Community Budget, even though we are the seventh poorest of the nine.

This year we will be contributing ^{about 18 1/2} ~~between 17 1/2~~ and 20 per cent of the total Budget, though our share of the GNP is only 15 1/2 per cent. The contribution which we are making is manifestly unjust and we shall work resolutely to ensure that ours is a fair and not an unfair contribution.

~~The Budget must strike a fair balance of mutual advantage for every member, both in contributions and in expenditure.~~

We shall give a high priority to ensuring that the system



of payments into the Budget is more closely related to ability to pay, and that Britain receives greater benefit from budgetary spending.

Second, the Common Agricultural Policy is collapsing under the weight of its own surpluses.

~~We support a devaluation of the Green Pound to a point which will enable British producers to compete on level/terms with those in the rest of the Community.~~

products in

We seek a freeze in Common prices for structural surplus, including dairy products and cereals. And this freeze should be maintained until the surpluses are eliminated. National governments wishing to help their own farmers/ should be allowed to do so. But this should be seen for what it is - a social rather than ^{an} agricultural problem - and the cost should not fall on the CAP.

Although it is important for the Community to achieve



a high degree of self-sufficiency in food
the CAP should be sufficiently flexible for it to ^{enable}
the import ^{of} more low cost food.

~~The Community should not seek to exclude high
quality Australian and New Zealand produce from
our markets. The whole economy of New Zealand
relies heavily on exports to Britain. As we
will strive within the Community to obtain
lasting arrangements to provide continuing
access to our market.~~

But we shall do these things as
whole-hearted supporters